THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS
1892

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Publications

of

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

∴

TRANSACTIONS

1937–1942

Committee of Publication

KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK
ALBERT MATTHEWS
LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO

Editor of Publications

ALLYN BAILEY FORBES

G. L. Kittredge

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PUBLICATIONS

of

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME XXXIV

TRANSACTIONS

1937–1942

Boston
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1943

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Officers of

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

May 1, 1943

President

KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK

Vice-Presidents

FRED TARBELL FIELD

ROBERT WALCOTT

Recording Secretary

AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.

Corresponding Secretary

JAMES LINCOLN HUNTINGTON

Treasurer

JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL

Registrar

ROBERT DICKSON WESTON

Executive Members of Council

ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO

RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE

Editor of Publications

ALLYN BAILEY FORBES

Resident Members

In the Order of their Enrolment

1896

Charles Francis Mason
Albert Matthews

1899

Frederic Haines Curtiss

1901

James Atkins Noyes

1902

Francis Apthorp Foster

1903

John Noble
Winthrop Howland Wade

1906

Robert Dickson Weston
Henry Lefavour

1908

Julius Herbert Tuttle
Charles Edwards Park
Ogden Codman

1911

Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe

1912

Clarence Saunders Brigham
Fred Norris Robinson
Samuel Eliot Morison

1913

Allan Forbes
Samuel Chester Clough

1915

Henry Wilder Foote
Stephen Willard Phillips

1916

George Parker Winship
Lawrence Shaw Mayo

1919

Samuel Williston

1921

Wilbur Cortez Abbott

1922

George Pomeroy Anderson
James Melville Hunnewell

1923

Kenneth Ballard Murdock

1924

Benjamin Loring Young
Edward Motley Pickman
Edward Waldo Forbes
Alfred Marston Tozzer

1926

Charles Knowles Bolton
Arthur Howland Buffinton
Charles Eliot Goodspeed
Albert Bushnell Hart
Allen French

1927

Harold Hitchings Burbank

1928

James Phinney Baxter, 3rd

1929

Philip Putnam Chase
George Richards Minot
Stewart Mitchell
Arthur Orlo Norton
Robert Walcott
Richard Ammi Cutter
James Lincoln Huntington
Francis Parkman

1930

James Duncan Phillips

Resident Members

1931

Leverett Saltonstall
Allyn Bailey Forbes
Zechariah Chafee, Jr.
Robert Ephraim Peabody
Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr.
Harold Bowditch
William Emerson

1932

Clifford Kenyon Shipton
Allston Burr
Perry Miller
Henry Lee Shattuck
Walter Benjamin Briggs
Robert Earl Moody

1933

George Frederick Robinson
Ludlow Griscom
Howard Corning
Paul Birdsall

1934

Chandler Bullock
Fred Tarbell Field
Hermann Frederick Clarke
Clarence Eldon Walton
Raymond Walker Stanley
Reginald Fitz

1935

Frank Wilson Cheney Hersey
Richard Mott Gummere
Albert Warren Stearns

1936

Bentley Wirt Warren

1937

Jerome Davis Greene
Henry Rouse Viets

1938

William Alexander Jackson

1939

Palfrey Perkins
Morton Peabody Prince
Frederick Morton Smith
Robert Walcott, Jr.

1940

Frederick Scouller Allis, Jr.
Edmund Sears Morgan
Walter Muir Whitehill
William Roberts Carlton
Harry Andrew Wright
Stephen Phillips
John Carroll Perkins

1941

Elliott Perkins
George Lee Haskins

1942

Charles Cortez Abbott
Robert Peabody Bellows
Richard LeBaron Bowen
George Norton Northrop

1943

John Eliot Alden
Lawrence Waters Jenkins
Willard Goodrich Cogswell

Honorary Members

1933

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

1934

George Macaulay Trevelyan

James Bryant Conant

1941

Edward Kennard Rand

Corresponding Members

1899

Edward Field

1904

Herbert Putnam

1906

William Logan Rodman Gifford

1915

Charles McLean Andrews
Evarts Boutell Greene

1917

Edmund Burke Delabarre

1918

Frederic Adrian Delano
Otis Grant Hammond

1924

Kenneth Charles Morton Sills

1926

Henry Crocker Kittredge
Marcus Wilson Jernegan
Alfred Lawrence Aiken

1927

Thomas William Lamont
William Gwinn Mather
Stanley Thomas Williams

1928

Charles Austin Beard

1929

Charles Thornton Libby
Chauncey Brewster Tinker
James Rowland Angell
Thomas Stearns Eliot
George Andrews Moriarty, Jr.

1930

Earl Morse Wilbur

1931

John Pell
Arthur Stanwood Pier
Leonard Woods Labaree

1932

Walter Goodwin Davis
Max Farrand
Samuel Flagg Bemis

1933

Richard Clipston Sturgis
Robert Francis Seybolt
Milton Ellis
John Farquhar Fulton

1934

John Stewart Bryan

1935

Lawrence Counselman Wroth
Reginald Coupland

1936

Curtis Putnam Nettels
Joseph Burr Tyrrell

1937

James Alexander Williamson
Verner Winslow Crane

1938

Fulmer Mood

1939

Ernest Caulfield
Theodore Hornberger
Austin Warren

1940

Lincoln Colcord
Thomas Herbert Johnson
William Gurdon Saltonstall
Peter Oliver
Robert William Glenroie Vail
Edward Allen Whitney

1941

William Greene Roelker

Associate Members

1927

Charles Howard McIlwain
Arthur Meier Schlesinger

1931

Timothy Leary

1934

Wilfred James Doyle

1935

Zoltán Haraszti

1936

Eldon Revare James
Henry Joel Cadbury
Howard Mumford Jones

1937

George Gregerson Wolkins

1939

Arthur Joseph Riley

1940

Charles Leslie Glenn
John Lydenberg

1941

Michael Joseph Walsh

1942

Daniel Joseph Boorstin
George LaPiana

Members Deceased

Members who have died since the publication of the preceding volume of Transactions, with the date of death

Resident

Francis Russell Hart	*January* 18, 1938
Chester Noyes Greenough	*February* 27, 1938
Arthur Prentice Rugg	*June* 12, 1938
Homer Gage	*July* 3, 1938
Nathaniel Thayer Kidder	*July* 13, 1938
Harold Robert Shurtleff	*December* 6, 1938
Marcus Morton	*March* 20, 1939
John Woodbury	*January* 4, 1940
Robert Grant	*May* 19, 1940
Matt Bushnell Jones	*July* 1, 1940
Samuel Henshaw	*February* 5, 1941
Charles Rockwell Lanman	*February* 20, 1941
George Lyman Kittredge	*July* 23, 1941
Charles Henry Taylor	*August* 18, 1941
Kenneth Grant Tremayne Webster	*October* 31, 1942
William Vail Kellen	*December* 20, 1942
Grenville Lindall Winthrop	*January* 19, 1943
Joseph Henry Beale	*January* 20, 1943

Corresponding

Wilberforce Eames	*December* 6, 1937
George Lincoln Burr	*June* 27, 1938
Edgar Huidekoper Wells	*July* 2, 1938
William Otis Sawtelle	*September* 24, 1939
Albert Harrison Hall	*August* 12, 1940
Howard Millar Chapin	*September* 18, 1940
Worthington Chauncey Ford	*March* 7, 1941
Howard Judson Hall	*December* 14, 1941
John Pierpont Morgan	*March* 13, 1943

Transactions

1937–1942

Transactions of

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

Annual Meeting

November, 1937

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Monday, November 22, 1937, at a quarter after seven o'clock in the evening, the Recording Secretary, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The Editor was designated Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on August 29, 1937, of CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING, an Honorary Member; and that on September 28, 1937, of JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, a Corresponding Member.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Mr. VERNER WINSLOW CRANE and Mr. JAMES ALEXANDER WILLIAMSON, accepting their election to Corresponding Membership in the Society; and from Mr. GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS, accepting his election to Associate Membership.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS.

Report of the Council

DURING the year the Society has held its three usual meetings: in December, at the house of Mr. Augustus P. Loring, Jr.; in February, by invitation of Mr. James M. Hunnewell, at the Club of Odd Volumes; in April, by invitation of Mr. Allyn B. Forbes, at his house in Cambridge. These meetings, as the printed *Transactions* indicate, have fully maintained the Society's standards.

The Society has elected the following members:

Resident:

JEROME DAVIS GREENE
HENRY ROUSE VIETS
BENTLEY WIRT WARREN

Corresponding:

JAMES ALEXANDER WILLIAMSON

Associate:

HENRY JOEL CADBURY
HOWARD MUMFORD JONES
GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS

During the past year the Society has lost by death five of its members:

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT, Resident, 1893, died November 28, 1936; one-time Treasurer of the Society, on more than one occasion its genial host. His pride in his family heritage made him always conscious of an obligation to preserve the best of the past for the future.

JAMES PARKER PARMENTER, Resident, 1918, died January 14, 1937. A worthy judge and a man well versed in the history and literature of early New England.

ELIHU ROOT, Honorary, 1910, died February 7, 1937. A man who by his integrity, learning, and public-spiritedness left his stamp on his times.

CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING, Honorary, 1933, died August 29, 1937. A distinguished son of New England who, like the early settlers of a century and a half ago in the Western Reserve, spread by his own example the best traditions of New England culture.

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, Corresponding, 1898, and at the time of his death on September 28, 1937, the senior Corresponding Member of the Society. A noted scholar whose learning, tempered with wit, was generously at the disposal of all his fellow workers. The debt to him of American historical scholarship cannot be measured.

The Society still lends its financial support to the *New England Quarterly*, a periodical which continues to furnish a useful outlet for work on New England history and literature.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 13, 1937.

Statement of Assets and Funds, November 13, 1937

ASSETS

Cash:		
Income	$12,524.69	
Loan to Principal	*10,864.05*	$1,660.64
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $101,690.00)	$96,145.59	
Stocks (Market Value $45,468.75)	45,407.94	
Mortgages	10,500.00	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,100.45	155,153.98
Total Assets		$156,814.62

FUNDS

Funds		$144,189.48
Income:		
General Income	$12,524.69	
Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund Income	100.45	12,625.14
Total Funds		$156,814.62

Investments as of November 13, 1937

BONDS	*Book Value*
$5,000 Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company General 4's, 1995	$4,728.01
5,000 Bell Telephone Company of Canada First 5's, Series B, 1957	4,062.50
5,000 Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 5's, 1944	3,872.50
5,000 Central New England Railway Company First 4's, 1961	3,512.50
5,000 Central Pacific Railway Company First and Refunding 4's, 1949	3,762.50
5,000 Chester Water Service Company First 4½'s, 1958	3,375.00
5,000 Chicago and Western Indiana Railway Company Consolidated 4's, 1952	3,640.00
5,000 Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company Mortgage and Collateral Trust Refunding 5's, 1940	3,762.50
5,000 Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company Refunding and Improvement 4½'s, Series E, 1977	3,726.76

$5,000 Commercial Credit Company Debenture 3¼'s, 1951	$4,963.28	
5,000 Grand Trunk Western Railway Company First 4's, 1950	4,607.03	
5,000 Indianapolis Power and Light Company First 5's, Series A, 1957	4,593.75	
5,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie Railway Company First Refunding 6's, Series A, 1946	5,000.00	
5,000 New York, Philadelphia and Norfolk Railroad 4% Stock Trust Certificates, 1948	5,175.00	
5,000 Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company First and Refunding 4's, Series A, 1961	4,105.00	
5,000 Southern California Edison Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, Series B, 1960	5,075.00	
5,000 Texas Electric Service Company First 5's, 1960	4,437.50	
2,000 Tide Water Associated Oil Company Debenture S. F. 3½'s, 1952	2,015.51	
5,000 Toledo Edison Company First 5's, 1962	4,881.25	
2,500 United States Cold Storage Corporation First 6's, Series A, 1946	2,500.00	
4,000 United States Cold Storage Corporation First 6's, 1945	4,000.00	
5,000 Virginian Railway Company First and Refunding 3's, 1966	5,212.50	
5,000 Western Union Telegraph Company 5's, 1960	5,137.50	
TOTAL BONDS		$96,145.59

STOCKS

50 shares American Telephone and Telegraph Company	$8,593.63	
50 shares Consolidated Edison Company of New York Common	3,077.50	
100 shares Electric Bond and Share Company $6.00 Preferred	10,600.00	
50 shares E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company	2,683.75	
50 shares First National Bank of Boston	1,750.00	
1 share First National Bank of the City of New York	1,544.81	
240 shares General Electric Company Common	5,719.50	
50 shares Insurance Company of North America	1,963.75	

40 shares Radio Corporation of America Common	0.	
5 shares Travelers Insurance Company	$2,225.00	
50 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation 7% Preferred "A"	6,750.00	
50 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation Common		
105 shares Wickwire Spencer Steel Company Common V. T. C.	500.00	
Total Stocks		$45,407.94
First Mortages on improved property in Greater Boston	$10,500.00	
Deposit in Warren Institution for Savings	3,100.45	13,600.45
Total Investments		$155,153.98

Composition of Funds, November 13, 1937

Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications	$10,000.00
General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees and Commutations added to Principal, Gains on Sales of Securities, etc. Income only to be used for Current Expense	32,169.57
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. Income only to be used	10,000.00
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restriction as to use	20,000.00
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under the will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	2,000.00
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	30,000.00

Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund, established in 1923 under the will of Henry H. Edes as the "Henry H. Edes Bequest" to accumulate until it reached the sum of $3,000 when it would become a permanent fund to be known as the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	$3,000.00
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, established by sundry subscriptions from 1923 to 1925. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $10,000. Income only to be used for Publications	6,019.91
George Nixon Black Fund, established in 1929 under his will without restriction as to use	10,000.00
TOTAL FUNDS	$144,189.48

CHANGES IN PRINCIPAL OF FUNDS

Total Funds, November 14, 1936		$142,513.07
Add—Additions to Special Funds:		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund		340.75
Add—Additions to General Fund:		
Admission Fees	$70.00	
Profit from Sale of $5,000 New England Telephone and Telegraph Company First 5's, Series A, 1952	1,265.66	1,335.66
TOTAL FUNDS, NOVEMBER 13, 1937		$144,189.48

INCOME CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, November 14, 1936			$12,917.76
RECEIPTS:			
Interest		$5,148.06	
Dividends		2,798.00	
Annual Assessments		770.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications		20.00	
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF INCOME			8,736.06
			$21,653.82
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Editor's Salary		$1,000.00	
Services to Editor		250.00	
Secretarial Expense		100.00	
Stenographic Expense		100.00	
For Publications:			
Volume 32	$2,945.37		
" 33	30.00	2,975.37	

New England Quarterly	$3,000.00	
Annual Dinner	450.95	
Notices and Other Expenses of Meetings	78.50	
Accounting Services	125.00	
Storage on Stock	413.54	
Accrued Interest on Securities Purchased	61.41	
Fire Insurance	38.16	
Rent of Safe Deposit Box	22.00	
Contribution to Writings on American History	50.00	
Repairing Cobb Manuscripts	60.00	
Postage and Mailing	43.63	
Collection Charges	.82	
Stationery	19.00	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund added to Principal	340.75	
Total Disbursements of Income		$9,129.13
Balance of Income Cash, November 13, 1937		$12,524.69

Principal Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Loan to Principal, November 14, 1936		*$10,436.67*
RECEIPTS:		
$5,000 New England Telephone and Telegraph Company First 5's, Series A, 1952	$6,140.66	
Admission Fees	70.00	
Transferred from Income to Principal:		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, Income	340.75	
Total Receipts of Principal		$6,551.41
		$3,885.26
DISBURSEMENTS:		
$5,000 Commercial Credit Company Debenture 3¼'s, 1951	$4,963.28	
2,000 Tide Water Associated Oil Company Debenture S.F. 3½'s, 1952	2,015.51	
Total Disbursements of Principal		$6,978.79
Loan to Principal, November 13, 1937		*$10,864.05*

James M. Hunnewell
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended November 13, 1937, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 1052–E in the Union Safe Deposit Vaults.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

BENTLEY W. WARREN
ALLSTON BURR
Auditing Committee

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
Vice-Presidents Hon. ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG
CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH
Recording Secretary AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.
Corresponding Secretary Dr. JAMES LINCOLN HUNTINGTON
Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL
Registrar ROBERT DICKSON WESTON
Member of the Council for Three Years RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE

Mr. WILBERFORCE EAMES communicated the following note, which was read in his behalf by Mr. Jones:

Discovery of a Lost Cambridge Imprint

John Eliot's *Genesis*, 1655

IT has been my good fortune to discover and trace to its present location one of the lost Cambridge imprints of exceptional importance, John Eliot's Indian translation of *The First Book of Moses Called Genesis*, printed by Samuel Green at Cambridge in 1655. This was the first portion of the Bible in Indian to be printed, eight years before the completion of the Bible of 1663, and no copy of it was known to be extant.

The book is a quarto of sixty-four unpaged leaves, A–Q in fours. Like many small books and pamphlets of that period, it has no separate title-page. At the top of the first page is a large headpiece made up of a border and several lines composed of typographical ornaments, below which is the caption title in four lines: *The||First Book||of Moses Called||Genesis.* The lower part of the page begins with Chapter I. The first nineteen chapters have the English interlined above the Indian in small italic letters; the remaining chapters are in Indian alone.

At the end of the last chapter, on the final page, are the words: "*So endeth Genesis, All prayse be given unto the Lord J E S U S Amen.*" Below this is an apology, in five paragraphs of small type, for the imperfections of the printing. The second, third, and fourth paragraphs and the first sentence of the fifth paragraph relate to the forms of certain letters used to express Indian sounds. The first paragraph and the remaining part of the fifth read as follows:

> Such English as may have occasion to look upon this Impression, are intreated to consider. That some defects there be in the work which could not be helped for want of letters or tipes, wherewith the press cannot suddainly be furnished. Which hath put us upon the using of some unsuitable Characters, though we endeavoured to fit them in the best manner we could. . . .
>
> No doubt there be many defects in the work, but the Lord is mercyfull to pitty our weaknesses, and to bless our poor indeavours, for the good of their soules, who are glad to heare the WORD of GOD, speaking in their own language to them.

In a letter to Thomas Thorowgood, dated August 16, 1655, Eliot wrote: "Genesis is printed and we are upon Matthew, but our progress is slow, and hands short." More than three years later, on December 28, 1658, in a letter to Mr. Richard Floyd, he remarked: "Yet those pieces that were printed, viz. Genesis and Matthew, I had sent to such as I thought had best skill in the language, and intreated their animadversions, but I heard not of any faults they found." Fuller references will be found in my long article on John Eliot contributed to James C. Pilling's

Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages, also issued separately as *Bibliographical Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible.*

Someone may wish to ask the question, How was the book found and located? It happened in this way. Among the books in my own library was the catalogue of books in the library of William Marsden, author of the *History of Sumatra* (London, 1783, 1784, 1811) and other oriental books. The title-page reads: *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana Philologica et Orientalis. A Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts* (London, 1827). The collation of the book is: quarto, pp. (4), 308, (1). It is in two parts: first, authors; second, subjects arranged mostly under language headings; two columns to each page. The heading "*America* (North)," on pages 143–145, attracted my attention. There were included such works as Wood's *New Englands Prospect* (1634); Roger Williams' *Key into the Language of America* (1643); Eliot's *Indian Bible* (1685); Claesse's *Mohawk Prayer Book* (1715); Colden's *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1727); and, half way down the first column on page 144, the following title:

The First Book of Moses called Genesis, in the Algonkin language of North America. (Cambridge in Virginia) 4to. (Title wanting)

A strange title surely. What could it be? My first thoughts were: Was it possibly the long-lost edition of Eliot's *Genesis* (1655), or only a fragment from the Bible of 1663? Second, what became of Marsden's library? Was it sold in London by auction and dispersed like most other libraries? I had to wait for an answer to these queries.

Some time later, when leisure was found to do so, a search was begun for the Marsden library. The first definite information, by date of publication, was found in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (XXXVI. 207): "Marsden's collection of oriental books and manuscripts he presented in 1835 to King's College, London." The next step was to find the book and have it examined. So when one of my associates in the New York Public Library informed me of his intended visit to London, I requested his help. His report on the finding and the examination of the book convinced me that it was really John Eliot's *Genesis* of 1655. A photostat of the whole book was ordered and finally received, and in this way the discovery of a lost Cambridge imprint was happily completed.

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Mr. George P. Baker, Mr. George T. Goodspeed, the Reverend Robert H. Lord, and Mr. Daniel B. Updike.

After the dinner Mr. Chauncey Brewster Tinker of New Haven addressed the Society and its guests.

THE FIRST BOOK OF *MOSES* CALLED GENESIS.

KINGS COLLEGE LONDON

CHAPTER 1.

In the beginning created Heaven Earth.
Uſku *a* ayum God Keſukquiug & Ohke. *a* Pſal: 33. 6. & 136. 5 Acts 14. 15 & 17. 24. Heb: 11. 3

And Earth was not in any forme
2 Kah Ohke mô matta kuhkenauunneunkquttin-
void, and darkneſs upon
noo & monteagunninno, kah pohkenum woſ(eche
deeps and the Spirit of God moved upon
moondi, kah Naſhauanit popomſhau woſ(eche
waters.
nippekontu.

And ſaid let Light be was light.
3 Onk noowau God *b* wequaiaj, & mô wequái. *b* 2 Cor: 4 6.

And he ſaw light that it good and he
4 Kah wunnaumun God wequai ne en wunnegen: Kah wut-
divided
chadchaúbe-pomumun God nôeu wequai & noeu pohkenum.

And he called Light Day darkneſs.
5 Kah wutuſſowétamun God wequai Keſukod, & pohkenum
he called Night: and was the evening was the
wutuſſoweetamun Nukon: kah uno wunnonkoook & mo moh-
morning the firſt day.
tompog negonne keſuk.

A 6 Kah

missinninnuog. 21 Kah yeuyeu ahque wabesek, kutas-
samunumwoo, & kummukkiésumoóog, onk nah wuttapheuh, &
ocche kenoonuh wuttahhut. 22 Kah Ioseph ootahtu Egipt,
nagnm, & o shoh wek, kah Ioseph pomantam nequt pasukoue
& piukque kodtumwae. 23 Kah Ioseph naum wutch
a Numb: 32. 39. Ephraim, a wunnaumonuh nishwudt ontseonganit, wonk wun-
naumonuh Machir, wunnaumonuh Manasses, neetuog ut Ioseph
b Heb: 11. 22 weehquaut. 24 Kah Ioseph unnau wematoh, b nunnup,
kah God natauwáhuadt kenatauwáhukou, & kummoncheahukou
yeu wutch ohkit, en ohkit chadchekéimop Abrahamoh, & Isa-
akoh & Jakoboh. 25 Kah Ioseph chadchekeyeuwàheau
c Exod: 13. 19 wunnaumonuh Israel, noowau, God natauwahuadt c pish kena-
tauwahukou, & pish kooche tabshinnumuneau nuskonash yeu
wutche. 25 Kah Ioseph nuppoo, nequt pasukoue & piukque kodtumwohkom, & wusesequnóuh, & ponan arkut, ut Egipt.

So endeth Genesis, All prayse be given unto the Lord JESUS Amen.

SUch English as may have occasion to look upon this Impression, are intreated to consider. That some defects there be in the work which could not be helpe: for want of letters or tipes, wherewith the press cannot suddainly be furnished. Which hath put us upon the using of some unsuitable Characters, though we endeavoured to fit them in the best manner we could.

Likewise, the language making much use of (oo) of which tipe the press is much destitute, we are forced constantly to use two small Italian (o) in stead thereof.

Moreover, because in our Alphabet we make no use of (c) saving in (ch) but spell all our words with k & s (the reason wherof is known to many in these latter times) and the language making much use of (k) hence we are in great want of types for that letter, which may occasion you sometimes to find a wrong character in stead thereof.

Note that this Character (&) which is both in English and Latine for (and) hath the same use also in this Impression of this Language.

Also sometimes the same word may be found spelled with a different vowel, or sound which is sometimes regular in the language, and sometimes again advisedly let pass, because it is not easily to determine which is best. No doubt there be many defects in the work, but the Lord is mercyfull to pitty our weaknesses, and to bless our poor endeavours, for the good of their soules, who are glad to heare the WORD of GOD, speaking in their own language to them.

F I N I S.

Last Page of John Eliot's Genesis

December Meeting, 1937

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 16, 1937, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Recording Secretary, AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The chair announced on behalf of the Council the resignation of Mr. CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH as Vice-President of the Society and the election by the Council, in accordance with the By-laws, of Mr. MATT BUSHNELL JONES to fill the vacancy.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on December 6, 1937, of WILBERFORCE EAMES, the senior Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. FRANK W. C. HERSEY read the following paper:

The Misfortunes of Dorcas Griffiths

"THE Misfortunes of Dorcas Griffiths, a Cyprian of Boston, who, after divers amorous adventures, being the Mistress both of the Arch-Rebel Hancock and the King's Officers, was driven thence by the Fury of the Revolution and sought refuge in England; with an Account also of her Daughter, who was bred to be a Prostitute."

This is not the title page of a lost novel by Defoe, but the summary of a narrative of real life in eighteenth-century Boston. With what delight Defoe would have written a novel based on the lurid careers of these women! He would have peopled the story with a throng of hard-bitten characters—sea captains, sailors, soldiers, merchants, Sons of Liberty, fine gentlemen. He would have portrayed with gusto the bustling scenes, the coarse and vigorous life that centered round the wharves, the taverns, the counting rooms, and the streets of the old North End. And lest one savor this narrative with too much relish, Defoe would have given such a warning as appeared in his preface to *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders*: "There is not a wicked action in any part of it, but is first or last rendered unhappy and unfortunate; there is not a superlative villain brought upon the stage, but either he is brought to an unhappy end,

or brought to be a penitent; there is not an ill thing mentioned, but it is condemned."

One would hesitate at the present day to embark upon as detailed an account as Defoe would have written. But it is possible to draw an outline of Dorcas Griffiths' career from various petitions written by her and from other letters and documents preserved in the Public Record Office.

Dorcas was born in Boston, August 31, 1720, the daughter of James Pringle and his wife Elizabeth Willcott, and the granddaughter of Mrs. Dorcas Willcott. From this grandmother came the name Dorcas as well as the house where three generations of the family successively lived. Mrs. Dorcas Willcott had moved from Salem to Boston in the latter part of the seventeenth century and had settled in the North End. When she died in 1722, she left a will,[1] dated May 18, 1722, in which she bequeathed to her "loving daughter Elizabeth Pringle" the residue of her estate "as well Real as Personal," and named her as executrix. The other bequests were to her grandchildren, the heirs of another daughter, Dorcas, who had married Daniel Ballard, September 28, 1704, and had since died. These bequests were as follows: "to my grandson Daniel Ballard, a gold ring; to my grandson Bartholomew Ballard, a silver cup; to my grandson Joseph Ballard, a silver spoon; to my granddaughter Sarah Ballard, a silver porringer and spoon and a feather bed." There was no inventory of the estate. Administration was granted to Elizabeth Pringle by Judge Samuel Sewall, July 2, 1722.

And now comes a mystery in this strange family. Twenty-six years later, in 1748, four friends and neighbors made depositions under oath that Elizabeth Pringle was the daughter of Mrs. Dorcas Willcott.[2] What had happened? Who had challenged the identity of Elizabeth or questioned her legitimacy? And why?

Owen Harris, mathematician, deposed, December 6, 1748, that he had known Dorcas Willcott; that he had been named co-executor with Elizabeth Pringle in her will, but had renounced his executorship; "that there never was the least scruple or doubt in any wise but that the said Elizabeth Pringle was and is the Daughter of the said Dorcas Willcott."

Thomas Williston, cordwainer, aged fifty years, deposed, December 6, 1748, "that he was well acquainted with Dorcas Willcott and her Daughter Elizabeth Pringle, living under the same roof with them for a considerable time and even to this day in the same house with her said Daughter Elizabeth Pringle."

Mary Ballard, "Relict Widow of Daniel Ballard, dece[ase]d aged about

[1] Suffolk Probate Records, XXII. 585.

[2] Suffolk Deeds, LXXV. 257–258.

fifty seven years," testified that "for more than thirty eight years she has been acquainted with Elizabeth Pringle, and that moreover she was intimately acquainted with her Mother Dorcas Willcott, and that her husband Daniel Ballard's first wife was own Sister to Elizabeth Pringle aforesaid and were the Daughters of the said Dorcas Willcott."

Hannah Orange of Boston, "Widow aged about seventy five years," deposed that she had "known Elizabeth Pringle whose maiden name was Elizabeth Willcott ever since she was a little child living at Salem and that she the Deponent well knew her Mother Dorcas Willcott and her grandfather and grandmother Penley and that she was also well acquainted with Dorcas the Sister of the said Elizabeth who married Daniel Ballard."

It is clear from the deposition of Thomas Williston that Mrs. Elizabeth Pringle continued to reside in the house which her mother had bequeathed to her in 1722. It appears from other testimony in later years that her daughter Dorcas, who became Mrs. Griffiths, also lived in this same house. What was the location of this house? It is referred to as being on Hancock's Wharf or at the head of Hancock's Wharf. More specific information has been made available by the aid of Mr. Samuel C. Clough, who generously placed at my disposal his wide knowledge of the ownership of real estate in Boston. Between Hancock's Wharf and Scarlett's Wharf to the north was the Town Slip at the foot of Fleet Street. In the middle of the seventeenth century Scarlett's Wharf had been owned by Captain Samuel Scarlett and John Freak, two prominent merchants who were partners. One day while they were on board a vessel lying at their wharf, the vessel blew up from some unknown cause and both were killed. The widows and heirs made a division of the property whereby the southern half of the wharf fell to the Freak heirs and the northern half to the Scarletts. In 1694 Josiah Willcott of Salem married as his second wife Mary Freak, the only child of John Freak, and thus came into possession of the house at the corner of Fish Street, from which these wharves projected, and the Town Slip. On August 30, 1709, the selectmen ordered that this way or slip be preserved and continued twenty-one feet in breadth between the housing of Mr. Josiah Willcott on the north and the land of Captain Habijah Savage on the south, and that the same breadth be continued down to low-water mark. It is difficult to determine the relationship of Josiah Willcott and Mrs. Dorcas Willcott; but it seems probable that this house belonging to a Willcott was the house in which lived Mrs. Dorcas Willcott, her daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Pringle, and her granddaughter, Mrs. Dorcas Griffiths.

When she was twenty-two years old, Dorcas Pringle married Thomas Griffiths; at any rate, their marriage intentions were filed on September

14, 1742. Later, part of the family dwelling was converted into a shop where Mrs. Griffiths sold groceries, tea, and linen drapery. Eventually she was granted a license to sell liquor: "Dorcas Griffiths to retail at Head of Hancock's Wharf." Wherever Bacchus is present, one may be sure that Venus is not far away. The buxom shopkeeper offered more enticing goods than could be bought over the bar. Her charms and abilities must have been well known to many of the sea captains and prosperous merchants of the vicinity. Did she advertise after the manner of contemporary frail ladies in England? Whether publicity of this nature was then used in Boston is a question. The form such advertisements took in England at this period is illustrated by some examples preserved in that monument of respectability, the British Museum. They appeared in such broadsides as those entitled *List of the Sporting Ladies* and *The Only Time and Exact Calendar of all the Ladies of Pleasure which are to be Entered at these Races* (1770). Here are two of these historical curiosities:

> Polly Smith is come from Newmarket to entertain Gentlemen at these Races; is acknowledged to rise and fall well while she carries, never throws her Rider; nor allows him to come in for the Plate as long as she is able to wag. She is allowed to give more Pleasure, and carry farther, than ever was known: Her Maid is to be spoke with (for her) at the Bed and Cushion—***None under five Shillings the Sweat, and Sixpence the Maid.

> The two Miss K—— will attend the course as usual, being just returned from Windsor; they are quite perfect in the possession of Wriggle and Twist, and from the experience they have had, during their absence from this place, great Pleasure may be expected by every buck that mounts. They are preëminent figures, dress genteel, and their behaviour good. May be heard of in St. Aldgate's.

There now comes an episode in Dorcas Griffiths' career which links her name with that of the wealthy owner of the wharf nearby. This famous client of hers was John Hancock, who was so gratified that he kept her as his mistress. Such warmth of temperament was not incompatible with his ardor as a patriot. How much the Sons of Liberty were willing to overlook for the cause of patriotism is shown by their attitude to John Wilkes. Although Wilkes had been a member of the Hell-Fire Club, the libertine Friars of Medmenham,[1] was notorious for the intensity and diversity of his sex life, and was reputed to be the author of the licentious poem *Essay on Woman*, the Sons of Liberty in Boston, including James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and John Adams, wrote several letters to him expressing their esteem and devotion. "You are *one* of those

[1] See Ronald Fuller, *Hell-Fire Francis* (London, 1939).

incorruptibly honest men reserved by heaven to bless and perhaps save a tottering Empire. . . . Those generous and inflexible principles which have rendered you so greatly eminent, support our claim to your esteem and assistance" (June 6, 1768). And one of the committee of that patriot group, Benjamin Kent, wrote to him (October, 1768): "I never expect to see what you wrote on Woman, but if I should find anything which is called too Luscious, I assure you I am well fortified by the revolution of sixty cold North American winters, which have hoar'd my head. . . . Dr Sr I have the pleasure to acquaint you that you stand very high in the Estimation of a great many the most worthy amongst us."[1] It should be pointed out that Hancock's liaison with Dorcas Griffiths ran its course before his marriage to Dorothy Quincy, which took place the summer after the opening of the Revolution, August 28, 1775, at Fairfield, Connecticut.

What finally caused the break between Dorcas Griffiths and John Hancock is not known. "He turned her off," is all that the records tell. Perhaps they had a quarrel. Perhaps her feminine heart had been fluttered by the English soldiers in their dashing uniforms. Perhaps she decided that the Sons of Liberty were on the losing side, and resolved to make a virtue of loyalty to the Crown. At all events she transferred her allegiance to the old flag and bestowed her favors on the King's officers. How she showed her compassion for some of these who were wounded at Bunker Hill, how thereby she aroused the animosity of the patriots, how she and her daughter Sarah fled from Boston to Halifax when the British troops departed, and what befell thereafter will all be told in her own words.

The refugees arrived in England in December, 1778. As loyal subjects in distress they petitioned for relief, but their first petition was rejected because it was not well certified—with the minute: "Do not appear to be cases within the Rule for relief." A second petition, presented on March 31, 1780, was magnificently supported by testimonials to their loyalty and sufferings by General Gage, Sir William Howe, and Sir William Pepperrell. How did these women secure such distinguished names? Dorcas' paramour, Captain David Johnston of the Marines, whom she had nursed after the Battle of Bunker Hill, persuaded Lord Percy to interest himself in them, and he prevailed upon General Gage and Sir William Howe to give the certificates. In due course, on August 4, 1780, Dorcas and her daughter were granted £50 each a year from July 5, 1779. The payments continued regularly until 1782 and then suddenly ceased. The Commissioners for American Claims had investigated this case and had discovered

[1] British Museum, Add. MSS., 30870.

the truth about Dorcas Griffiths from Thomas Flucker, former Secretary of Massachusetts. Enraged by the representations made by her "concealed enemies," Mrs. Griffiths presented a third petition, January 27, 1784, imploring a reconsideration of her case. The Commissioners reopened the matter, listened to new testimony, and came to their final decision: that Dorcas Griffiths and her daughter Sarah "were not proper Objects of the Bounty of Government." Several facts the Commissioners refrained from entrusting to the records, but it is now no secret what they had in mind when they wrote: "If the Lords of the Treasury wish to know all the Circumstances of this Case we shall be ready at any time to communicate them to their Lordships which we should prefer to giving them upon Paper."

The first petition was as follows:

To the Right Honorable the Lords
Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury

The Memorial of Dorcas Griffiths widow of the late Thomas Griffiths of Boston Merchant,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your Memorialist's late Husband, by his Loyalty and firm attachment to the King, did experience the most vindictive resentment of His Majesty's Rebellious Subjects in that part of America, which, after his decease, was continued to your Lordships Memorialist and Family with additional cruelties, the Rebels being informed of the aid and attention given by them to the Sick and wounded Officers of the King's Army to all of whom, as far as their personal attention and property could extend, relief was given, their house being always open for their reception, the truth of which can be testified by many Gentlemen of the Army now in London.

Your Memorialist's departure from Boston together with that of her daughter Sarah Hinson (also a widow) was so very precipitate for the preservation of their lives that they were compelled to leave all their industriously acquired property behind them to a very considerable amount, by which they are reduced from affluence and comfort to poverty and misery.

Your Memorialist therefore humbly prays your Lordships to take their unhappy situation into your Lordships consideration and to grant them such relief as their sufferings may appear to deserve. And Your Memorialist will ever pray &c.

Dorcas Griffiths
Sarah Hinson

London
Decr 21st 1778

I beg leave to mention one Circumstance, that on the 17th of June 1775 I was wounded at the attack of Bunkers hill, & when brought over to Boston I must

have died on the Street had not the Memorialist and Daughter taken me into their house. I therefore owe my life to their humanity.

David Johnston
Capt Marines & Aid de Camp to Earle Percy[1]

This dramatic episode and the tender ministrations of Dorcas arouse one's interest in Captain David Johnston. I have been able to gather a good deal of information about this officer. His name appears in the Army Lists from 1761 to 1791 in the roster of the Marines. He was commissioned as first lieutenant, January 10, 1761; captain lieutenant, November 1, 1773; captain, September 27, 1775; and major, March 19, 1783.

The commanding officer of the battalion of Royal Marines stationed at Boston was Major John Pitcairn. He issued orders on May 20, 1775, dividing the Marines into two battalions with eight companies and one grenadier and one light infantry company in each: "Captain David Johnston, Superintendant Adjutant and Deputy Paymaster to the 2nd Battalion."[2] Battalion orders of June 3, 1775, give the regulations for payment of companies:

The Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having directed, by their letter to Major Pitcairne of the 2d of March last, that the Captains of Marines commanding Companies on shore at Boston, should pay their Companies in the same manner as practised by the Land Forces, the Captains or commanding Officers of Companies will receive from Captain Johnstone, Deputy Paymaster, one month's subsistence for the non-commissioned Officers and private men of their respective companies, deducting £0 1½*s* 5*d* per week each, for provisions, and the usual stoppages as directed by the Admiralty, viz.

For one Serjeant per week	£0 0 2
For one Corporal or Drummer	0 0 1½
For one Private Man	0 0 1
Dollars to be taken at	0 4 8

Captains are to give the Deputy Paymaster compleat monthly Pay Rolls, accounting for the subsistence distributed to their Companies, and specifying every particular casualty that has happened in each Company during the preceding month, and to commence this day.[3]

The Marines were engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill. A letter (June 22, 1775) by Lieutenant J. Walker, Adjutant of the First Battalion, gives several details of the part they played:

[1] Public Record Office, A. O. 13:73.

[2] Alexander Gillespie, *An Historical Review of the Royal Marine Corps to 1803* (Birmingham, 1803), 191.

[3] *Id.*, 193.

Two companies of the 1st Battalion of Marines and part of the 47th Regiment were the first that mounted the breastwork. . . . We leaped the ditch and climbed the parapet, under a most sore and heavy fire. . . . Major Pitcairn was killed close beside me. . . . One captain and one subaltern fell in getting up, and one captain and one subaltern was wounded.[1]

This captain who was wounded was probably David Johnston. His gallantry on that day was rewarded by promotion. In the orders of September 27, 1775, the royal thanks were tendered to the forces for their intrepid conduct on the seventeenth of June. "The King has been pleased to make the following promotions in his Marine Forces, serving in North America: Capt. Lieut. David Johnston, Captain vice Souter, promoted."[2]

After the evacuation of Boston the Marines were landed at Halifax. In April, 1777, the two battalions were consolidated into one by orders of the Board of Admiralty, January 1, 1777. Captain David Johnston was then appointed captain of the grenadier company. In September, 1778, the battalion of Marines sailed for England. In the Army List of 1788, though still listed as major, David Johnston was put on half-pay as captain of Marines—an indication that he was retired.

There follows the second petition of Dorcas and her daughter:

To the Right Honorable the Lords
Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury

The Petition of Dorcas Griffiths and Sarah Hinson her Daughter, Widows, late of Boston, in New England—

Most humbly sheweth

That your Lordships Petitioners are Natives of Boston and resided in that Town until His Majesty's Troops removed from thence. Their Loyalty has been ever steadfast, and by the present unnatural Rebellion their sole Property which lay in the Town of Boston is lost to them.

Your Petitioners are unwilling to plead as a Merit, (because it was their Duty as well affected to His Majesty's Person and Government, and Compassion required it) but their Attention to the Sick and Wounded Officers of the King's Army, to all of whom, as far as lay in their power, they afforded every Assistance, their House being always open for their reception can be certified by many Gentlemen of the Army now in London, which drew upon your Petitioners the ill will of the disaffected in Boston, and the Circumstances being so well known, they were obliged to quit it with the King's Forces to preserve themselves from the Fury of the Rebels, leaving all their property behind them, and were landed at Halifax, where they continued in much distress three Years, in the hope of the Rebellion being crushed, and that they might thereby be enabled to return to their Home; but at length they were with the humane Assistance of some Friends

[1] Cyril Field, *Britain's Sea-Soldiers: History of the Royal Marines* (Liverpool, 1924), 156.
[2] Gillespie, *Historical Review of the Royal Marine Corps*, 199.

enabled to come to England to implore your Lordship's benevolence and Assistance. They have now been 15 Months in London, and are in extreme distress, not having received any Allowance from your Lordships. A Memorial was laid before Your Lordships and particularly recommended by Lord George Germain soon after their Arrival, and the result of the prayer of which they have in all humility waited for in expectation of Your Lordships Compassionate Consideration of it, but they have now the Mortification to find it required a further proof of their Loyalty and Sufferings than was annexed to it.

Your Petitioners therefore presume to renew their prayer to Your Lordships for relief, and hope that the Certificates annexed to this Petition will be a sufficient Testimony of their Loyalty and Sufferings and gain them that relief Your Lordships may think them deserving of, and which their necessities most powerfully pleads for them.

And your Petitioners will ever pray

Dorcas Griffiths
Sarah Hinson

I certify that I have been informed the Petitioners humanely assisted the Sick and wounded Officers of the King's Army at Boston; which drew the Resentment of the Rebels upon them, and obliged them to leave their Country.

Portland Place
March 7th 1780

Thos Gage

I certify that the Petitioners were considered by me as loyal & good Subjects and that they quitted Boston under the protection of His Majesty's Troops, to avoid the Resentment of the Rebels with which they were threatened in consequence of their having received into their house several wounded Officers of the King's Army.

W. Howe

March 18th 1780

I hereby certify that I have been well informed that the Petitioners were obliged to leave the Town of Boston, for the Reasons set forth in the foregoing Memorial.

W. Pepperrell

Queen Ann Street West
March 22d 1780

[*Endorsement:*] Recd 31st Mar. 1780. A former Meml of the above people Read 20 July 1779, not well certified, and Minute thereon was, Do not appear to be cases within the Rule for relief.

Read 4 Augt 1780 50£ per Ann from 5th July 1779[1]

There follows the report of the Commissioners for American Claims which, two years later, led to the cutting off of this allowance. Dorcas and her daughter, it appears, came under the heading of "widows and minors

[1] A. O. 13:73.

receiving allowances who cannot be classed." Due record was made of the fact that Gage and Howe, as well as Johnston, certified the women's "loyalty and humanity."

Her Daughter appears for her. Mr. Griffiths was a Merc^{t} of Consequence, bro^{t} very little from Boston, Mother 65 years of Age, says it is but a small allowance, but appears perfectly Satisfied, no further attendance required from Mrs. Griffiths or Mrs. Hinson. Memo: There is a Treasury Minute respecting these two Cases, in these words, "Do not appear to be Cases within the Rule for Relief. 20th July 1779. 4th of August 1780. Widows late of Boston, pay them 50£ each per Ann from the 5th July 1779." Kept a Hucksters Shop (Mr. Flucker says) upon Handcocks Wharf. Johnson wounded at Bunker Hill, went to Mrs. Griffiths' House, Johnson persuaded them to go with him to Halifax. Johnson persuaded Lord Percy to Interest himself for them & he prevailed upon Lord Gage[1] & Sir Wm. Howe to give Certificates. Capt. Johnson was a Month in the House, had a Shop & good business upon Handcocks Wharf, lived very well, came away from Boston just before the evacuation. Did not receive Compensation for the Kindness they showed to Capt. Johnson. Likewise to Major Logan, & were kind to him & received no Compensation. Mr. Flucker knows both the Mother & the Daughter extreamly well. The Mother was a Common prostitute & bred up her Daughter in the same way, She was kep^{d} by the famous Handcock, & when he turned her off, she lived with Capt Johnson.

DECISION ON THE CASE OF GRIFFITH DORCAS

This Woman was in low life at Boston. She kept a little shop. She lost no property But she produced several Certificates of her Character However upon further Enquiry into her Character we found it to be such as by no means to justify Gov^{t} in giving her any Allowance in future.

Then came the decision with respect to Dorcas' daughter:

This is the Daughter of Mrs. Dorcas Griffiths, & lived at Boston with her Mother at the time the Rebellion broke out. It does not appear that she had any property of her own, or that she is in want of this provision. Ex^{d}[2]

Two years later came the third petition:

TO THE HONORABLE THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED
BY PARLIAMENT FOR ENQUIRING INTO THE LOSSES
AND SERVICES OF THE AMERICAN LOYALISTS.

The Memorial of Dorcas Griffiths (widow of the late Thomas Griffiths of Boston Merchant) and Sarah Hinson (also a widow) her daughter

humbly sheweth,

That your Memorialists are natives of Boston in New England where they enjoyed every possible comfort and happiness until the unhappy Rebellion broke

[1] William Hall Gage, 2nd Viscount Gage, brother of the General.

[2] A. O. 12:105, f. 103.

out in America; Your Memorialists were drove out of their Country for assisting His Majesty's Troops when beseiged in Boston, and on their arrival here in 1778 represented their unhappy Situation by Memorial to the Lords of the Treasury which their Lordships could not take into consideration for want of proper Certificates of the Facts therein set forth.

In 1780 Your Memorialists were enabled to remove the difficulties of their Lordships of the Treasury by having the facts represented in their Memorial in 1778 certified by General Gage, Sir Wm Howe and Sir William Pepperel (copies of whose Certificates are hereunto annexed); in consequence of their being reduced to the greatest distress occasioned by their Loyalty, as certified by the Certificates abovementioned, their Lordships of the Treasury were pleased to order annual allowances to be made to your Memorialists of fifty Pounds per annum each, which allowances were regularly paid to them to the 5th of January 1782; but to the great astonishment and inexpressible distress of your Memorialists their said allowances from that time were discontinued, owing to representations made of them by persons who must have deviated from truth and stood forth concealed Enemies, which to this hour your Memorialists are unable to discover in order to their having an opportunity of opposing their malice; the discontinuance of the Treasury allowance has brought on your Memorialists such distress as to compel them to dispose of the little Furniture they had left for the support of their existence.

Your Memorialist Dorcas Griffith at the time she was expelled her Country was in the occupation of a Shopkeeper and had gained a comfortable livelyhood from the decease of her husband to the time of her expulsion; the annual profits of her Business she is willing on Oath to declare could not be less than one hundred pounds per annum and the property she was compelled to desert she is also ready to verify on oath did amount not to less than seven hundred and fifty Pounds that is to say,

her House	£200	0	0
Furniture	150	0	0
Shop Goods	400	0	0
	£750	0	0

She was possessed besides of landed property at Casco Bay which produced forty Pounds per annum; the above to the best of her knowledge was her real loss which would support her in her native country better than two hundred pounds per annum in England.

Your Memorialists Therefore prays that their Case may be taken into your consideration in order that your Memorialists may be enabled, under your Report, to receive such aid or relief as Their Losses and Services may be found to deserve.

Dorcas Griffiths
Sarah Hinson

Chelsea
Queen's Street No. 15
[*Endorsed:*] R. 27 Jany 1784.

Read February 26[1]

[1] A. O. 13:73.

The following new testimony was recorded by the Commissioners:

Brompton row July 7th 1784. The Bearer Mrs. Dorcas Griffiths having requested a Certificate of my knowing her Situation and Circumstances in Boston previous to the American war. I hereby certify that she kept a Grocery and Tea shop there, and I believe did business enº to support her in credit and reputation, that the House she lived in was supposed to be, and I believe belonged to her, and that she frequently bought articles in the Grocery way of me, all of which were paid for in time and with honor.

A. SAVAGE *late Comptroler of the Customs at Falmouth, and D Servt at Boston*

These are to certify that Mrs. Dorcas Griffiths was known to me some years since in Boston having lived in the same Neighbourhood with her, where she occupied a house reputed to be her Mother's, who was then living, part of which house was a Shop, in which Mrs. Griffiths sold Groceries and other articles, and thereby to all appearance supported herself reputably.

JOSEPH DOMETT[1]

Nº 17 Devonshire Street
Queen Square Bloomsbury
July 13th 1784

The final report of the Commissioners is as follows:

Hinson, Mrs.
24th June, 1784

She attends for her Mother and herself. Her Case and Mrs Griffiths were heard in the latter End of the year 1782, before Mr Wilmot & Mr Coke who reported them not to be Objects of the Bounty of Government.

Before no particular Account of the Property was stated. They kept a shop on Hancock's Wharf. The House belonged to Mrs Griffiths & was valued at £200 & the Furniture worth £150 & Shop Goods worth £400. They were likewise possessed of a Landed Property at Casco Bay which [rented] for £40 a Year—they had received this Rent for 3 or 4 Years it was her Grandmother's. The Shop Goods consisted chiefly of Linen Drapery.

There are several Certificates to Loyalty from many very respectable Gentlemen but there are none to Property.

Mrs. Hinson is desired to produce Certificates to the Property both on Hancock's Wharf & in the Neighbourhood of Casco Bay.

They left Boston at the Evacuation. There was no trade at that time which was the reason of the Shop being so full of Goods.

She says that her Mother & herself are now in want of present Support.

When the Certificates are sent in to the Property on Casco Bay & the House, no further Certificates or Attendance required.

[1] There are biographical sketches of Arthur Savage and Joseph Domett in E. Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts* (London, 1930).

16 Septr 1784

Produces a Certificate from Mr Joseph Domet that Mrs Griffiths occupied a House at Boston reputed to be her Mothers & that she kept a Grocer's Shop. Certificate also from Mr A. Savage that he believes the said House belonged to Mrs Griffiths, and that she did Business in the Grocery way enough to support her in credit and Reputation.

Decision

This Case was heard by Mr Wilmot & Mr Coke towards the latter End of the Year 1782 when Mrs Griffiths and Mrs Hinson stood upon the List with separate allowances of £50 a Year each which those Gentlemen recommended to be discontinued not at that time stating (or wishing to state) very particularly those Reasons which induced them to make such a Report.

But the Case being sent again by the Lords of the Treasury to be reconsidered, it becomes more necessary to hint at those Reasons which induce us to concur in the same Report. In the first Instance no particular property was stated to those Gentlemen & they did not press it because we understand that they decided upon another Ground. The History of Mrs Griffiths & Mrs Hinson was given to those Gentlemen by one of the most respectable Gentlemen of the Province (who is now dead) in a confidential Conversation who convinced them that they were not proper Objects of the Bounty of Government.

In our Opinion Mrs Hinson the Daughter stands in a Situation to deserve the Compassion & perhaps the Bounty of Government if she wanted it. But we are relieved from the unpleasant task of discriminating between the two Cases by a Letter which we have lately received from Mrs Griffiths pressing us to recommend some Allowance to her & adding that Mrs Hinson was not in want of it at present.

On the Ground of Property we have great Reason to think that we have been deceived at least with Respect to that Property at Casco Bay. But we repeat again that that is not alone the Ground upon which we have decided this Case. If the Lords of the Treasury wish to know all the Circumstances of this Case we shall be ready at any time to communicate them to their Lordships which we should prefer to giving them upon Paper.

If they wished to return to America we conceive that [the] Women can have done nothing to prevent it. But whether they remain in this Country or not under all the Circumstances of the Case we do not think it proper to recommend any Allowance to Mrs Griffiths & Mrs Hinson does not want it.[1]

[1] A. O. 12:100, f. 323.

February Meeting, 1938

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. HERMANN F. CLARKE, at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 24, 1938, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Vice-President MATT BUSHNELL JONES in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary reported the death on January 18, 1938, of FRANCIS RUSSELL HART, a Resident Member.

Mr. CURTIS P. NETTELS read the following paper:

The American Merchant and the Constitution

A REVIEW of the careers of the outstanding American merchants during the 1780's shows that for every one of their number who opposed the Constitution there were eighteen who supported it.[1] Unfortunately, not many of the merchants have left systematic statements of their positions on the economic issues which faced the country in that

[1] In preparing this paper I compiled, from readily accessible printed materials, a list of merchants active in the 1780's. The careers of such merchants were then examined in order to determine the views of each respecting the Constitution.

The present study is not intended to be definitive, but it is believed that a large enough sample has been considered to yield valid conclusions. The records examined disclosed that fifty-three merchants, at least, expressed views on the Constitution. Only three men in this group opposed it: Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, John Lamb of New York, and Charles Pettit of Pennsylvania. Among the fifty who supported the movement for strengthening the general government, twenty-four lived in Massachusetts: Jonathan Austin, Joseph Barrell, Samuel Barret, James Bowdoin, Samuel Breck, George Cabot, Caleb Davis, Stephen Higginson, Nathaniel Gorham, William Gray, Jonathan Jackson, Charles Jarvis, John C. Jones, Jonathan Mason, Perez Morton, Samuel A. Otis, Edward Payne, William Phillips, Joseph Russell, Thomas Russell, Isaac Smith, James Swan, and William Tudor. At critical points John Hancock acted with the majority of his fellow merchants. Among the pro-Constitution merchants of Pennsylvania were Charles Biddle, William Bingham, George Clymer, Tench Coxe, Thomas Fitzsimons Isaac Hazelhurst, Samuel Howell, Mordecai Lewis, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, John M. Nesbit, John Ross, Pelatiah Webster, Richard Wells, John Wilcox, and Thomas Willing. The names of four Rhode Island merchants appear on the list: John Brown, Moses Brown, Nicholas Brown, and Samuel Ward. Connecticut was represented by Roger Sherman and Benjamin Trumbull; New Hampshire, by John Langdon; South Carolina,

decade. That group as a whole were not given to theorizing.[1] They seem to have been in general agreement as to the economic benefits which they expected from a stronger central government; the task before them was that of creating the political forms which would realize their economic objectives. For this reason, political problems overshadowed economic issues in the debates of the decade, thus giving the impression that economic factors were of secondary importance—a conclusion that does not necessarily follow.

Pelatiah Webster, the Philadelphia merchant, did, however, write systematically of currency, credit, and taxation as parts of the federal problem between 1776 and 1790.[2] From fragmentary evidence pertaining to the merchants as a whole one may conclude that Webster's views in large measure represented their theories and their program. Two other considerations support such a view. Webster's ideas with respect to taxation and finance were very similar to those incorporated in the Constitution. Furthermore, one can scarcely imagine that a large majority of the merchants would have supported the Constitution had they been hostile toward its economic features.

In order to appreciate the importance of Webster's economic theory one must keep in mind the familiar clauses of the Constitution with reference to money and credit. It will be recalled that the Constitution conferred

by Christopher Gadsden; North Carolina, by Hugh Williamson; Maryland, by James McHenry. In the preparation of these lists the following works have been particularly useful: Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York, 1935), Chapter 5; Norman S. B. Gras, *The Massachusetts First National Bank of Boston, 1784–1934* (Cambridge, 1937); Robert A. East, "The Massachusetts Conservatives in the Critical Period," *The Era of the American Revolution. Studies Inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene*, Richard B. Morris, Editor (New York, 1939); and the *Dictionary of American Biography*. In the April, 1787, number of the *American Museum* (Philadelphia) are petitions in favor of a stronger central government signed by merchants of Philadelphia (313–314) and by merchants of Boston (320–322).

[1] "The men of that age [1750–1825], while striking out for themselves a new path in a new country, never fell into the mistake of abandoning practice in favor of theory. . . . If from lack of imagination they went too far in their contempt for theory, at least they understood what they meant. . . ." Henry Cabot Lodge, *Life and Letters of George Cabot* (Boston, 1878), 10.

[2] Born in Lebanon, Connecticut, November 24, 1726, Webster studied theology after his graduation from Yale in 1746. Between 1749 and 1755 he was pastor at Greenwich, Massachusetts, a post which he left to become a merchant at Philadelphia. During the Revolution he supported the American cause and suffered considerably at the hands of the British. He died on September 2, 1795. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX. 597. Webster's most famous essay, *A Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the United States of North America* (1783) led Hannis Taylor to regard Webster as the father of the Constitution and to petition Congress for national recognition of his work. See Hannis Taylor, *A Memorial in Behalf of the Architect of Our Federal Constitution* (Washington, 1908). Taylor's exaggerated claims were refuted by Gaillard Hunt in the *Nation*, December 28, 1911.

upon Congress the exclusive right to coin money and to regulate its value. At the same time it deprived the states of the power to issue bills of credit and did not expressly confer such a right upon the federal government, although the right might be inferred for the latter from the power of Congress to make effective the delegated power of borrowing money.[1] The states were forbidden to make anything but gold and silver coin legal tender in payment of debts, nor could they enact any laws impairing the obligation of contracts.[2] Thus the Constitution denied the state governments control over money, credit, and debt modification except in so far as a state could charter private banks. If a state did charter a bank, the issuance of paper currency (bank notes) was placed in the hands of private persons, subject to the rule that such notes could not be made legal tender—a protection to creditors against the abuse of the privilege. The inferred power of Congress to issue bills of credit might have been used to establish a public scheme of credit control; on the other hand, the power of Congress to charter a national bank could also be inferred, in which case control over credit might be lodged in the hands of the private citizens who composed the bank. In short, with reference to the creating and the supplying of credit the Constitution forbade the states, as such, to act; it did not specifically authorize Congress to act; it permitted the states to charter private banks; and, by inference, it permitted Congress to charter such a private bank. The power of Congress to tax and the constitutional duty imposed upon it of paying the national debt also had a very important bearing upon the monetary and credit structure as appears clearly in the writings of Pelatiah Webster.

In 1776 Webster began his discussion of finance in "An Essay on the Danger of Too Much Circulating Cash." This was followed by his seven elaborate essays on free trade and finance, published between July, 1779, and January, 1785. In December, 1780, appeared his strictures on a Pennsylvania Legal Tender Act, followed in January, 1781, by his plan for a national superintendency of finance. In 1783 came his memorable dissertation on the need of a stronger federal government. Three years later, in February, 1786, he published his very important essay on credit. In 1787 he wrote in defense of the Constitution; and in 1790 he concluded the series with a plea in behalf of the public creditors.[3] In these and

[1] Article 1, Sections 8, 10. [2] Article 1, Section 10.

[3] Webster originally presented his argument in the form of articles or pamphlets signed "Citizen of Philadelphia." His articles were collected and printed in 1791 as a volume entitled *Political Essays*. The most important papers, for this study, are: 1. "An Essay on the Danger of Too Much Circulating Cash" (October 5, 1776)—a plea for financing the war by means of taxes rather than issues of paper currency. 2. "An Essay on Free Trade and Finance" (July, 1779)—an attack upon statutory price-fixing and other legal

other papers he expounded the monetary, business, and legal theories that have been asserted ever since by the Federalist-Whig-conservative-Republican element in American society.

Webster's primary interest was focused upon the currency problem. Everyone knows, he wrote in 1783, "what *a spring, what vigor*" money

gives to every kind of business in the country, whether of husbandry, mechanic arts or trade. There is no comparison between the advantages of carrying on any sort of business in a country where *cash circulates freely*, and in a country where cash is *scarce*. In the one case, every kind of business will *flourish*, and industry has

restraints on trade. 3. "Second Essay on Free Trade and Finance" (August, 1779), in which he proposed to prevent the increase of paper money by means of tax levies designed to raise enough money for new war expenditures. He proposed to leave the existing paper in circulation to pass at the rate of twenty paper dollars to one silver dollar. 4. "Third Essay on Free Trade and Finance" (January 8, 1780). The argument resembles that of the "Second Essay." Foreign loans should be made only for the purpose of procuring the means of paying the interest on the money borrowed within the United States. Webster again opposed price-fixing. He suggested in this essay the establishment of a federal office of Superintendent of Finance. 5. "Fourth Essay on Free Trade and Finance" (February 10, 1780)—a plan for stabilizing the paper currency, in which Webster opposed either an increase or a decrease in the quantity of paper in circulation. He favored taxation as a means of preventing such increase. 6. "Fifth Essay on Free Trade and Finance" (March 30, 1780)—a criticism of paper currency on the ground that it imposed an unjust levy upon wealth, and another plea for taxation as the proper means of financing the war. 7. "Strictures on the Tender-Acts" (December 13, 1780)—a very strong statement against legal tender paper currency, inspired by an act of Pennsylvania of December, 1780. 8. "An Essay to Examine the True Interest of Pennsylvania with Respect to Paper Currency" (December 13, 1780)—another plea for taxation in preference to more issues of paper currency. 9. "An Essay on the Economy of the Thirteen States" (January, 1781), in which Webster again insisted that taxation was necessary in order to restore the currency. 10. "Dissertation on a Financier-General" (January 24, 1781), in which Webster presented his plan for a superintendency of finance. 11. "A Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the United States of North America" (1780)—Webster's famous plan for a strong central government endowed with independent taxing power as a means of raising assured revenues in order to pay the public debt and avoid the issuance of paper currency. 12. "Sixth Essay on Free Trade and Finance" (March 24, 1783)—an argument for a federal tax on imports as a means of raising money to support the public credit. 13. "Seventh Essay on Free Trade and Finance" (January 10, 1785)—a protest against further issues of paper currency and a plea for payment of the public debt, with safeguards against the enriching of speculators in federal certificates of indebtedness. 14. "Essay on Credit" (February 10, 1786)—an analysis of credit and a defense of the Bank of North America. 15. "A Plea for the Poor Soldiers and Other Public Creditors" (January 2, 1790). 16. "A Review of the Principles and Arguments of the Seventh Essay and of the Plea for the Poor Soldiers" (December 20, 1790). In these last two pamphlets Webster proposed to pay original creditors in full and to pay speculators an average market price of depreciated certificates of indebtedness. Two other essays by Webster are "Remarks on the Address of the Sixteen Members of the Assembly of Pennsylvania to their Constituents" (Philadelphia, 1787); and "The Weakness of Brutus Exposed" (Philadelphia, 1787), reprinted in *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States*, Paul L. Ford, Editor (Brooklyn, 1888). Both essays defend the Federal Constitution of 1787.

every sort of *encouragement* and motive for exertion; in the other all business must be sadly *embarrassed*, and of course make but a feeble and slow progress.[1]

But the currency must also have a stable value. Money, he wrote in 1779, "becomes a sort of *common measure of the value of all articles of trade*; and therefore I should conceive it would be as dangerous to adopt any measures which would alter its value and render it fluctuating, as to alter the *standard weights* and *measures*. . . . "[2] A depreciating currency is "a dangerous article to keep on hand: it is like perishable goods, which are lost in the keeping."[3] Again: "Money in a state is like salt in cookery; some of it is very necessary, but too much of it spoils every dish, and renders the whole dinner unsavory to the taste, and hurtful to the health."[4]

In all his essays Webster assumed that a single, uniform paper currency of national circulation was indispensable. It would eliminate all the exchange difficulties that attended thirteen separate state currencies, each of different value. A stable paper currency would even have advantages over metallic money in that "it is sooner counted, and more easily conveyed."[5] But paper currency issued by the general government was not in effect money; Webster believed instead that such paper was only an instrument of credit—a promise of the government to pay the holders of its bills a stated sum in actual money. Since such paper "has no real fixed value in itself, it is necessary that it *should be connected, tied, or fastened firmly to something that is fixed*. . . . Such a fixed medium is hard money, the value of which cannot vary much from its value in *Europe*, and therefore its permanency may be safely depended on."[6] "And I think farther, it is very manifest that we must have a *promiscuous circulation* of both *hard money* and *paper*, in order to keep the *exchange of them equal*."[7]

If paper currency lacked intrinsic worth, what conditions were necessary in order to establish and maintain its value? The idea is implicit in all Webster's writings that such value depended upon the quantity of the paper in circulation and the supply of commodities available for trade.[8] Should the quantity and circulation of money increase without a corresponding increase in the supply of goods, the currency would depreciate; if the supply of money were increased while the supply of goods was decreased, depreciation would be doubly rapid.[9]

Of the effects of depreciation Webster noted, first, that it acted as a a tax—and not uniformly on all the people, but with particular severity upon the possessors of money and upon all who had investments in mort-

[1] *Political Essays*, 235–236. [2] *Id.*, 32. [3] *Id.*, 61. [4] *Id.*, 37.
[5] *Id.*, 144, 150. [6] *Id.*, 84. [7] *Id.*, 114. [8] *Id.*, 86, 104, 139, 140, 285.
[9] *Id.*, 14, 18, 115, 117, 141, 157.

gages, bonds, and book-debts. If the supply of money were doubled, he argued, the value of the dollar would be cut in two, thus effecting a capital levy of 50 per cent on the moneyed and investing classes.[1] Depreciation appeared monstrous to him because it "brings the burden beyond due proportion, on the most *virtuous and useful* of our people, such as by prudence and economy have made money and got a good command of cash . . . and at the same time operates in favor of the most *worthless men* amongst us, the *dissipating*, *slack*, *lazy* and *dilatory* sort, who commonly keep themselves in debt, and live on the fortunes of others."[2]

So also depreciation affected the relationship between the buyer (or merchant) and the seller of produce (or farmer). According to statistics cited by Webster, the price of country produce rose more rapidly during the Revolutionary War than did the price of imported goods.[3] The abundance of currency in circulation enlarged the supply of cash in the hands of the sellers inasmuch as their payments on account of taxes, interest, and purchases of imports did not increase in proportion to the increased supply of money they obtained through high prices for produce. Consequently, the sellers of produce, not hard pressed for money for taxes and interest, could hold back their produce until they could get high prices.[4]

On the other hand, the merchant who had to pay such high prices did not benefit. Unlike the farmer (who might keep his produce on hand without extra storage costs or grave risk of the deterioration of products), the merchant could not afford to hoard the produce he purchased, for if he did so it became a dead weight on his hands. "Goods which cannot be sold, are as useless in the hands of the merchant, as money which cannot be circulated."[5] The merchant's necessity of selling goods therefore quickly tended to keep down his price. "Let a man who is under necessity of selling an article, apply to one to purchase, who is under no necessity of buying, he must take what is offered."[6] And when the merchant received payment in a depreciating currency, he dared not keep that on hand lest it waste away "in the desk." Nor did he dare invest it in mortgages that might be destroyed by depreciation. Hence he had to put his money quickly into goods. This made money active and kept up the price of everything he bought. Currency depreciation thus compelled the merchant to buy at high prices and to sell quickly without being able to add both the increased price and the customary charge for profit. His nominal profits increased, but his real profits decreased.[7]

Considering Webster's attitude toward currency depreciation, one can understand why he devoted much thought to the means of avoiding it.

[1] *Id.*, 6, 8, 27–32. [2] *Id.*, 31. [3] *Id.*, 17. [4] *Id.*, 123. [5] *Id.*, 16.
[6] *Id.*, 62. [7] *Id.*, 2–3, 60–62.

First of all, he condemned efforts to maintain currency values by means of price-fixing and legal tender acts. Assuming that, without legal restraints, buyers and sellers would compete freely, he argued that when all persons were seeking profit in trade, they would buy and sell as much as possible, thus bringing a maximum quantity of goods of the best quality to the market. If a scarcity occurred, the rise in prices stimulated producers and traders to supply the scarce article, thereby converting scarcity into plenty. Should a scarcity persist, then high prices preserved the existing stock against waste, thus tending to ward off "high distress and want" till larger supplies arrived. When, however, sellers were ordered to part with their goods at unduly low prices in paper currency, they would either take high prices secretly or hoard their goods. Hoarding aggravated the scarcity, retarded production, and forced a resort to barter which lessened the demand for and the circulation of the currency. Such a result depreciated further the value of the currency and threatened to destroy it altogether—just the opposite effect intended by the price-fixers.[1]

To legal tender paper currency Webster objected, not only because it defrauded creditors by compelling them to receive a lesser value than they had given, but also because it retarded future investments. "Who can lend money with any security," he asked, "and of course who can borrow, let his necessity and distress be ever so great? who can purchase on credit, or make any contract for future payment? in very deed all confidence of our fellow-citizens in one another is hereby destroyed, as well as all faith of individuals in the public credit."[2] In line with this attitude Webster argued strongly against making the Continental currency legal tender, and when depreciation was acute in 1780, he urged that all past debts be paid in a specie value equivalent to that of the original loan.[3] Replying in 1787 to the criticism that the Constitution contained no Bill of Rights, he said: "The Constitution contains a declaration of many rights, and very important ones, *e.g.* that people shall be obliged to *fulfill their contracts*, and *not avoid* them by *tenders* of any thing less than the value stipulated."[4]

In the years before 1781, when Webster assumed that the Continental bills of credit would continue to form the national currency, he was intent upon finding some means of keeping their quantity fixed and their value stable. Such a purpose naturally required a method of war finance other than that of a continual increase in the supply of paper currency. One method which he rejected was that of long-term borrowings in Europe for war expenditure. He estimated that, due to the low credit of the United States and to prevailing rates of foreign exchange, the government would

[1] *Political Essays*, 9–16, 60, 66, 153, 157, 237. [2] *Id.*, 138. [3] *Id.*, 84–85, 149. [4] *Id.*, 407.

receive only eighty dollars in specie for every hundred dollars of debt it incurred, and he also objected to paying the yearly 5 per cent interest charge to foreigners.[1] Furthermore, borrowing abroad increased the supply of money at home, thus inducing the very depreciation he sought to avoid.[2] In addition, he believed that it was "as necessary that we preserve ourselves independent of *France*, *Spain*, and *Holland* as of England." The nation, he wrote, which "is in debt to a superior power, cannot be free and independent, but is ever liable to demands the most insulting and inconsistent with freedom and safety."[3] Finally, if money must be raised on loan, let it be borrowed at home. "If interest of hard money . . . must be paid, I think it better that our own people should have it than strangers, that the yearly profits of the loan should lie among ourselves, and not go out of the country, never to return."[4]

During the war Webster urged taxation as the best means of preventing new issues of paper money and thus of keeping its quantity and value fixed. If new issues were not made, the bills already in circulation would soon reach a natural exchange level with specie, and this exchange rate should be legalized for all payments.[5] Thus if paper should adjust itself to specie at the rate of 20 to 1, an obligation of one dollar in specie could be met with twenty paper dollars.[6] He offered various arguments in favor of this plan. A tax (whether poll, property, excise, or impost) would, he said, bear upon all the people, whereas a depreciating currency penalized one class—the investors and the possessors of money.[7] Furthermore, if the sellers of produce (or farmers) were obliged to pay each year a large tax with paper money, they would not possess a surplus of cash. Needing money for taxes, they would not be able to withhold their produce from the market; they would have to sell in order to get tax money, and sell at prices not detrimental to buyers.[8]

The need of taxation as a means of stopping the increase of paper currency first prompted Webster to demand a stronger central government. In March, 1780, he wrote:

> *No plan of taxation*, or any thing else, can be of *any good effect*, if there is not *some method adopted* to bring all the States into *an union and punctuality of execution*. The least company of men, who have a common concern . . . find it absolutely and essentially necessary to have some way *to compel their partners* into a punctual *discharge of their quotas*. . . . If one State *hangs back*, another will, and the best concerted *plan* possible may be rendered ineffectual by *delays and defects* in the execution.
>
> It is essential to the very being of any independent community, that it has in it

[1] *Id.*, 257. [2] *Id.*, 40–41. [3] *Id.*, 63. [4] *Id.*, 64. [5] *Id.*, 105.
[6] *Id.*, 46–47. [7] *Id.*, 7–8, 27, 49, 145. [8] *Id.*, 60–61.

all the powers necessary for its *own preservation*. These powers doubtless *exist* in the Thirteen States. . . . And . . . I suppose they must be *vested in the Congress*. . . . But if it is thought that these powers are not sufficiently *explicit and declared* . . . it is necessary that this *declaration* should be made *without delay*. . . .[1]

As to a federal tax program, Webster favored levies on imported goods (excepting raw materials) and internal taxes to be apportioned among the states according to "*the number of living souls* or *human persons* of whatever age, sex or condition. . . ."[2]

The disappearance of the Continental currency and the cessation of war expenditures did not solve the problem of currency and taxation. There remained the task of paying the public debt, a subject which engaged Webster's thought during the 1780's. In this connection he insisted that the debt should be paid in full, but not by means of foreign loans or government issues of paper currency. "A total discharge of the principal at once, if sufficient money could be obtained, would make such a *sudden, so vast an addition* to our circulating cash, as would depreciate it, and reduce the value of the debt paid, much below its worth at the time of contract, and introduce a *fluctuation* of our markets, and other *fatal evils* of a depreciated currency. . . ."[3] The debt must, therefore, be paid, argued Webster, out of tax revenues. But since the debt in 1783 amounted to $40,000,000, he admitted that the principal could not be at once paid from taxes; hence he favored a funding scheme that would not at the outset reduce the principal, but would merely provide a yearly interest to the public creditors. "It would . . . be much better," he wrote, "for the creditor to receive a certain, *well-funded security* of his debt than *full payment*: for in that case, if he needed cash for his debt, he might sell his security at *little* or *no discount*, which is the constant practice of the public creditors in *England*, where every kind of *public security* has *its rate of exchange* settled every day, and may be negotiated in a very short time."[4]

Since Webster estimated the interest charge against the government for servicing the debt at $2,000,000 a year, he had to consider carefully the kind of tax to be levied.[5] He decided in favor of import duties and spoke eloquently of an impost on luxuries which would touch the pockets of the rich.[6] Such an impost must be a national tax that "would in no case be subject to their [the states'] *repeals* or *modifications*," thus guaranteeing that "the public credit would never be dependent on, or liable to bankruptcy by the *humours* of any particular Assembly."[7] In the *Dissertation* of 1783 he even proposed, as a constitutional provision, that "such acts [of Con-

[1] *Political Essays*, 126–127. [2] *Id.*, 207. [3] *Id.*, 243. [4] *Id.*, 243. [5] *Id.*, 258.
[6] *Id.*, 152–157, 231–241, 244–245, 247, 258–268, 272–273, 291. [7] *Id.*, 203.

gress] as *create funds for the public credit* . . . shall never be repealed till their end is effected, or other funds equally effectual are substituted in their places. . . ."[1]

Webster further proposed that Congress should redeem the outstanding certificates in specie at their face value. He also favored paying the full face value in specie only to the original holders of such securities.[2] If the certificates had changed hands, the original lender should receive the full value, less what he had received when he had sold them. Speculators who had purchased the certificates should not receive more than they had paid to procure them.[3]

After 1783 Webster turned against issues of paper currency by Congress as the means of supplying the country's monetary needs. He denounced state issues even more emphatically. He now favored the policy of private control of credit through the agency of a single private bank of national scope. Such a bank should be owned and controlled by the merchant-capitalists on the assumption that public bodies did not have sufficient knowledge of finance properly to regulate the currency. He estimated that the supply of paper currency in the states could be two or three times more than the supply of coin without running the danger of depreciation. A paper currency totaling $10,000,000 (specie value) was all the country needed. The bank should issue notes redeemable in coin, but if such notes were used as tax money, and if the government employed the bank as its fiscal agent, people would not ordinarily demand coin for notes, and the bank might even expand credit further through loans to its clients, who would receive money as a deposit and withdraw it by check.[4] "*The force and energy of credit*," he declared, "*perfectly well established and permanent, is vast almost beyond conception*; it is found by experience to supply the place of cash, and much better than cash, in almost all transactions, except in small expenses, where small change is necessary, such as travelling expenses, market-money, &c."[5]

Of the advantages of a bank Webster had much to say. "*The bank gains all the lost paper*, i.e. *all such bank-bills as are lost* (*where the loss cannot be proved*) *and, of course, can never be brought to the bank for redemption or payment*."[6] Such an institution would also expose debased or depreciated currency, thus protecting its clients who might otherwise accept such currency at a loss.[7] In addition, the bank would give men of wealth great political influence. "Our bank is a sort of mercantile institution, and the influence of merchants is the safest of any that can affect a government."[8] Further-

[1] *Id.*, 224. [2] *Id.*, 274, 277, 279, 282, 291. [3] *Id.*, 347, 349, 354.
[4] *Id.*, 45, 85, 160, 435, 436, 439. [5] *Id.*, 435–436. [6] *Id.*, 435. [7] *Id.*, 436.
[8] *Id.*, 443.

more, bank stock offered an ideal form of long-term investment. "It affords a much better security than can be found in the hands of any private man, and the half-yearly dividends are more than equal to any profit that can be derived from them when put to interest on mortgage, and the punctuality of payment better secured, and the trouble of collection much less."[1]

Webster assumed that a national bank should be a monopoly. He told with approval an episode in connection with the Bank of North America. A group of investors, jealous of the profits made by that bank, threatened to organize a competing institution. But the directors, convinced that competition would be destructive, persuaded their rivals to join the bank, "so that the difficulty was got over."[2]

The occasion for Webster's memorable essay on credit (February 10, 1786) was an attack on the Bank of North America made by the paper money party of Pennsylvania, then in control of the state legislature. Webster noted that, although Congress had chartered the bank on December 31, 1781, investors had hesitated to put money in an institution which had only the dubious authority of Congress behind it. Consequently, the promoters had secured a charter from the state of Pennsylvania on April 1, 1782. Realizing that state bills of credit were inconsistent with the Bank of North America, the paper money party succeeded (September 13, 1785) in having the legislature repeal the act which granted the Pennsylvania charter.[3] In closing his essay on credit, Webster presented a remarkable defense of the bank on constitutional grounds. He justified it as a federal institution by a broad construction of the powers of Congress under the Articles of Confederation. As to the state charter, he insisted that it had created a vested property right which the constitution of Pennsylvania protected. The charter as a contract could be annulled only by mutual consent of the two parties or by proof in a court of law that the contractors had violated their trust. Thus in 1786 Webster expounded the doctrines of vested property rights, of the sanctity of contracts, of the supremacy of the Constitution over the legislature, of judicial review of state legislation, and of due process of law.[4]

It is evident that the fundamental ideas of Pelatiah Webster pertaining to currency, credit, taxation, and the public debt were also those of his fellow merchants of the 1780's. It is likewise evident that most of these ideas found lodgment in the Constitution. By restraining the states from issuing bills of credit the Constitution opened the way to the issuance by banks, whether chartered by the states or by Congress, of currency that was not legal tender. It is true that the powers of Congress might have

[1] *Political Essays*, 436; see also 422. [2] *Id.*, 447–448. [3] *Id.*, 448–449, 453, 454.
[4] *Id.*, 451, 456–458.

been construed so as to authorize the issuance of a national, public paper currency as well as to justify the establishment of a private national bank. That Congress chartered such a bank in 1791 and that Congress did not authorize the issue of legal tender bills of credit until the Civil War suggests again the early influence of the merchant class.

Mr. Joseph H. Beale read a paper entitled "A Lawyer's View of the Mayflower Compact."

April Meeting, 1938

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of the Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT, at the Signet Club, No. 46 Dunster Street, Cambridge, on Thursday, April 21, 1938, at half after eight o'clock in the evening, Vice-President MATT BUSHNELL JONES in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The chair reported the death on February 27, 1938, of CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH, a Resident Member.

Mr. CHARLES HENRY TAYLOR of Boston was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Dr. REGINALD FITZ and Messrs. STEWART MITCHELL and PHILIP PUTNAM CHASE.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER and HENRY LEE SHATTUCK.

The Society adopted the following resolution:

Francis Russell Hart

THE Colonial Society of Massachusetts suffered a severe loss in the death on January 18, 1938, of Francis Russell Hart.

He was born by the sea in New Bedford, and for most of his life he was connected with and influenced by the sea. He was a large man, physically and mentally, and his outstanding characteristics of gentleness and simplicity were those of a large man. Upon graduating from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1889, he began the practice of his profession of engineer at Cartagena on the coast of Colombia, South America, at one of the mouths of the Magdalena River, whence he accomplished the difficult task of railroad building into the interior. This marked his first acquaintance with the Caribbean countries, with which he was to be connected for most of his life. This engineering experience led to his intimate knowledge of the Spanish Main and West Indian waters which compelled his interest and led him to write *Admirals of the Carib-*

bean (Boston, 1922), *The Disaster of Darien* (Boston, 1929), and *The Siege of Havana*, 1762 (Boston, 1931).

Finally settling in Boston, he became Treasurer of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and placed the finances of that notable institution upon a sound, adequate, and expanding basis. He left his imprint upon the financial history of Boston by becoming associated with one of its largest and most successful banking institutions. Shortly before his death he was elected President of the United Fruit Company.

His interest in the Colonial Society of Massachusetts never flagged, and he was a generous friend of many good causes. He was absolutely unspoiled by his varied successes in life, and his friends, who were legion, always found him charming, helpful, and sincere.

Resolved: that this tribute be spread upon the records of the Society and that a copy be sent to Mrs. Hart.

Mr. Henry J. Cadbury read the following paper:

Quaker Relief during the Siege of Boston

NONPARTISAN war relief for civilians carried on by the Society of Friends in recent years, first in northern France, Serbia, and Russia, then in Germany and Austria, and most lately in both Nationalist and Loyalist Spain, is widely known and understood. But not even the Quakers themselves are aware of how exact precedents their history contains for such expressions of their pacifism in wartime. One of these examples, having to do with Revolutionary Massachusetts, has sufficient interest to deserve fuller record than it has yet received.

The sources are unusually full and clear. The executive bodies of two of the larger units of American Quakerism were involved: in New England, the Committee (later called the Meeting) for Sufferings of New England Yearly Meeting; in Pennsylvania, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The correspondence between them is entered in full in the manuscript minute books of each of these bodies.[1] In the Philadelphia Quaker archives are to be found, further, not only the originals of the letters received and the rough drafts of letters sent, making a third set of the official correspondence, but a very full, detailed account of the three thousand families ministered to.[2] Furthermore, per-

[1] The minute books of the New England Committee are among the Friends records preserved at the Moses Brown School, Providence; those of the Philadelphia Meeting are at the Friends Record Room, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

[2] Papers of the Meeting for Sufferings, Box 14 (1774–1778). A valuable history, "The

sonal correspondence of those most active among both the contributors and the distributors is available: for John Pemberton and his brothers, in the Pemberton Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and for Moses Brown of Providence, in the Moses Brown Papers at the Rhode Island Historical Society.

* * * *

The shadow of the Revolutionary War fell upon the Society of Friends long before the actual outbreak of hostilities. The dispute between Parliament and the colonies was carried on in a way that Quakers early anticipated could end only in irreconcilability and fighting. As long-established pacifists they were convinced that war was inconsistent with Christianity, and they deplored every step toward war taken on either side. Like their fellow citizens, they were doubtless divided in their sympathies as to the rights of the case. Their law-abiding instinct tended to brand as usurpation the illegal proceedings of the revolutionary party. At the same time their freedom-loving instinct made them chafe at the loss of civil liberties. Through years of passive resistance in the previous century they had learned to rely for relief on outwearying their opposers by patience and forbearance. The results had seemed to justify their method. Now, therefore, they attempted the extremely difficult task of remaining neutral as far as military measures were concerned, aiming to keep themselves free from implication of military assistance on either side.

There were, of course, members of the Society of Friends who could not resist the pressure of circumstances about them and who, whether because of self-interest, outside coercion, or inner fervor of loyalty either to the mother country or to the cause of freedom, did not follow the difficult path of the nonbelligerent. The official position—generally misunderstood on both sides—was, of course, weakened by these backsliders. In their care for these, in their attempt to remain firm in their chosen course, in the many difficult problems of consistent extension of pacifism to new situations, the leaders of the Quakers had plenty to occupy their attention—not to mention the wartime economic difficulties which they shared with all their neighbors. In addition it may be noted that it was just in these years of outward stress that they were bringing to a conclusion that long campaign of education and appeal to conscience by which they finally completely purified their membership of the holding of slaves.

Society of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey from 1764 to 1782," was started in *The Friend*, September 12, 1846 (XIX. 404), using largely the official records. But after many instalments it stopped abruptly, unfinished, in the issue of July 10, 1847 (XX. 333), when it had reached a date early in 1775. Consequently only a few of the records here cited were included.

It would have been natural if these difficulties had seemed sufficient to excuse them from participation in general services of public relief. Inevitably their own position, so acute and hard to carry through, preoccupied their minds. They were able, however, to feel anxiety for and sympathy with their fellow members elsewhere on this continent: anxiety for their faithfulness to Quaker principles, and sympathy with their sufferings. Furthermore, as the Anglo-American Quaker correspondence of the period shows, at the outset of the troubles and all through the war they could count on the solicitude and most cordial support of the large and influential body of Friends in Great Britain who up to the last moment were concerned for a just and peaceful settlement of affairs between that country and the colonies.

The retaliatory measures of the British ministry after the Boston Tea Party were easily understood in their intention to ruin that town's commerce. The seriousness of the Boston Port Bill, signed March 31, 1774, to go into effect on June 1, was appreciated everywhere. In the latter month the Boston Overseers of the Poor were designated to receive the donations that might come in for relief purposes, and in July they were, at their own request, succeeded by a committee of twenty-six which included John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Rowe, Dr. Joseph Warren, and Josiah Quincy. The correspondence of that committee shows the extent and earnestness of the concern for the actual physical sustenance of the beleaguered town.[1]

The eyes of Quakerdom also were concentrated on New England, at first upon its own members there. The London Yearly Meeting, writing in July, 1774, to Philadelphia, while expressing their assurance that Friends there would be loyal to their peaceable principles, added: "We cannot forbear looking around through the flock and family professing in some parts of America with a degree of anxious concern that none be led aside to their own hurt and grief of their brethren by yielding to that unsettling restless spirit."[2] A few months later (November 4) they wrote again to Philadelphia: "We look towards our Brethren in and near to New England with tenderness and commiseration and have found it in our hearts to salute them in a few lines as a short memorial of our regard and desires for their welfare."[3] At the same time London Friends urged those in Philadelphia and elsewhere to visit those in New England. This

[1] Published in 4 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, IV. 1–278.

[2] Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, I. 426–427.

[3] *Id.*, 439; printed in *The Friend*, XX. 293. The "few lines" were printed in Philadelphia in 1775 under the title, *The Epistle from the Meeting for Sufferings in London to Friends and Brethren in New England.*

message Philadelphia Friends copied and forwarded to several of the meetings in New England.[1]

The advice from London to American Friends to concern themselves about Friends in New England was hardly needed. Philadelphia Friends were already in touch with the situation. In fact, in October, 1774, one of them was actually on the spot: John Pemberton of Philadelphia. With his brothers James and Israel, sons of the late Israel Pemberton, he was among the most influential Quakers of Philadelphia at the time. Not only had he business connections in many places, but, as clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings, he was the center of a wide correspondence.

According to the prevailing custom of religious intervisitation among Friends, which did so much for their solidarity,[2] he had already visited the meetings in New England in 1762 and in 1769. Now he was traveling primarily as companion to Mary Leaver, a timid visitor from England. That he knew the serious situation he was likely to meet is plain from a letter written to a correspondent in the West Indies just before he left home: "The public papers will give thee as full an account of the political affairs to the Northward as I am able; private letters contain little more. The New England men seem determined to stand their ground to the last. They hitherto avoided hostilities, which is prudent, but keep themselves ready for any emergency."[3] His letters to his wife make it possible to follow him and his English companion through Trenton, New York, Newport, Nantucket, New Bedford, Boston, and Providence.[4] Writing her from Providence on November 20 about a visit he had paid at Boston, he tells her to

> . . . acquaint brother Israel that a committee was appointed at the monthly meeting at Boston, to inspect into the situation of Friends in that place and whether they stood in need of assistance. Inclosed is names of heads of families and a few notes taken from information obtained by inquiry.[5] Friends at Lynn and Salem

[1] Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, I. 454.

[2] See my article, "Intercolonial Solidarity of American Quakerism," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LX (October, 1936), 362–374.

[3] To Dr. Sandiford, Philadelphia, October 8, 1774. Pemberton Papers (MSS., Historical Society of Pennsylvania), XXVI. 165.

[4] *Id.*, 162, 167, 171, 173, 175, 180; XXVII. 1, 20, 27, 28.

[5] This memorandum (*id.*, XXVII. 21) is as follows:

List of Friends in Boston	*No.*	*Occupation*
Ebenezer Pope, wife, & son ab^t 17 years old	3	Taylor, depends on his business, rather low in circumstances
John Pope wife & 2 Children	4	Doctor & Surveyor, in Circumstances
Samuel Pope	1	Scyth Smith Not in needy circumstances

are well able to assist all that is needful, divers being in very good circumstances but they have had so few calls for money that how they may be prevailed with to freely part with some I know not. Their situation has been urged, and the duty of manifesting brotherly sympathy and not only to Friends, but if the Calamity continue, that Friends would not be unfeeling respecting the people there more generally. I do not find that Friends are as yet much (or greatly affected). Our Friend, E. Pope says that last summer he had but little to do, the people appearing determined not to get new cloaths until meer necessity obliged them. He has now plenty of work. There are too many I find take advantage of the times & withhold paying their debts, that on this account some may suffer inconvenience. But there is a rumor of there being a likelyhood of a change of measures, which if so, may be esteemed a providential interposition.

Provisions are very plenty in Boston, very good and in general cheaper than with us. If any suffer it appears most like to be such housekeepers, who had used to live tolerably well and by their little trade made both ends meet. The bounties sent them seem most likely to be applied to those of a lower rank. The town has plenty of English goods.[1]

Writing again to his wife ten days later from Newport, Pemberton says:

If any money is to be raised for the people in Boston by Friends, Henry Lloyd of that place in conjunction with Ebenezer Pope and Elizabeth Orrick would in my estimation and Moses'[2] be most likely to distribute it properly. She is a lively active sensible woman and well acquainted with the people. Such who are in middling circumstances or formerly made a shift to live are most like to be affected though I cannot apprehend there is yet any necessity to hasten the matter, and

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James Raymer & 3 Daughters (Grown up)	4	Tallow Chandler & Grocer in Good Circumstances
John Philips Wife & Daug[r]	3	Ship Carpenter, has a house etc. & two apprentices (works Journey work)
Eph. Silsbury, wife, & Daughter	3	ship carpenter, aged & infirm depends on his dayly labour
Nathaniel Low, wife, & 3 Children	5	Blacksmith & at present full of Business
Ezra Curtain wife, & 7 Children	9	Shoemaker, a House & full business
Ezra Collins & Sister	2	Hatter in Good Circumstances
Daniel Silsbury, & 2 sisters	3	merchant. The sisters keep a House of Entertainment
Ann Gillett, (a widow) with Elizabeth Ann & Hannah Orrick & Jane Burn	5	Have a house etc. in a small [ ] of Business. 2 of the Young [ ] go out to sew etc
Sampson Silsbury & wife being cousins married Out		
Josiah Goram, wife & 4 Children	6	Mariner

[1] *Id.*, XXVII. 20. [2] Moses Brown of Providence.

brother Israel's sentiments I believe truly just that it would not do to put it into the hands of the present committee to distribute, who are it's thought most likely to favor the violent party.[1]

The last words make clear the great difficulty of nonpartisan relief in wartime. That the Committee of Donations in Boston was partisan no one can doubt; and the same was of course true of the Committee of Correspondence appointed in May in Pennsylvania. The people of Boston, they declared, were "suffering in the general cause."[2] By the time of Pemberton's reference the contributions from the city of Philadelphia alone had reached "about two thousand pounds."[3] The atmosphere that had prevailed there from the outset of the crisis is revealed in an anonymous letter written on June 2 giving an account of the way Philadelphia observed the going into effect of the Boston Port Bill: "Yesterday we had a pause in the business of the city, and a solemn pause it indeed was. If we except the Friends, I believe nine tenths of the citizens shut up their houses. The bells were rang, muffled, all the day, and the ships in the port had their colors half hoisted."[4]

The Friends of Philadelphia from the first strenuously dissociated themselves from this public expression. They regularly objected to public fasts; and they objected now to the implication that the meeting of citizens at which this particular demonstration was arranged represented Friends at all. The following statement, prepared two days before this display o public sentiment, presents their views:[5]

Observing in the Pennsylvania Packet of this day, a notification, "that a number of persons composed of the members of all societies in this city, met and unanimously agreed, that it would be proper to express their sympathy for their brethren at Boston, by suspending all business on the first day of the next month;" —the people called Quakers though tenderly sympathizing with the distressed, and justly sensible of the value of our religious and civil rights, and that it is our duty to assert them in a Christian spirit, yet in order to obviate any misapprehensions which may arise concerning us, think it necessary to declare, that no person or persons, were authorized to represent us on this occasion; and if any of our community have countenanced or encouraged this proposal, they have manifested great inattention to our religious principles and profession, and acted contrary to the rules of Christian discipline established for the preservation of order and good government among us.

Signed on behalf and at the desire of the Elders and Overseers of the several

[1] Pemberton Papers, XXVII. 28.

[2] 4 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, IV. 148.

[3] Jonathan B. Smith to William Phillips, Philadelphia, November 25, 1774. *Id.*, 150.

[4] *Id.*, 149 *n.* [5] *The Friend*, XX. 252.

meetings of our religious Society in Philadelphia, and other Friends met on the occasion, the 30th of the Fifth Month, 1774.

John Reynell
James Pemberton
Samuel Noble

The Continental Congress, meeting in Philadelphia during these autumn months, made the difficulty and anxiety of the Friends none the less. They were sympathetic enough with the objects of protest, but, as they wrote in July to their friends in London, they could not countenance "measures proposed for the support of Civil Liberty which are not dictated by wisdom from above which is pure, peaceable and gentle."[1]

Writing again on November 5, they refer to the address made by the Congress in the name of all the provinces and assure their British brethren that

it remains to be our desire to support our Christian testimony and with sincerity and integrity to guard against any of our members entering into measures inconsistent therewith and lest our contributing to the relief of the distressed people of Boston should subject us to be considered as approvers of their conduct we have from this and other considerations hitherto declined administering to them what on the principles of benevolence and charity we may hereafter find necessary.[2]

While John Pemberton was himself in Rhode Island, his brother Israel was in correspondence with Moses Brown, asking how Philadelphia Quakers could assist people in Boston and urging Rhode Island Friends to visit the Bostonians. Evidently the difficulty of separating Quaker relief at Boston from the spirit of belligerency there seemed to him both difficult and important.[3]

Doubtless not all Friends shared this insight. It is possible, for example, that some in New England itself did not. The need was great—simple human need—and if sympathizers contributed individually or anonymously and not as Friends, it could be argued that there was no compromise with Quaker principles. At any rate one notes with interest that almost the largest single entry in the list of donations received from the

[1] Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, I. 418.

[2] *Id.*, 431; printed in *The Friend*, XX. 292.

[3] This particular letter I do not find; but Israel Pemberton did write to Brown shortly before October 19 (Pemberton Papers, XXVI. 177½), and Brown received a letter from Pemberton—perhaps the same one—on November 28 (*id.*, XXVII. 27). The former letter was sent by the hand of James Manning, President of Rhode Island College. "He is a Baptist preacher and with another of them from New England and a committee of their Yearly Meeting here [Philadelphia] last week had a conference with the speaker and other members of the Massachusetts Assembly on the sufferings of that people in their country and on their laws under which they and Friends may be subjected to sufferings."

Province of Massachusetts Bay by the Committee of Donations in Boston is one of £90 9*s* on April 10, 1775, described as "from persons unknown (supposed to be the Friends Society at Nantucket)."[1]

At Salem and Lynn, as at Providence and Nantucket, there were Friends able to be of service to Boston Quakers. In November, 1774, Salem Monthly Meeting appointed a committee to look into the matter, and upon receiving their report a month later that help was needed, ordered assistance to be given, and in March, 1775, directed £8 to be contributed.[2] At the same time the committee notified John Pemberton in Philadelphia of what they had done, adding:

> by further inspection since we find that there are several Friends in Boston that stand in need of some further assistance by reason of their Imploy failing. . . . Now it is our judgment that there is more need of assistance to Friends in Boston at this time than has been some time past by reason of the difficulties that yet remain in those parts and we think that Friends here are concerned for to administer further assistance according to their ability.[3]

Similar information respecting Friends in Boston was conveyed by the Salem committee to Moses Brown at Providence, who, in passing it on to John Pemberton, says (March 24, 1775): "I laid it before our preparative meeting and it is to be brought forth as Business to the Monthly Meeting next week, Friends thinking it best to do what is done for them as a Meeting and not as private Members."[4]

On receipt of this information the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia drafted a letter (May 18, 1775) to the Yearly Meeting in New England urging them to arrange a subscription among themselves for the relief of those who were in want or suffering, adding the request "that we may be speedily and particularly acquainted with your situation and the steps you are about to pursue that if the calamity prevailing should make it necessary we may join our endeavors with yours in contributing to their assistance."[5] At the same time the Meeting for Sufferings advised that a permanent executive committee be established by the New England Yearly Meeting. This was done in June, 1775. It seemed at last to provide a suitable channel for truly nonpartisan and nonmilitary relief. From then on the chief service to Friends in Massachusetts was carried

[1] *New England Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XXX. 377.

[2] Minutes of Salem Monthly Meeting, at Moses Brown School, 199, 200.

[3] Papers of the Meeting for Sufferings, Box 14. The paper is dated Lynn, March 9, 1775, and is signed by Joseph Southwick, James Purinton, Joseph Gaskill, Daniel Newhall, and Isaac Basset.

[4] Pemberton Papers, XXVII. 107.

[5] Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, II (1775–1785), 1f.

TO OUR

FRIENDS AND BRETHREN

OF THE SEVERAL

MEETINGS in PENNSYLVANIA and NEW-JERSEY;

DEAR FRIENDS,

THE afflictions and diſtreſſes, attending the inhabitants of the Maſſachuſetts, and other parts of New-England, have often engaged our pity and commiſeration, with a deſire to be inſtrumental for their relief, as favourable opportunities ſhould offer: and having received more particular information, ſince the Yearly-Meeting held laſt month at Rhode-Iſland, than we before had, of the ſituation of our Brethren, and others, in thoſe parts; ſince which, the deſolations of war have greatly increaſed. We are incited by a ſpirit of ſympathy and chriſtian tenderneſs, to recommend to your ſerious and benevolent conſideration, the ſorrowful calamities now prevailing among thoſe people; earneſtly deſiring, that we may encourage each other freely to contribute to the relief of the neceſſitous of every religious denomination; to promote which, we have agreed upon, and herewith ſend you, printed ſubſcription papers, requeſting that ſome ſuitable, active Friends, may be appointed in each of your Monthly and Preparative Meetings, to apply for the donations of Friends, for this charitable purpoſe, and that the money ſubſcribed may be collected, and with all convenient ſpeed, paid into the hands of JOHN REYNELL, of Philadelphia, or SAMUEL SMITH, of Burlington, Treaſurers of our Yearly-Meeting.

The Yearly-Meeting at Rhode-Iſland, before mentioned, have appointed a Committee of twenty-ſix Friends, from the ſeveral Quarterly-Meetings in New-England, who are to meet together, at leaſt once a month, in order to aſſiſt each other in inſpecting, and conſidering the ſtate of thoſe who are diſtreſſed: And they appear to us the moſt ſuitable perſons to receive our contributions for their relief. With this Committee we propoſe to keep up a correſpondence, and to unite our endeavours with theirs, that the benefactions raiſed, may be diſtributed in the moſt ſeaſonable and effectual manner, for the benefit of thoſe who are, or may be, reduced to neceſſitous circumſtances, in this time of public calamity.

We therefore deſire that Friends may be liberal, according to their circumſtances, and ſpeedy in their contributions: And are your loving Friends.

Signed in and on behalf of our Meeting for Sufferings, held in Philadelphia, *for* Pennſylvania *and* New-Jerſey, *the* 6th *day of the* 7th *month*, 1775,

JOHN PEMBERTON, *Clerk*

on by collaboration of the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia and the Committee for Sufferings in New England.

Information received in Philadelphia about conditions in Boston was not encouraging. Jeremiah Hacker of Salem reported from Newport to John Pemberton (June 14, 1775) that "by the Friends that have of late moved out we understand that . . . they are deprived of many of the comfortable things of this world as fresh provision, milk and [ ] both of which they used to abound. But have a sufficiency of bread and salt provision."[1] Two prominent Philadelphia Friends, John Hunt and Nicholas Waln, attended the Yearly Meeting in Rhode Island in June. Their report and the letter they brought from New England Friends galvanized the intention of relief into action. A form of appeal addressed "To Our Friends and Brethren of the Several Meetings of Pennsylvania and New Jersey" was drafted and printed, together with a subscription blank. It appealed for money to be raised in each local meeting and sent by the local collector to either of the two treasurers of the Yearly Meeting, John Reynell of Philadelphia and Samuel Smith of Burlington. The money was for relief of their "fellow subjects in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay and the adjacent provinces" and was to be administered by the newly appointed committee of New England Yearly Meeting to "the necessitous of every religious denomination."[2] On this last point considerable emphasis was

[1] Pemberton Papers, XXVII. 165. The writer had come to Yearly Meeting from his home in Salem but had not had opportunity to go into Boston on his way.

[2] The text of the appeal is given in the Minutes of the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, II. 10ff. It was drafted by John Hunt, Israel Pemberton, James Pemberton, John Reynell, David Evans, and Anthony Benezet, and subscribed "7th of 6 mo. 1775, John Pemberton, Clerk." It is not mentioned in the bibliographies of Joseph Smith, Hildeburn, or Evans. A copy, lacking, however, the subscription blank, in the Haverford College Library is reproduced here. Another copy, likewise without the blank, is now in the Yale University Library in the Mason Franklin Collection. This copy, formerly belonging to Charles F. Heartman, is recorded in Sabin (No. 95902) from the title as given in Charles F. Heartman, *The Cradle of the United States*, II, No. 950. From the same source it is listed as No. 436 in the unpublished "Supplement to Hildeburn's Century of Printing," by Ethel M. Metzger (M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1930). The subscription form, recoverable from other sources, was worded as follows (Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, II. 11f.):

"We, the subscribers, in Consideration of the distresses to which many of our fellow subjects in the province of the Massachusetts Bay & the adjacent Provinces, are subjected, thro' the unhappy commotions now prevailing, being desirous of contributing towards their relief do agree and promise to pay the sums by us respectively subscribed to —— of —— to be by —— paid unto John Reynell of Philadelphia or Samuel Smith of Burlington, Treasurers of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Pennsylvania & New Jersey, in order that the same may be transmitted at such time and in such manner as the said Yearly Meeting or the Meeting for Sufferings at Philadelphia may judge most expedient to the Committee lately appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Friends in New England to assist, advise, and relieve such who are or may be reduced to necessitous circum-

laid in the correspondence, as also on the desire that the distribution should not in any way promote warlike measures inconsistent with Quaker principles. "Without the knowledge or approbation" of the authors[1] this paper was published by the newswriters, not only in Philadelphia but also in New England and England.[2] This raised the hopes of the beneficiaries but exposed the Friends to misunderstandings[3] which they were at pains to remove. The New England Friends, before any of the money had reached them, repeatedly mentioned "the jealousies which have arose or may arise in the minds of any that it is designed or applied to any other than charitable purposes."[4] They were anxious to know whether the donors meant to "make no distinction of religious sect or political party," it being already clear "from the misconstructions of your charitable intentions that care will be greatly increased in order to stop the mouths of the censorious of both parties."[5]

As records of the local meetings in New Jersey and Pennsylvania show, the subscription was undertaken heartily and promptly, and by November there was available more than £2,000, worth in New England currency £1,572 9*s* 4*d*. Its transmission to New England raised a problem, but two members of the Philadelphia committee, David Evans and John Parrish, were persuaded to take a sum of £1,600 in person and deliver it to Friends in New England.[6] They met the New England Committee for Sufferings at Providence on November 21, delivered the money, and were back in Philadelphia on November 29.[7]

In response to the inquiries of New England Friends the donors specified their intentions as to the money transmitted:

> We are in hopes if soon distributed [the money] will be an acceptable relief for

stances thro' the present calamitous state of public affairs there, or to be otherwise distributed to & among such sufferers.

"Witness our hands the —— day of the —— Month, 1775"

[1] Epistle from Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, July 27, 1775. Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, II. 15.

[2] *Pennsylvania Ledger*, July 22, 1775; *Pennsylvania Mercury*, July 14, 1775; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 12, 1775; *Virginia Gazette*, July 29, 1775; *Newport Mercury*, July 31, 1775. Cf. *Newport Mercury*, July 24, 1775; *Essex Gazette* (Salem), July 21, 1775. For these references I am indebted to Mr. Arthur J. Mekeel.

[3] See letter to John Pemberton from a Quaker correspondent, London, September 11, 1775. Pemberton Papers, XXVIII. 59.

[4] Letter to Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, August 14, 1775. Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, II. 22.

[5] Epistle from New England Committee for Sufferings, September 12, 1775. *Id.*, 28.

[6] Letter of David Evans to Israel Pemberton, written en route at New London, November 16. Pemberton Papers, XXVIII. 108.

[7] Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings (November 30, 1775), II. 48.

the present to many poor people who by the Calamitous circumstances of your country are reduced to great streights and difficulties, and if you find the distribution of a further sum will be more seasonable and serviceable to such before the winter than at a further time and can obtain the money there by bills drawn on us we desire you to inform us as the risk of sending it will thereby be saved as also the difficulty we find in procuring specie suitable for the purpose. . . .[1]

It is not our intention to limit the distribution to the Members of our own or any other Religious Society nor to the place of their present or former residence. It seems probable many who never lived in Boston may be as proper objects as those who have. . . . And we believe it will be expedient to keep a particular Acc^{t} of the Names of all who may partake, of their Occupations, number of the children, such as have any, the present and former place of their residence with such other circumstances as you can collect, and particularly of what religious Society they are, by which misrepresentations may be obviated.[2]

This generous and voluntary action on the part of Philadelphia Quakers, although it is not mentioned, appears to me to be reflected in the surprisingly liberal resolution passed by the Second Continental Congress at just this juncture. Meeting in Philadelphia on July 18, 1775, the Congress seems to put its imprimatur on the Quakers' "moral equivalent for war" when it says:

As there are some people, who, from religious principles, cannot bear arms in any case, this Congress intend no violence to their consciences, but earnestly recommend to them, to contribute liberally in this time of universal calamity, to the relief of their distressed brethren in the several colonies, and to do all other services to their oppressed Country, which they can consistently with their religious principles.[3]

At this point it may be well to note the information which Philadelphia Friends had received of circumstances in Boston. The first act of the Committee for Sufferings in New England had been to appoint some Friends to visit Friends in Boston.[4] The report sent to Philadelphia is quite explicit:

They went into the town by water from Lynn. . . . Upon their first coming into the presence of the Admiral [Graves] and making known their business he frowned upon them, and said he had been informed, that Friends had taken up

[1] This is a reference to the prevalence of Continental currency, which Friends objected to using.

[2] Letter from Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, November 17, 1775. *Id.*, 38f.

[3] *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789*, Worthington C. Ford and Gaillard Hunt, Editors, II. 189. Neither comparison of dates nor any mention by one party of the other indicates that either's action was in any sense a bargain with the other. Before long most of the Congress were much less well disposed towards conscientious objectors.

[4] Meeting at Smithfield, June 30, 1775.

arms against the King, and that there was a regiment rais'd at Philadelphia and were come or coming to fight against them, but being told by Friends they believed it was not so, but only a few of the looser sort had gone with some who never were of our Society, and that they believed such were testified against by Friends, as had been the case in our parts respecting two who had gone out that way. After which the Admiral appeared satisfied. . . . We also inform that most of the Friends who are in Boston and those who are come out are in low circumstances in the World.[1]

Somewhat later the Pembertons received news of Boston Friends from William Rickman of New York City: "Two Friends of this place having been eastward called at Boston and are lately returned. They say the few Friends in that town being only four families are treated kindly, have liberty of leaving the town if they incline and Friends of Rhode Island are allowed free ingress and egress as oft as they choose."[2]

In August the Friends in New England had little to report though they promised to inquire into the situation of both the inhabitants of Boston and those who had come out. "The inhabitants of Boston, Charlestown and other places on the Sea Coast sufferers by the present troubles are so distributed over New England that such a knowledge of the Circumstances of the needy as to select the most worthy objects for your charity is a work of some difficulty and will require time."[3]

On September 12, 1775, the New England Committee wrote to the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings:

As we hinted to you from our last meeting that we would make inquiry concerning the people who have been or were then inhabitants of Boston that are by the present commotions brought to needy circumstances and then inform you about them, we have made some inquiry and find that at the first of the 5th month the congress of the Massachusetts made provision for about five thousand people who were then in Boston desiring to come out, but not able to remove themselves; by which we think some intelligence may be gathered how many there are in difficult circumstances. Whether they are all got out or not we cannot tell but apprehend they mostly are and dispersed in that and the neighboring Governments with great numbers of others removed from Charlston, Roxbury, Marblehead and several other towns on the Sea Coast. And although the congress have proportioned the number mentioned to have been in Boston to the several towns to be by them took care of and supported, yet we dont find that application has been made to many of those towns by any such sufferers but in general those who have come out and left their effects behind are supported by the hospitality of their friends in that and the neighboring colonies. . . . Yet we find a number of

[1] Minutes of New England Meeting for Sufferings (July 15, 1775), I. 3.

[2] William Rickman to ——, New York, August 9, 1775. Pemberton Papers, XXVIII. 25.

[3] Moses Brown to John Pemberton, Providence, August 29, 1775. *Id.*, 41.

other societies in several towns we apprehend objects within the intention of the benevolent in your parts to assist. . . .

Whether it will be best to go into Boston or put into the hands of Friends and others there to distribute what we may think necessary or you may direct is a matter best left to the time of distribution as circumstances are almost daily altering. . . .

Friends in Boston have not been visited by us since our last account and we have had no other account from them than what we received by Ezra Collins who is gone to your parts and may give you a more particular account than we are able to do at this time.[1]

In November, when the money was actually in their hands, the New England Friends were doubtful whether they could distribute it to the inhabitants of Boston as soon or as satisfactorily as they had desired, having been informed that there was no passing in or out but by way of flags of truce from the commanding officers.[2] They decided, however, to try and selected five of their number to carry out the plan, providing them with similar letters to both General Washington and General Howe:

From our Meeting for Sufferings of the people called Quakers, held at Providence, 21st of Eleventh Month, 1775.

To General Washington

As visiting the fatherless and the widows, and relieving the distressed, by feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, is the subject of this address; we cannot doubt of thy attention to our representation and request in their behalf.

The principle of benevolence and humanity exciting our brethren in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to contribute and send to our care a considerable sum of money, to be distributed among such sufferers as are by the present unhappy difficulties reduced to necessitous circumstances, without distinction of sects or parties, provided they are not active in carrying on or promoting military measures, (so that our religious testimony against wars and fightings may be preserved pure); and we being sensible there are many such within as well as without the town of Boston,—and being desirous of finding those that are most needy there as well as without, desire thy favourable assistance in getting into the town,—that they may be visited and relieved in such manner at the bearers thereof, Moses Farnum, Isaac Lawton, David Buffum, Theophilus Shove, Jr., and Jeremiah Hacker, whom we have appointed a committee for that service, may think proper; and when their Christian services are accomplished, to be allowed to return to their families in safety.

[1] Minutes of New England Meeting for Sufferings, I. 9; Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, II. 27f.

[2] Letter from New England Committee for Sufferings to the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, Providence, November 21, 1775. Minutes of New England Meeting for Sufferings, I. 17; Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, II. 49.

Sorrowfully affected with the present calamaties, and feeling an engagement on our minds so to demean ourselves, as becomes those who profess to walk humbly and peaceably with all men,

We are
THY FRIENDS[1]

There was some delay owing to illness and other causes, and it was not until December 13 that the party set out. The personnel was somewhat different from that originally intended and now included as perhaps the most active member Moses Brown of Providence.[2]

Born in 1738, the youngest of four notable sons of James and Hope (Power) Brown of Providence, he had grown up a member of the Baptist Church and had joined the Society of Friends only in 1773. But he well understood the Quakers' principles and had accepted their views on war and slavery, having already emancipated his slaves before undertaking to change his church membership. He had amassed sufficient fortune to retire from business and now at the age of thirty-seven was nearing the beginning of a long career of public-spirited philanthropy. For the expedition at hand he had the further advantage of having recently been in the beleaguered town of Boston on an even more delicate and difficult mission. His own brother, John, had been held a prisoner by the British, being rightly suspected of having been the ringleader in the burning of the armed schooner *Gaspee*. Moses Brown, quick as always to help his older brothers in their troubles, had successfully pleaded for John's release, giving pledges of his good behavior which were to prove embarrassing enough, and had carried him home to Providence. He had evidently interviewed at that time only the British authorities, for on his return home he wrote to James Warren (May 11, 1775):

My religious principles, thou art, I presume, sensible, does not admit of my interfering in war, but my love for my country and sense of our just rights is not thereby abated, and if my poor abilities could be any way subservient to a happy change of affairs nothing on my part shall be wanting. I had thoughts of coming to Cambridge &c, and giving you some account of affairs, and the disposition I found the people in at Boston, having a considerable opportunity with the principal officers of the army and navy as well as the Selectmen. But the fatigues of such a disagreeable errand weighed strong to bring me home to my family and friends who were anxiously waiting our return.[3]

[1] Printed in *The Friend*, XXII. 406.

[2] A full-length biography of Brown is badly needed. There is an article on him in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, III. 146–147. There is also a sketch by Augustine Jones entitled, *Moses Brown: His Life and Services* (Providence, 1892).

[3] Moses Brown Papers, II. 32.

Moses Brown, accompanied now by Benjamin Arnold, David Buffum, Thomas Steere, and Thomas Lapham, Jr., reached Cambridge on December 14. Though kindly received in person by General Washington, they were refused permission to enter Boston; but Washington suggested that they meet certain of their friends in Boston at the lines.[1] Even this was refused by General Howe, and they had to content themselves with sending into the town to two Friends there, Ebenezer Pope and James Raymor, a draft for £100 with the promise of more money if needed. The draft, however, proved unavailing as Henry Lloyd, the merchant on whom it was drawn, was not in funds to pay it, and any alternative method of getting money into the town did not appear.[2] Evidently the Friends themselves in Boston were not very anxious to undertake the delicate task and were not impressed with the need. The New England Committee reported to the Philadelphia Meeting on March 12, 1776: "The draft sent into Boston was not paid, which as it appears by our Friends' letters and verbal accounts they were rather satisfied with, as they decline the task of distributing the monies under our limitations, saying 'It having been a sufficient task to watch ourselves,' &c., and further said it was not necessary to send them any monies at present they having some for present use to buy the necessaries of life." "There is a gleam of hope," they continue, "that that devoted town may again be open for its dispers'd inhabitants to go in and out. But we cannot rely upon the present prospect, the scene of things are at this juncture so precarious and uncertain."[3]

In less than a week Howe had evacuated the town, and in forwarding to John Pemberton the above-quoted epistle Moses Brown could write (March 20):

Inclosed our Epistle from our Meeting for Sufferings. Since which the troops hath left Boston and the fleet is down below the Castle. I have heard of our Friends James Raymor and Ebenezer Pope have been seen well in the Streets. . . . I would inform that by the account I have had there are many there left in the very poor indigent as well as otherwise distressed condition, the soldiery having

[1] Mr. Allen French has called to my attention what is probably an echo of this interview, told by Moses Brown himself a few years before his death to the biographer of General Nathanael Greene. Greene had been a Friend, a member of Greenwich Monthly Meeting, Rhode Island, but had been disowned in 1773 for his military propensities. He was now on Washington's staff at Cambridge. "Go to General Greene; he is a Quaker, and knows more about it than I do, was his [Washington's] answer to Moses Brown, who had been sent to Cambridge upon some business in which the Quakers were particularly interested." George W. Greene, *The Life of Nathanael Greene*, I (New York, 1867), 142–143.

[2] Moses Brown to Henry Lloyd, Roxbury, December 15, 1775; Brown to Ellis Gray, Providence, January 30, 1776. Moses Brown Papers, II. 47, 49.

[3] Minutes of New England Meeting for Sufferings, I. 33; Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, II. 75ff.

made great destruction by plundering &c notwithstanding General Howe's issuing a proclamation making it death to do so.[1]

At the same time Moses Brown explained that the New England Committee had allocated for distribution elsewhere all the funds received from Philadelphia, and offered to advance two or three hundred pounds of his own for use in Boston while waiting for advice about further contributions. This plan was not accepted, but a balance of £100 was ordered sent at once to Boston, and word was soon received of further funds available.[2] Writing on June 15 from Newport, the Committee for Sufferings explains:

> The small pox being in Boston and the unsettled state of the town for sometime after its being open prevented the committee that had the money for that town going through it and therefore they distributed what was on hand elsewhere, except about £30, and they now inform that the number of poor there within the intention of the donation according to accounts received was too large to make distribution of so small a sum amongst.

They therefore instructed Moses Brown, their treasurer, to draw the whole additional sum (£500) available.[3]

The actual distribution of money within Boston thus became one of the smallest and latest parts of the committee's labors. The refugee problem outside of Boston proved a much more urgent and feasible undertaking. As the scope of this is given in statistical form in the reports printed in the Appendix, detailed description is unnecessary, though it is worth while to print here in full the beginning of the story, together with the account of the interview with Washington, as told in a letter of Moses Brown to William Wilson.[4]

Providence First mo. 2d, 1776

William Wilson, Beloved Friend,—

Having this opportunity by water I thought of informing thee that we are generally in health, and to give thee a short history of a journey I made with four others, a committee from our meeting, to distribute your donations, the committee

[1] Pemberton Papers, XXIX. 2.

[2] Epistle from Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings to New England Meeting for Sufferings. Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, II. 89.

[3] *Id.*, 89; Minutes of New England Meeting for Sufferings, I. 44f.

[4] This letter has been printed, much edited, in *The Friend*, XXII. 412f., and, more nearly accurately, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, I. 168–174. Its text as given here is from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It was evidently circulated with other documents as a form of report to the contributing meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. There is, for instance, a copy in the papers of the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, Box 14. The manuscript report received by Shrewsbury Quarterly Meeting is preserved at the Record Room at Friends Meeting House, 221 East Fifteenth Street, New York City.

appointed when our Friends David Evans and John Parrish were here, not going by reason of sickness and other hindrances. Our Meeting for Sufferings renewed it, and we set off for the Eastward the 13th ultmo, reached Cambridge the 14th, and presented our Address to General Washington, a Coppy of which David Evans took with him.[1] He received us kindly, but declined permitting us to go into Boston, saying he had made a rule not to let any go in, unless it was a woman seperated from her husband, or the like, but however showed a readiness to further the designed distribution, proposing to us to send in for some of our Friends to come out upon the lines, and giving us orders for a flag for a conference with them. As the small-pox was in town by inoculation generally, and only two of us had had it, our not being allowed to go in, seemed but a small or no disappointment. We sent General Howe a similar address to that delivered to General Washington, with a letter informing him of our not going in for the reasons above mentioned, and desiring his permission to let our Friends James Ramor and Ebenezer Pope meet us upon the lines, to whom we wrote under cover to the General, to which he answered,[2] by his aid-de-camp, that our request could not be granted, but that he would direct the sheriff to meet and confer with us at any hour we should appoint. This at first seemed rather close upon us, but supposing he had his reasons for his conduct, as well as General Washington, we were easy, and embraced his proposals, and sending in my name to an officer with whom I had some acquaintance (Major Small, a kind humane man) he with the sheriff met us in the morning of the 15th; but the evening before, concluding the proper distribution uncertain and being unacquainted with the sheriff, wrote our Friends of our disappointment in not seeing them &c, and instead of the money sent in a draft for £100. Only after a conference, opening the intention of the donation, and benevolent intention of Friends therein, without regard to the promotion of parties as had been misapprehended, and finding a disposition in the sheriff to favor the intention, we proposed, if they thought a further sum could be usefully applied, agreeably to our purpose, we would send it in as we had it, but they declining to give us any opinion of the state of the poor, (only saying it was not so distressing as was represented without,) we referred the matter till we had accounts from our Friends, which they kindly offered their assistance to procure, after they had distributed the sum sent in and forward us out when done, which I now daily expect, having on our return wrote them in and spoke to the officer quartered at the advanced works to forward by the first opportunity.

All around the two encampments is one scene of desolation. Fruit, range, and other trees, fences, &c some buildings, taken smooth away, the town of Cambridge so crowded, no lodgings to be had that we were obliged to lay by the fire uncovered, but with our own clothes, partly on the floor, and partly on an under bed of straw. This trial (new to me) seemed necessary to fit us for our journey, by giving a sympathy with those we had to visit, who had not the comforts of life.

[1] See above, pages 51–52.

[2] The letter to Howe, his reply, and the letters to Pope and Ramor are copied in the report mentioned above, page 54, *n.* 4. They are also copied in Minutes of the New England Meeting for Sufferings, I. 23ff.

We got to Lynn on 7th day evening, being the 16th, stayed to meeting next day, and went to Salem. Friends of both places generally well. 18th, visited Marblehead, assembled the select men, and letting them into our business of visiting the poor, &c. Divided into three companies, a select man attending each, we went from house to house of the poor, seeing and enquiring their circumstances, and where need required, and they were within the intention of the donation, we relieved them, avoiding those families that did not come within as well as the guides could inform us. We found great poverty to abound; numbers of widows and fatherless, wood and provisions greatly wanting among them. Some poor women had to back the former two miles. An instance of this, was a widow woman with five children, and as she told us and indeed appeared daily looked to lie in with another, had been out in a cold day more than that distance for what she could bring, and had no bread in the house. She was one who we gladly relieved, but thou will not conclude all were objects of such commiseration. She appeared a tender-hearted woman indeed, she was contrited into tears at our visit, in which humble state we left the truly pitiable object,—for whom, I, at that instant, as at this time feel much, and when I have reflected upon the divers necessitous states, since have been so affected, as to conclude, had I not been favoured with an unusual fortitude and guard upon the affections, the service we went through would have been to hard to be born, but through favour we were preserved through the whole in a good degree of satisfaction, having sometimes a word of consolation, counsel, and admonition, occasionally arising. We visited this day, and helped between 60 and 70 families, mostly widows and children, among whom the donation hath hitherto principally fallen. Not finishing there, we left it to be done by Jeremiah Hacker and Samuel Collins.

The next day, being the 19th, divided into four companies, a select man with each, and visited Salem, and in the afternoon, feeling a draught further eastward to Cape Ann, four of us, vizt Benjamin Arnold, David Buffum, Thomas Lapham, Jr., and myself, (leaving Thomas Steere to finish at Salem) set off, leaving on the way some relief. We got there the next day, being the 20th, at 10 o'clock. Assembling the selectmen and overseers, and giving them an account of our errand, we divided as before, one of them accompanying. The town being scattering, and seven or eight miles amongst the Extremities, we rode. The weather very cold and windy, however the calls of the poor were so strong, that we bore it with patience. Here it took us part of three days with attention. The general state of the poor here exceeded Marblehead, about half the most wealthy inhabitants having removed back in the country, leaving the poor unemployed, they were very necessitous, having before been poor, when the fishery was carried on—which being now wholly stopt. We here nor with you have very little idea of their poverty, yet their children seemed healthy, crawling even into the ashes to keep them warm. The wood usually coming by water, and now wholly stopt, they could keep but little fires for want of wood. Poverty and the want of teams in the place, obliged many to fetch it here, as at Marblehead, two miles by land. Bread, corn very scarce; 4*s* for Indian corn; no rye,—the last upward of 5*s* per bushel from Salem eastward. Some families no other bread but potatoes for some

time, which with Checkerberry tea was seen the only food for a woman with a sucking child at her Breast. I hope not many so though I may say it hath been a sort of school to us, for we never saw poverty to compare with about 100 families in this town, who we visited and relieved, besides many poor not within the limits of our donation. By this time thou'l conclude your charities were in an acceptable time. Many were indeed of that mind, and expressed and some feelingly a sense of gratitude. The name Quaker though little known in these parts will be remembered and perhaps some may no more think it reproach. I have thought of John Woolman's remark in his sickness of affluence relieving in times of sickness.[1] This indeed was the case with some, for the lame, the aged and infirm was partakers of your liberality. An aged woman 96 or 97, husband upward of 80, with a maiden daughter, the support of her aged parents in times when business could be had, received with a sense of gratitude, which the silent tear bespoke of the contrition. Upon the whole I think, you may be satisfied and united that so far is well. May a sense of favours be upon us that we had had it in our power and been possessed of a heart to administer to the distressed, I mean the donors among you with our selves here.

I was at Point Shirley about 4 miles from Boston, where there has been three loads of people landed from Boston.[2] They were mostly dispersed, but found between 30 and forty families, who were relieved, another Friend, not having had the small pox, attended at another place in Chelsea, where were about 50 persons, that had been cleansed by smoking, most of which we made distribution to. My love to Friends with a communication of any part of this letter that may be acceptable.

Moses Brown

Although the first party thus returned within eighteen days[3] to their homes, plans were made to revisit the same territory again and again and to extend the investigation of need more widely. Some money was retained in Philadelphia in the expectation that some of the refugees might travel even that far; some were assisted in Providence. The distribution extended to the north well along the coast to Casco Bay, inland to Worcester, and south as far as Plymouth, though the main recipients were refugees from Boston and Charlestown in the neighboring towns. As time went on, the committee received reports of serious difficulty in Newport, and some of the Philadelphia funds were sent there, especially for

[1] The remark is probably: "How many are spending their time and money in vanity and superfluities, while thousands and tens of thousands want the necessaries of life, who might be relieved by them and their distress at such a time as this, in some degree softened by the administering suitable things."

[2] "Watertown, Nov. 27 . . . Friday last, General Howe sent 300 Men, Women and Children, Poor of the Town of Boston, over to Chelsea, without any Thing to subsist on, at this inclement Season of the Year. . . ." *Boston Gazette*, November 27, 1775.

[3] See their briefer report in Minutes of New England Meeting for Sufferings, I. 27.

the purchase of firewood. The situation on Nantucket was also very difficult.

Among other complications of the relief task was the refusal of many Friends to use the paper currency issued by the revolutionary government. In a letter to John Pemberton (Providence, April 30, 1776), Moses Brown explains the situation:

> Some Friends this way are concerned not to take it from a principle of its promoting the War, as well as on Acc^t of the authority making it, & I was thoughtful about the matter but having found in the course of Distribution of your Donation that the passing (at this time) hard money as effectually promoted it, I was constrained in my mind to hand paper in Lieu of it. A particular case was this. I was delivering the Selectmen of a Town, 50 miles from here some silver and while I was feeling in my pocket for some gold one spoke and said this made him think of the business of their town meeting (then just broke up) they had orders from the assembly to collect all the hard money they could for there was Acc^ts come, that the Army in Cannady could not be supported with paper. On which I felt such a stop in my mind that I tho't it best to hand the Remainder in paper, and to tell them that we could not exchange nor permit them to take (as he propos'd) any hard money for such uses, but desired that such as we left was delivered to the Individual, to which they readily agreed.[1]

The contributions from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting were apparently closed and audited as early as September, 1776. The total given was £3,910 2*s* 1½*d*. The records indicate how much was given by each Quarterly and Monthly Meeting.[2] In New England some money had been raised even before the Philadelphia effort, and perhaps Friends of New York also assisted. There is some evidence that even the more southerly Yearly Meetings contributed.[3]

[1] Pemberton Papers, XXIX. 32. In the same letter Moses Brown remarks: "I think it may be said in justice to the people of that government [Massachusetts] that there is now as little appearance of the Spirit of Persecution of Friends as in any of the Colonies."

[2] Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, II. 100f. In the Reynell-Coates Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is John Reynell's original account book containing the same itemized information under the heading "Dr & Cr Subscriptions received from the monthly meetings belonging to the Yearly Meeting for the relief of the poor Inhabitants of Massachusetts." The book itself is now marked "Pensilvania and New Jersey Yearly Meeting Stock in account with John Reynell 1762–1783." I cannot find trace of any record of the individual donations.

[3] James Berry of Maryland wrote from Choptank to John Pemberton on August 8, 1775: "Diverse Friends hereaways have for some time past been inclined to give a small matter towards the support of the sufferers in New England but not finding any satisfactory way of conveying it (till the Meeting for Sufferings in Philad^a opened a channel for that purpose) nothing has been done till our last Quarterly Meeting when I was directed to receive the contributions of Friends and to convey it to the Meeting for Sufferings provided it can be joined to the sum raised in your provinces and forwarded therewith." Pemberton Papers, XXVIII. 23.

In April, 1776, the Meeting for Sufferings in New England rendered a summary account of distributions to date amounting to £1,968 5*s* 2½*d* lawful money, "which hath been distributed in 2157 sums to 1472 different persons and families; numbering in the whole 5220 persons." But when the final account was received in Philadelphia sixteen months later, some of the totals were doubled, there being, according to the lists, 3,030 named families.[1] Since each list gives, besides the name of the head of the family, the number of persons in it, the place of present and former residence, the occupation of the breadwinner, and the religious affiliation, a source of information is here provided unlike the usual rolls of the great and important with which historians and genealogists prefer to deal. Of the families more than eight hundred were those of widows. Since the Quakers or "friendly" people listed are extremely few,[2] the distribution evidently followed the nonsectarian intention of the donors. How far it was possible to avoid discriminating on political grounds or assisting those who promoted military measures on either side one cannot tell. The lists, like the correspondence of the distributors, are eloquent of the extent of human need.

It would be interesting to compare the lists of recipients with other evidence as to the names of the refugees from Boston. The great sums of money raised earlier in the colonies to help those in need as a result of the Boston Port Bill do not seem to have received so detailed an accounting. As the Quakers reported, many refugees were expected to be helped by the towns to which they had gone. There are two local lists which make an interesting comparison. One is entitled "The Names of Some of the Persons belonging to Boston and Charleston, who were relieved and assisted at Reading by the Town, in 1775." There are about sixty of these "donation people," several of whose names also appear later as recipients of Quaker relief.[3] Similar, though briefer, is the list of "The Families and the number in each family which came from Boston to the Town of Concord as Donation Poor from Boston."[4] But the Quaker relief workers do not mention Concord. The towns in which they made

[1] Papers of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, Box 14.

[2] Of the Boston Quaker families listed in 1774 (see page 42, *n.* 5, above) the following refugees were, according to the lists, assisted: at Falmouth, Maine, Phebe Pope, Nathaniel Low, wife, and three children; at Salem, Sarah Silsbey; at Lynn, Ephraim Silsbey and wife, Ezra Curtain and wife.

[3] Lilley Eaton, *Genealogical History of the Town of Reading, Mass.* (Boston, 1874), 715–716.

[4] MS., Massachusetts Historical Society. There are twenty-one families totaling eighty-two persons on this list. On the back is an account of what the town of Concord provided for them from May 13, 1775.

the largest number of distributions were Lynn, Salem, Marblehead, Manchester, Marshfield, and Hingham, Massachusetts; Portsmouth and Newcastle, New Hampshire; Falmouth, Maine; and, later, Boston itself and Newport.

Automatically the situation gradually improved as the scene of war shifted elsewhere. Already in April, 1776, the Friends in New England wrote to Philadelphia: "Hearing of the distressed situation of the poor people in New York and the Southern Colonies, we can say but little to encourage a further sum to be sent this way, more than to give you a general account that there remain great numbers very poor and needy."[1] It was reported to the Meeting for Sufferings in New York in February, 1777, that some of the money raised in Philadelphia "for the relief of the necessitous in and about Boston" was available for like purpose in New York. The Meeting accepted the offer and undertook to raise funds also in their own meetings.[2] In 1777 Philadelphia exchanged rôles with Boston as to being occupied by the British. I find no evidence that Massachusetts contributed to relieve the sufferings in the Quaker city.[3] For them, help was offered from another quarter: English Friends sent ships of provisions to various American ports, and in the spring of 1778 a donation of £2,000, Irish money, was put at the disposal of Philadelphia Quakers by their brethren in Ireland. This, however, they spent mainly on cases of need at a distance, such, for instance, as the frontier parts of South Carolina and Georgia. The war ended with a considerable amount of English and Irish relief money still unexpended, which Anthony Benezet, when he died in 1784, was trying to secure for the relief of Negroes unlawfully held in bondage or in other circumstances of special need.[4]

That the recipients in New England appreciated the Quaker relief is most likely and is in fact attested by the reports of the distributors. The difficulty of the task was quite recompensed in the minds of these latter by the appreciation of those to whom they ministered. The gratitude was doubtless private rather than public, although in the records of the town of Salem for December 29, 1775, and May 18, 1776, stand votes of

[1] Minutes of New England Meeting for Sufferings, I. 38; Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, II. 82.

[2] Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings of New York Yearly Meeting (Friends Record Room, 221 East Fifteenth Street, New York City), I. 38.

[3] Compare the action in 1781 of the congregation in Chelsea, Mass., in sending money to "the distressed inhabitants of South Carolina and Georgia who are driven out by British troops." 2 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, IX. 105–108.

[4] According to English minutes preserved in the records of the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings (Box 18), this wish was fulfilled by a grant of £500 to the Negro school in Philadelphia, while other money was being applied as late as 1789 to war sufferers in Nova Scotia.

thanks to the Friends.[1] Apparently the histories of neither Boston, the Siege of Boston, nor the Revolution in New England make reference to this episode. There is no evidence that Moses Brown's forecast was correct when he said: "The name Quaker though little known in these parts will be remembered and perhaps some may no more think it reproach."[2] Experience of more recent years shows that when men have once adopted the way of the sword, they have little real understanding of neutral benefactions and short memories of gifts prompted by a spirit which in other circumstances might seem to them suggestive of a better way.

[1] Joseph B. Felt, *The Annals of Salem* (Salem, 1827), 497, 499. Cf. Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (New York, 1911), 152, where he observes: "In Salem the Friends in company with the selectmen of the town went from house to house and distributed their relief through the very streets along which the Quakers had been whipped a hundred years before."

[2] The New England Meeting for Sufferings wrote to Philadelphia in May, 1776, that the distribution had "a tendency to make a good impression on the minds of some who have been prejudiced against Friends." Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, II. 84.

Appendix

No. 1. Cont^g the list of near 150 Donations to Families whose numbers make upwards of 400 persons being the Inhabitants of Marblehead Salem Gloucester & Manchester & the dispersed inhabitants of Boston & Charlestown amounting to £120 8*s* 6*d*

Date	*Names*	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
1775 12th Mo.							
5th	Lucy Wilson an aged *W.*[1]	Providence	Boston		*P.*	Schoolmistress[2]	£1 10
	Catharine Whitamore *W.*	"	"	2	*B.*		1 10
18th	Hannah Curtis *W.*	Marblehead		2	*P.*		1
	Sarah Wigers *W.*	"			*P.*		10
	John Lows Wife	"		2	*P.*		14
	Susannah Dennis & Two Daughters	"		3	*P.*		18
	Elias Briars & Wife 70 years	"			*C.*		1
	Ailce Lee	"		1	*P.*		10
	Deborah Codnar & Daug^r	"		1	*C.*		15
	Elizabeth Smith	"		2	*P.*		18
	Elizabeth Wallan & Daug^r	"		1	*P.*		14
	Mary Rowles, aged *W.*	"		3	*C.*		1
	Mary Smith aged *W.* 1 Child & 2 Grandchild^n	"		3	*P.*		1 10
	Bulah & Hepsiba Brock 2 Twins ab^t 70 & their Sister Mary Fabins *W.*	"			*P.*	Schoolmistress	2
	Ann Owens *W.*	"		1	*P.*		1

John Pearce & Wife	"		*P.*			15
Lydia Robinson, her husband 8 mo. at Sea	"	3	*C.*		1	
Richard Words Wife	"	7	*P.*	Baker	1	10
Elisabeth Flory *W.*	"	4	*P.*		1	10
Sarah Clown *W.*	"		*P.*			10
Sam[1] Hitchens aged 89 Wife & Sister	"	3	*P.*	Picker of Oakum		15
Peter Martin & Wife	"		*P.*			6
Jean Clapman & Son	"	1	*P.*			14
Elisabeth Dodd *W.*	"	5	*C.*		1	10
Ray Sampson *W.* with a very sick Child	"	4	*P.*		1	10
Mary Brown, single Woman	"		*C.*			14
Mary Bassett *W.*	"		*P.*			6
Mary Lodge *W.*	"		*P.*			6
Lydia Main *W.*	"	1	*P.*			10
Elizabeth Burrill *W.*	"	1	*C.*			12
Jean Poors *W.* with grandchildren	"	3	*C.*			15
					£28	12

[1] The abbreviations used in the lists are:

B. Baptist
C. Church of England
D. Dissenter
F. Friend
L. Lutheran
M. Moravian
P. Presbyterian or Congregationalist
R. Roman Catholic
W. Widow

[2] "*N.B.* Those Woomen who have no Occupations put against them, Usualy got their Living by their hand Labour of Various Kinds, now Obstructed & Stopt by the present Troubles &c."

Date	*Names*	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
1775						Bro[t] forward	£28 12
	Abigail Dennis *W.*	Marblehead			*P.*		10
	Elizabeth Groton *W.*	"			*P.*		10
	Mary Gray *W.*	"			*P.*		1 1
	Mary English *W.*	"			*P.*		10
	Sarah Trevy *W.* & her aged Mother	"		1	*P.*		1
	Rebeckah Bezun *W.*	"		2	*P.*		10
	Elizabeth Chapman *W.* & her aged Mother of 80	"		1	*P.*		1
	John Poor & Wm. Curtis 2 poor boys, beggers	"					4
	Exchang'd for Bisket & Coppers for the poor Boys, 6*s* & 2*s* is						8
19th	Rachel Comeins	Salem		1	*P.*		12
	Mary Hubbard, & Abigail Still *W.* & their aged Mother	"		1	*P.*		1
	John Tink Wife	"		1	*P.*	Carpenter	12
	Rachel Erving *W.* & grand-children	"		3	*P.*		18
	Mary Leach *W.*	"		1	*P.*		10
	Lydia Killey an aged *W.*	"			*P.*		12
	John Mugford Wife	"		6	*P.*	Fisherman	18
	Mary Hatham *W.*	"		2	*P.*		1
	Edmund Munyan, Wife	"		7	*P.*		8

	Mary Slewman, with a decrepit husband	"		1	*P.*		1		
	Mary Gottier *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
	John Leach, Wife	"		2	*P.*			10	
23d	Sarah Merriott *W.*	"		2	*P.*			6	
	Abiah Eddy Daug[r] & grandchildren	"	Charlestown	2	*P.*		1	10	
	Henry Snow	"	Boston		*P.*	Cabinetmaker	1		
	Thomas Giles Wife, he abroad	"		5	*P.*			10	
	Hannah Nichols *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
20th	Abraham Burril *W.*	Gloucester		2	*P.*			6	
	Andrew Standars Wife	"		4	*P.*			4	
	Abigail Stevens an aged *W.*	"			*P.*			6	
	Patience Knights *W.*	"		6	*P.*			8	6
	Bethiah Adams *W.*	"		3	*P.*			4	
	Mary Harris aged *W.*	"			*P.*			8	
	Ruth Buyinton *W.*	"		3	*P.*			16	
	Samuel Clark an aged Man	"			*P.*			18	
	Bethiah Abbott *W.*	"		4	*P.*			16	
	Lowis Tarr *W.*	"		3	*P.*			12	
	Rebeckah Brock *W.*	"		5	*P.*			18	
	Joshua Kendal & Wife	"			*P.*			15	
	Betty Kendall *W.*	"		2	*P.*			15	
	Martha Stevens *W.*	"		3	*P.*			15	
							£54	14	6

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
1775						Bro^t forward	£54	14	6
	Sarah Bray & S. Flagg *W.*	Gloucester		1	*P.*			6	
	Elizabeth Hardy *W.*	"		1	*P.*		1	10	
	Mary Steel *W.*	"		6	*P.*		1	10	
	Enoch Rayer Wife	"		7	*P.*			18	
	Sarah Riggs *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
	Martha Brock *W.*	"		4	*P.*		1		
	Deborah Griffin *W.*	"		5	*P.*		1		
	Patience Thompson *W.*	"			*P.*			14	
21st	Unice Herridon *W.*	"		3	*P.*			16	
	Patience Chard Wife of Thos absent 3 years	"		4	*P.*		1		
	Abigail Godden Wife of Thomas who hath been absent 2 years	"		1	*P.*			12	
	Rachel Davis *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12	
	Joshua Norwood *W.*	"			*P.*			16	
	Abigail Jumpper *W.*	"			*P.*			15	
	Elizabeth Whaley *W.*	"		2	*P.*			15	
	Mary Riggs *W.*	"		2	*P.*			6	
	Lydia Gatwood *W.*	"		2	*P.*			10	
	Rachel How *W.*	"		1	*P.*			10	
	Sarah Allen *W.*	"		3	*P.*			12	
	Hannah Glover aged *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
22d	John Shapton Wife	"		4	*P.*		1		
	Mary Johnson aged *W.*	"			*P.*			10	

	Lydia Morgan *W.*	"			*P.*				12
	Benj[a] Webber for his aged Mother	"			*P.*				12
	Hannah Davis *W.*	"		3	*P.*		1		4
	Mary Millit *W.*	"		4	*P.*		1		4
	Susannah Varrell *W.*	"			*P.*		1		
	Betty Hammond *W.*	"			*P.*		1		
	George Francis Wife	"		4	*P.*		1		10
	John Dunahue Wife	"		4	*P.*		1		4
	—— Lufkin *W.*	"			*P.*				12
	Mary Jones with a father upwards of 80 & mother 96 or 7	Manchester			*P.*		1		10
	Lucy Andrews *W.* with a decrepit son	"		4	*P.*		1		
	John Britton Wife	"	Marblehead	5	*P.*		1		
26	Moses Barron *W.*	Point Shirley in Chelsea	Boston		*P.*	Shoemaker			15
	Nathaniel Mountford	"	"		*P.*	Writingmaster			9
	Joseph Hoy	"	"		*P.*	Brazier			9
	Ceaser Wendal & Wife, free Negros	"	"		*P.*		1		8
	Rebeckah Spears, lost her husband on the point since she came out	"	"	2	*P.*		1		8
							£88	5	6

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
1775						Bro[t] forward	£88	5	6
	Elizabeth Orr, Orphan Girl of 14	Point Shirley in Chelsea	Boston		*P.*			6	
	Temple de Coister & sister Fary 2 Children under 13 years	"	"		*P.*			3	
	Elizabeth Thornton	"	"		*P.*			6	
	Esther Esworthy *W.*	"	"		*P.*			6	
	John Obray, Wife, french people with a Country woman	"	"		*R.*			18	
	Sarah Bryant a Regulars *W.*	"	"		*P.*			12	
	Benj[a] Ross, Wife	"	"	1	*B.*	Cabinetmaker		15	
	Ebenezer Goff & Wife	"	"		*P.*	Labourer		6	
	Elizabeth Farmer Wife of W[m] left in Boston	"	"	1	*P.*			12	
	Magnis Tillock *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*			15	
	Nath[l] Cushing Offing Son of Nath[l] about 11 years	"	"		*P.*		1	10	
	John King Wife	"	"		*P.*	Butcher	1	6	
	Elinor Boson *W.*	"	"		*P.*			6	
	Lucy Malony wife of Michel	"	"	1	*P.*		1		
	Elias Cox, Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Shoemaker	1		
	Benj[a] Burdit	"	"		*P.*	Shoemaker		16	
	William Vinal, Sister	"	"	4	*P.*	formerly a Preacher	1	10	

Sarah Brown *W.*	"	"	4	*P.*		1		
Mehitable Orange	"	"	1	*P.*		1		
Sarah Usher, *W.* her husband dying the day he Landed on ye point	"	"		*P.*		1		
Israel Cowing Wife	"	"	7	*P.*	Ship Carpenter	2	4	
Edward Edwards Wife	"	"	4	*P.*	Tailor	1	8	
Priscilla Nebitters	"	"	1	*P.*	Seamstress	1		
Sarah Dunkinfield *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*	Nurse	1		
Elizabeth Manwaring *W.* her husband dying since she came out	"	"		*P.*			10	
Sarah Ingerfield *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*			10	
Benj^a Goit *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*		1		
Ann Goit *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*		1		
Sarah Butt *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*	Seamstress	1	12	
Hannah Hinks *W.*	"	"		*P.*	Seamstress	1	6	
Martha Tompson aged *W.*	"	"		*P.*			12	
James Collins	"	"	2	*P.*	Carpenter		12	
David Jenkins	"	"				1		
Unity Knock & Wife	Malden	"		*P.*	Shoemaker	1		
James Newell Wife	"	Charlestown	1	*P.*	Potter	1	8	
Abigail Newel *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*			14	
						£120	8	6

No. 2. Acc^t of Distributions in Marblehead, Salem, Manchester & Gloucester on Cape Ann, and to the Dispers'd Inhabitants of Boston & Charleston. 274 Donations—the Families Cont^g 838 persons

Date	*Names*	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
1775							
18th	Susannah Ashton *W.*	Marblehead		2	*P.*		£1
12th Mo.	—— Furguson *W.*	"			*P.*		10
	Mary Glover *W.*	"			*P.*		10
	Sarah Lovis *W.* near 80	"			*P.*		1
	Esther Gabriel *W.*	"		1	*C.*		12
	Sarah Neale *W.*	"		2	*P.*		12
	Miriam Fryes *W.* 75	"		1	*P.*		12
	John Vickril 89, & Wife 73	"			*C.*		1
	Mary Pierce *W.*	"			*P.*		18
	Rebecca Kinsman *W.*	"			*P.*		12
	Thos Felton & Wife	"		6	*P.*	Blacksmith	1
	Anna Rose *W.*	"		4	*P.*		12
	Jane Gurley *W.*	"			*P.*		12
	Mary Canterbury *W.*	"			*C.*		12
	Abigail Williams	"		1	*C.*		6
	Rebecca Johnson *W.*	"			*P.*		1
	Anna Jackson, her Husb^d prest on bord M. war	"		4	*P.*		1
	Ann Rush *W.*	"		1	*C.*		12
	Deborah Cross *W.*	"			*C.*		1
	Deborah Bowden *W.* 65	"			*P.*		1
	Lydia Reed *W.*	"			*P.*		12

	Mary Lasgee *W.* & Daug[r] Dennis	"	5	*P.*		1	
	Mary White *W.* & orphan Grandchildren	"	3	*P.*		1	
19th	Elisabeth Trask *W.*	Salem		*P.*			12
	Mary Silsbee, a Maiden 84, & Jane Fling *W.*	"		*P.*		1	10
	Mary Welman *W.*	"		*P.*			18
	Tho[s] Masury & Wife	"	4	*P.*		1	
	Marcy Burk, Husb[d] cast away	"	2	*P.*			12
	Hannah Cocks *W.*	"	2	*P.*			12
	Rebecca Turner, Negro *W.*	"	2	*P.*			10
	Benj[a] Masury & Wife	"	1	*P.*			11
	Paul Cahoon & Wife	"	5	*P.*			6
	Robert Hooper & Mother	"		*P.*			9
	Sarrah Lemmon *W.*	"		*C.*			12
	Anna Matthews, husb[d] at Sea	"	3	*C.*			9
	Sarah Nickelson, hus[d] at Sea	"	3	*C.*		1	
	Abigail Puncheon, Maiden	"		*P.*			12
	Rebecca Patterson *W.*	"		*C.*			12
	Elisabeth Giles *W.* near 80	"		*P.*		1	
	W[m] Robinson & Wife	Marblehead	7	*P.*	Labourer	1	10
	Hannah Bully *W.*	"	1	*P.*		1	
						£31	7

Date	*Names*	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*	
						Bro^t forward	£31	7
	Hannah Brimblecom *W.*	Marblehead		1	*P.*		1	
	Philip Hammon & Wife	"		2	*P.*	Fisherman	1	
	Abigail Thompson *W.*	"		6	*P.*		1	10
	Margeret Craw *W.*	"		1	*C.*			10
	Priscilla Jacobs *W.*	"		3	*P.*		1	
	Hepsebah Wurgey *W.*	"			*P.*		1	
	Mary Hickey *W.*	"			*P.*			10
	Hannah Savery	"		5	*P.*		1	
	Mary Gorell *W.*	"		1	*P.*	Weaver	1	
	Rebeccah Cane *W.*	"		1	*P.*			10
	Elisabeth Cross *W.*	"		3	*P.*			15
	Mary Hooper *W.*	"		1	*P.*			15
	Elisabeth Gover, with an aged Mother	Salem		2	*P.*			12
	Margaret Heathy *W.*	"		2	*P.*		1	
	Lydia Cook *W.*	"			*P.*			10
	John Brown & Wife	"		2	*P.*		1	
	Elisabeth Millet & aged Mother	"		3	*P.*		1	10
	Abial Towser *W.*	"		4	*P.*			10
	Lydia Valpey *W.*	"		2	*P.*			10
	Desire White *W.*	"			*C.*			8
	Elisabeth Clark *W.*	"	Boston	1	*P.*		1	
	Sam. Greenleaf & Wife	Beverly	"	3	*B.*	Hatter	2	

Lydia Hodgkins & Anna Ellet	Gloucester	2	*P.*	1	
John Hase & Wife	"	1	*P.*		12
Susannah Scandelon *W.*	"	3	*P.*	1	
Hannah Pery *W.*	"	1	*P.*		6
Rachel Allen *W.*	"		*P.*		6
Sarah Day *W.*	"		*P.*		6
Rachel Rich *W.*	"	2	*P.*		6
Jane Carter *W.*	"	1	*P.*		8
Anna Cloughlan *W.*	"	3	*P.*		12
Stephen Robinson & Wife	"	7	*P.*		18
Sarah Larvey *W.*	"	1	*P.*		6
Sarah Hunter *W.*	"	1	*P.*		10
Sarah Larvey *W.*	"	5	*P.*	1	
Thomazem Smith *W.*	"	4	*P.*	1	
Ruth Millet & Bethiah Jones *Ws.*	"	1	*P.*		12
Sarah Smith *W.*	"	4	*P.*	1	10
Sarah Joseph *W.*	"	5	*P.*		18
Eunice Rennicom *W.*	"	1	*P.*		12
Susannah Sergant *W.*	"		*P.*		12
Lydia Robinson *W.*	"		*P.*		6
Martha Robinson *W.* with Sister	"	1	*P.*		10
Judith Knolton *W.*	"	5	*P.*	1	10
				£65	17

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums	
						Bro^t forward	£65	17
	Mary Parsons *W.* & Mr. Parsons Cripples	Gloucester			*P.*	Tailor		12
	Anna Cartey *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12
	Susanna Parsons *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12
	Joseph Leach & Wife	Manchester			*P.*		1	
	Abigail Galloway *W.*	"			*P.*			15
	Abigail Leach *W.*	"			*P.*		1	
	Rachel Bennet *W.*	"		2	*P.*		1	
	Anna Bennet *W.*	"		3	*P.*		1	4
	Margaret Meloy *W.*	Salem		5	*P.*		1	10
	Elisabeth Orsborn *W.*	"		1	*P.*	Tailoress		9
	Eleanor Thomas & Margaret Pitman	"		2	*P.*			12
	Jacob Henly & Wife	"	Boston	1	*P.*	Blacksmith		18
	Moses Day & Wife	"		7	*P.*	Sailor		6
	Robert Goodale, Wife, & several Children	"			*F.*			6
	Elisabeth Robinson *W.*	Danvers	Boston		*C.*			15
	James Phillips & Wife	"	"		*P.*	Rigger		18
	Timothy Jervis & Wife	Salem	"	2	*P.*		1	8
	Samuel Roles & Wife	Danvers	Marblehead	5	*P.*	Sailor	1	4
	Mary Gipson *W.*	Chelsea	Boston	3	*P.*		1	8
	Jane Ledletter *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*			10
	Hannah Hill *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*			14
	Mary Jinckins *W.*	"	"	3	*P.*		1	

Elisabeth Carpenter	"	"	3	*C.*		1		
Mary Tucker	"	"		*P.*			8	
Elisabeth Robinson *W.*	"	"	2	*B.*			18	
Susannah Joy *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*	Tailoress	1	8	
Hannah Edwards *W.*	"	"		*P.*			10	
Timothy Call	"	"		*P.*			10	
Jonathan Abrahams & Wife	"	"	4	*P.*	Blockmaker	1	8	
Christopher Christy & Wife	"	"	2	*P.*			18	
James Christy & Wife	"	"		*P.*	Caulker		14	
Alexander Shearly & Wife	"	Noddle's Island		*C.*			14	
Joseph True & Wife	"	Boston	5	*P.*	Carpenter	1	8	
John Ayers & Wife	"	"	2	*P.*			18	
Elisabeth Payten	"	"	2	*P.*		1		
John Jepson	"	"	4	*B.*	Tailor	1	8	
Martha Dorcey *W.*	"	"	3	*P.*		1		
Mehitable Sloper *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*			8	
Mary Cloutman *W.*	Salem		4	*P.*		1		
Joseph Searl & Wife	"			*P.*	Tailor		12	
Widow Martha Renew & Mother	"		3	*P.*		1		
David Hillard wth an aged Mother	"		7	*C.*	Ropemaker	1	10	
Sarah Cash (maid) & Nurse Littlefield	"			*P.*		1		
Jonathan Whitefoot	"			*P.*	Labourer		12	
Abigail Whiley	"		3	*P.*			15	
						£105	9	8

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
						Bro^t forward	£105	9	
	Joseph Lewis & Wife	Salem	Boston		P.		1		
	Elisabeth Drisdale *W.*	"			P.			15	
	Hannah Marshfield *W.*	"			P.			10	
	Marcy Beadle *W.*	"			P.			16	
	Susanna Right *W.*	"			P.			15	
	John Batter's Wife, he absent	"		3	P.		1		
	John Foot	"			P.	Labourer		15	
	Abigail Mussey *W.*	"		1	P.			10	
	John Arthur's Wife, he absent	"		2	P.			15	
	Lydia Gulley *W.*	"	Boston	2	P.		1	16	
	Eunice Vail, Maiden	"	"		P.			12	
	Mary Berry *W.*	"		1	P.			10	
	Elisabeth Foot & Daughter both *Ws.*	"		1	P.			18	
	Susanna Beadle *W.*	"		5	P.		1	10	
	Sarah Brimblecomb (Husband absent)	"		3	P.		1	4	
	Mary Cox *W.* & Sister Abigail Lasker, Maiden	"		1	P.			18	
	Mary Magrews *W.*	"		1	P.			18	
	Mary Cox *W.*	"		1	P.		1		
	David Lawson	"		4	C.	Fisherman	1		
	John Walpey & Wife	"		5	P.	Fisherman	1		

Margaret Howard *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
James Collins	"			*P.*	Ship Carpenter		10	
Abigail Curtis *W.* & Dau[tr] weakly Maiden	"			*P.*			18	
Ruth Searl *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
Mary Whitefoot	"			*P.*			11	
Samuel Gavit & Wife	"		2	*P.*	Labourer		12	
Lydia Mileman *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
Susanna Phippen *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
Elisabeth Whitefoot (Husband absent)	"		5	*P.*		1	4	
Mary Larder *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
Joseph Gifford & Wife	"		6	*C.*		1	4	
To Sundries dl[d] 5 poor Children belonging to Marblehead							6	8
Johanna Farran, Maiden	"	Boston		*P.*			12	
Mary Shaw, Maiden	"	"		*P.*			12	
Lydia Woodman	"		4	*P.*		1		
—— Whitefoot	"		2	*P.*			12	
Hannah Wallus *W.*	"		2	*P.*			15	
Jemima Porter *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
Sarah Jerald *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
Bethia Trask *W.*	"		3	*P.*			15	
Richard Lander & Wife	"		6	*C.*	Carpenter		18	
						£137	17	4

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
						Bro^t forward	£137	17	4
	Mary Meacham *W.*	Salem			*P.*			10	
	William Perry & Wife	"		3	*P.*	Sailor		18	
	William Loftey & Wife	"			*P.*			15	
	Hannah Roberson *W.*	"			*C.*			10	
	Thomas Doyle & Wife	"		3	*C.*			15	
	Abigail Ramsdel (Husband absent)	"		3	*P.*			12	
	Sarah Briggs *W.*	"		1	*C.*			10	
	Lydia Elexander *W.*	"		2	*P.*			15	
	Hannah Manning *W.*	"			*P.*			7	6
	Elisabeth Whitefoot *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
	Elisabeth Yell *W.* and Daughter Elisabeth *W.*	"		2	*P.*		1		
	Thomas Stephens's Wife, he abs^t	"		4	*P.*			8	
	Joseph Smith & Wife	"			*P.*	Fisherman		12	
	William Bene & Wife	"	Boston		*P.*			15	
	Mary Mires *W.*	"		3	*P.*			12	
	Hannah Sluman *W.*	"		5	*P.*			12	
	Abigail Cook *W.*	"			*P.*			6	
	Elisabeth Mackertee *W.*	"		4	*P.*			18	
	William Liscomb & Wife	"		1	*C.*	Mason		10	
	Hannah Clemons *W.*	"		4	*P.*			14	
	Elisabeth Bell *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12	

	Benjamin Bateman & Wife	"		1	*P.*	Carpenter		12	
	Mary & Hannah Burchmore *Ws.*	"			*P.*			12	
	Hannah Twist, Maiden	"			*P.*			9	
	Lydia Macklemar	"		2	*P.*			14	
	Ruth Gutchel *W.*	"			*P.*			6	
	Sam[1] Mackentier & Wife	"		6	*P.*			12	
	Thomas Jonston & Wife	"	Boston		*P.*	Cabinetmaker	1		
	Susanna Mussey *W.*	"		2	*C.*			18	
	Rubia White *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
	Mary Chamberlain *W.*	"	Charlestown	2	*P.*			18	
	Mary Austin *W.*	"	"	6	*P.*		1	4	
	Hannah Farrand *W.*	"	Boston	1	*P.*			17	
	Thomas Horton	"		2	*P.*	Labourer		9	
	Peter Herfield	"		3	*P.*	Labourer		9	
	Mary Jackson *W.*	"	Boston		*P.*			16	
	—— Grant *W.*	"			*P.*			8	
	Marcy Lambert *W.*	"		2	*C.*			16	
	Martha Stephen *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
	Samuel Masury	"			*P.*	Sailor		15	
	Sarah Adams *W.*	"	Boston		*P.*			18	
	Samuel Peters & Wife	"		4	*P.*			18	
	Elisabeth Amory *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
	John Topp & Wife	"	Boston		*P.*			17	
23d	Hannah William *W.*	"		3	*P.*			10	
	Nathaniel Holdine & Wife	"		4	*P.*			6	
							£167	18	10

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums
						Bro^t forward	£167 18 10
	Sarrah Tarrant *W.*	Salem		1	*P.*		6
	Mary Welman *W.*	"		6	*P.*		6
	Lydia Osborne (Husband at Sea)	"		3	*P.*		15
	Lydia Mackentire *W.*	"			*P.*		6
	Mary Couch *W.*	"			*P.*		5
	Nathaniel Perkins & Wife	"			*P.*		6
	Simon Lamb & Wife & Aunt near 70	"		3	*C.*		12
	Henry Tink & Wife	"		5	*C.*		15
	Mary Hotham	"		5	*P.*		10
	John Lutener & Wife	"		2	*C.*		11
	Phillip Craw 70 years old	"			*P.*		6
	Hannah Frayzer *W.*	"		3	*P.*		14
	John Leerock & Wife	"	Boston	5	*P.*		12
	Thomas Thornton Wife & Mother	"		3	*P.*		15
20th	Nicholas Gougate & Wife	Gloucester		5	*R.*	Labourer	1 10
	Flura Doucite & Wife	"		4	*R.*	Labourer	1 10
	—— Brown *W.*	"		6	*P.*		1 10
	Thomas Winter	"		6	*P.*	Caulker	1
	Sarah Witham	"		4	*P.*		6
	Hannah Elwell	"		2	*P.*	Spinster	6
	The Wife of John Gardener	"			*P.*		6
	—— Robinson *W.*	"			*P.*		6

	Widow Batten	"		*P.*		6	
	Widow Corney	"		*P.*		6	
	Solomon Howard	"		*P.*		12	
	Widow Witham	"		*P.*		12	
	Sarah Hadley *W.*	"		*P.*		7	
	Sarah Row *W.*	"	4	*P.*		18	
	Widow Elwell	"		*P.*		12	
	Mary Reel *W.*	"		*P.*		12	
	Widow Caprin *W.*	"	2	*P.*		12	
	Anna Ellery *W.*	"	3	*P.*		12	
	Prudence Ellery *W.*	"		*P.*		6	
	Widow Parsons	"	3	*P.*		6	
	Widow Indler	"	2	*P.*		12	
	Widow Allen	"		*P.*		9	
	—— Daniels	"	2	*P.*		12	
	William Babson & Wife	"		*P.*		12	
	Widow Severy	"		*P.*		6	
	Thomas Pellam	"	2	*P.*		10	
	Wife of Jon[a] Coats	"		*P.*		5	
	Andrew Grimes	"		*P.*		6	
21st	Hannah Tar Wife of Caleb	"		*P.*		6	
	Jemima Millett	"		*P.*		6	
	Widow Glover	"	2	*P.*		4	
	Andrew Grimes & Wife	"	5	*P.*	1		
	Jonathan Coats his Wife	"	5	*P.*		6	
					£193	6	10

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums
						Bro^t forward	£193 6 10
	Susanna Holland, Husband Prest a Board Man War	Gloucester		3	*P.*		12
	James Lane & Wife	"		3	*P.*		12
	Jane Foster *W.*	"			*P.*		8
	William Robins & Wife	"			*P.*		8
	Susanna Ellwell	"		1	*P.*		9
	Elisabeth Roe *W.*	"		4	*P.*		1
	Mary Boynton	"		4	*P.*		10
	Widow Brown	"			*P.*		6
	Lydia Davis *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
	Hannah Noble	"			*P.*		6
						274 Don^a	£198 9 10

No. 3. Marblehead, Lynn & Point Shirley. 152 Donations the Families Contain 420 persons

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums
1776 12th Mo. 1	Nicholas Girdler & Wife	Marblehead		1	*C.*	Fisherman	£ 10
	Elener Dixen *W.*	"		2	*C.*		12
	Anna Grow *W.*	"		1	*P.*		10
	Rachel Pitman *W.*	"			*P.*		10
	Rebekah Clerk *W.*	"		4	*P.*		15
	Sarah Pecket *W.*	"		1	*P.*		5
	Grace Cammel (Husb^d abs^t)	"		3	*P.*		16

Bethiah Waters *W.*	"		*C.*			7	6
Mary Lapthorn *W.*	"		*P.*			10	
Martha Gossear (Husb[d] abs[t])	"	6	*C.*			18	
Elizabeth Davis *W.*	"		*C.*			10	
Sarah Taylor (Husb[d] absent)	"	1	*P.*			6	9
Sarah Brown *W.*	"		*C.*			10	
Sarah & Mary Widger *Ws.*	"		*C.*			17	
Mary Farne (Husb[d] cast away)	"	2	*C.*			15	
Sarah Brown (Husb[d] absent)	"	3	*P.*			4	
Simson Bowden & Wife	"		*P.*	Shoreman		12	
Judith Mardick *W.*	"		*P.*			11	
Mary Sammon *W.*	"		*C.*			10	2
Joseph Doliber & Wife	"	1	*P.*	Fisherman		14	
Rebekah Robinson *W.*	"	3	*P.*		1		
Meream Ireson *W.*	"	1	*P.*			11	
Sarah Stephens *W.*	"	1	*P.*			11	
Ann Tefts *W.*	"		*P.*			15	
Mary Trevy *W.*	"		*P.*			10	
Jane Strong *W.*	"	5			1		
Deliverance Henly *W.*	"		*P.*			6	½
Arthur Lloyd & Wife	"	5	*C.*	Labourer		16	
Elizabeth Gilbert	"		*P.*			2	8
					£16	15	1½

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
					Bro^t forward	£16	15	1½
Mary Dodd *W.*	Marblehead		1	*P.*			12	
Mary High & a Widow Daughter	"		2	*P.*		1		
Elizabeth Trevy *W.*	"			*P.*			2	8
Sarah Curtice *W.*	"		4	*P.*			16	
Mary Russell *W.*	"		5	*P.*			18	
Sarah Flint *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12	
Mary Andrews	"			*P.*			6	
Mary Poor *W.*	"		4	*P.*			16	
Sarah Masury *W.*	"			*C.*			8	
Elizabeth Magery *W.*	"		2	*C.*			12	
Mary Dennis *W.*	"		1	*C.*			6	
Hannah Allen *W.*	"		1	*P.*			8	
Thomas Tucker & Wife	"		1	*C.*	Fisherman		12	
William Goss & Wife	"		1	*P.*	Fisherman		8	
Margret Gillam *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
Ephraim Ashton & Wife	"			*P.*	Fisherman		12	
Mary Laskey *W.*	"			*P.*			8	
Rebekah Conditt (Husb^d absent)	"			*P.*			6	
Thomas Molley & Wife	"		3	*P.*	Weaver		11	
Mary Jones *W.*	"		1	*C.*			12	
Samuel Farewell & Wife	"			*C.*	Fisherman		5	
Elizabeth Burrill (Husb^d absent)	"		1	*C.*			5	4½

Hannah Dolten *W.*	"		*C.*		5		
Benjamin Walper	"	1	*P.*	Ropemaker	10	4	
Jane Bridge *W.* & 2 Widow Daughters	"	3	*C.*		18		
John Whittemore & Wife	"	7	*P.*	Fisherman	15		
Amey Gurler, Maiden	"		*C.*		8		
John Andrews & Wife	"		*C.*	Fisherman	8		
Johanna Shaddock *W.*	"	3	*P.*		12		
Rachel Quill *W.*	"	2	*C.*		14		
Charity Vickery *W.*	"	2	*P.*		6		
Elizabeth Turner *W.*	"	1	*P.*		8		
Johanna Gurler *W.*	"	6	*C.*		16		
Abigail Wormsted *W.*	"		*P.*		6		
Sarah Trevy *W.*	"	1	*P.*		6		
Abigail Rayle *W.*	"	1	*C.*		6		
Abigail Snelling (Husb[d] absent)	"	3	*P.*		6		
Hannah Bird *W.*	"		*P.*		6		
Elizabeth Adams *W.*	"	3	*P.*		16		
Samuel Loviss & Wife	"	1	*P.*	Fisherman	16		
Elizabeth Perry *W.*	"		*P.*		12		
Mary Nutting *W.*	"		*P.*		3		
Rebekah Turner *W.*	"		*P.*		3	4	
Abigail Forrest *W.*	"		*P.*		3		
Margret Uncles *W.*	"	1	*P.*		3		
Richard Welch, Boy	"		*P.*			8	
					£38	8	6

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
					Bro[t] forward	£38	8	6
Abraham Staples & Wife	Marblehead		3	*P.*	Fisherman		12	
Rebekah Adams *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12	
Joanna Killey *W.*	"		2	*P.*			8	
Rebekah Vincent	"		1	*P.*			12	4
Ephraim Silsbey & Wife	Lynn	Boston		*F.*	Shipwright	1	8	
Sarah Silsbey	Salem	"		*F.*			12	
Hugh Alley & Wife	Lynn		5	*F.*	Fisherman	1		
Anna Hawks	"	Marblehead	1	*F.*			16	
Ezra Curtain & Wife	"	Boston	5	*F.*	Shoemaker		10	
Mary Gale	"	"		*F.*			18	
Rebekah Alley *W.*	"		1	*F.*			12	
James Lowden & Daughter	Danvers	"		*F.*	Glazier	1		
To Several Poor Child[n] belonging to Marblehead							6	2
Content Roundy *W.*	Lynn	Marblehead	3	*C.*			8	
Joshua Hemmingway & Wife	"	Boston	3	*P.*	Fisherman		10	
William Atkins & Wife	"	"		*P.*	Fisherman		11	
Sarah Martin (Husb[d] absent)	"	Marblehead	2	*C.*			6	
Widow Lydia Stuard	Salem		1	*P.*			6	
Eliz[a] Elson (Husb[d] absent)	Danvers		4	*C.*			12	
To 4 Poor men, Sailors							16	10
Samuel Goodale & Wife	Salem			*F.*			10	
Richard Ellidge & Wife	Danvers	Marblehead	5	*P.*	Sailor		9	

Hannah Ramsdell *W.*	Lynn			*P.*			6	
Mary Burn (Husb[d] absent)	Marblehead			*P.*			10	
Elizabeth Pitman *W.*	"		4	*P.*			8	
Susanna Miles *W.*	"		2	*C.*			10	
Deborah Foster *W.*	"			*P.*			8	
Mary Holbrook *W.*	"		1	*P.*			6	
Mary Bracket *W.*	"		2	*C.*			10	
Joanna Striker *W.*	"		2	*P.*			8	
Peter Martin & Wife	"			*P.*			8	
Mary Carrage *W.*	"		2	*P.*			6	
Sarah Lancies *W.*	"		3	*P.*			15	
Mary Curtice *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12	
Rebekah Bowden *W.*	"		3	*P.*			13	
Elizabeth Gails *W.*	"			*P.*			6	
Mary Kelly *W.*	"		3	*P.*			12	
John Wair & Wife	Chelsea	Boston	3	*P.*	Town Crier	1		
	Point Shirley							
James Coffin & Wife	"	"		*P.*	Sailor		18	
Elener French *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*		1		
John French & Wife	"	"	2	*P.*		1		
William Todd	"	"		*P.*			15	
John Lee	"	"		*P.*			3	
Mary Sumner *W.*	"	"	3	*P.*		1		
Sarah Duckenfield *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*			10	
Sarah Preisted *W.*	"	"		*P.*			9	
John Richardson & Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Labourer		15	
						£66	11	10

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
					Bro^t forward	£66 11 10
Henry Harris	Point Shirley	Boston	3	*P.*	Peddler	1 4
James Orell Wife	"	"	3	*P.*	Labourer	1
Mary Nutbe *W.*	"	"		*P.*		12
Mary Down (Husb^d absent)	"	"	1	*C.*		18
John Gendell & Wife	"	"	3	*P.*	Tailor	18
Lewis Channel & Wife	"	"	4	*P.*	Labourer	1 4
Hannah Sail *W.*	"	"	3	*P.*		1
Sarah Whitcomb *W.*	"	"		*P.*		12
John Hutten & Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Blockmaker	1 1
Elizabeth Colder *W.*	"	"	1			18
James Brown	"	"		*C.*		9
Eliab Kingman (Orphan Child)	"	"				12
Two Orphan Children	"	"				18
Two Orphan Children	"	"				12
Moses Deshon & Wife	"	"	1	*P.*	Writer	18
Mary Scott (Husb^d absent)	"	"	5	*P.*		18
Lawrence Colebert & Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Labourer	18
John King & Wife	"	"				6
Charles Perrin, Negroe	"					6
Jacob Tuckerman Orphan Boy 12 y^rs old						9
Rebekah Alley *W.*	Lynn		1	*F.*		9
Mary Gale	"	"		*F.*		1 4

Content Roundy *W.*	"	Marblehead	3	*C.*			18	
Ezra Curtain & Wife	"	Boston	5	*F.*	Shoemaker		18	
Joshua Hemmingway & Wife	"	"	3	*P.*			18	
Hugh Alley & Wife	"		5	*F.*	Fisherman	1	4	
Anna Hawks *W.*	"	Marblehead	1	*F.*		1	4	
Ephraim Silsbe & Wife	"	Boston	2	*F.*	Shipwright	2	8	
Samuel Sprague & Wife	"	Charlestown	2	*P.*	Brazier	1	10	
William Grubb	"	"					1	4
Deborah Warner *W.*	"	Boston					12	
				152 Donations, 420 persons		£93	11	2

No. 4. Marblehead. 201 Donations and £9 1*s* 11*d* left with the Select Men of which ab[t] 36 Families Cont[g] ab[t] 96 persons were not before Vissited & Included in List No. 1, 2 & 3

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
Judith Mardick *W.*	Marblehead			*P.*		£	10	
Sam[l] Hitchens & Wife	"			*P.*			10	
Mary Tucker *W.*	"		1	*P.*			8	
Anna Jackson (Husb[d] absent)	"		4	*C.*	Sailor		15	
Mary Widger *W.*	"			*C.*			10	
Deborah Cross *W.*	"			*C.*			10	
Sarah Brown *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
Simson Bowden & Wife	"			*P.*	Shoreman		12	
Sarah Martin *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
						£4	15	

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
					Bro^t forward	£4 15
Mary Vickry *W.*	Marblehead			*P.*		10
Alice Burrows *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Grace Cammel (Husb^d absent)	"		3	*P.*		18
John Pierce & Wife	"			*P.*	Baker	15
Mary English *W.*	"			*P.*		6
Mary Turner, Rebekah Bezum & Usina Creasey *Ws.*	"		1	*P.*		1
E. Moss absent	"		4	*P.*	Sailor	15
Elener Bartlet *W.*	"			*P.*		10
Mary Rowls *W.*	"		1	*C.*		15
Mary Brockel *W.*	"		1	*C.*		12
Johanna Striker *W.*	"		2	*P.*		12
Mary Smith *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Samuel Holman	"		2	*P.*	Shoreman	12
Elizabeth Barker *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Elizabeth Pitman *W.*	"		4	*P.*		15
Mary Martin *W.*	"			*P.*		10
Deborah Davis *W.*	"			*P.*		10
Peter Martin & Wife	"			*P.*	Fisherman	10
Elizabeth Gale *W.*	"			*P.*		10
Sarah Lancey *W.*	"		3	*P.*		16
Mary Curtice *W.*	"		2	*P.*		15
Ann Owens *W.*	"		1	*P.*		15
Mary Dennis *W.*	"			*C.*		15

Margret Chapman (Husb[d] absent)	"	4	*C.*	Sailor	18
Abigail Forester *W.*	"		*P.*		10
Rebekah Vincent	"	1	*P.*		12
Sarah Lecraw *W.*	"		*P.*		6
Eliz[a] Stacey *W.*	"	2	*P.*		12
Rebekah Adams *W.*	"	2	*P.*		12
Johanna Kelley *W.*	"	1	*P.*		10
Sarah Hendley *W.*	"	2	*C.*		15
Amy Gurdler	"		*C.*		10
Elizabeth Masury *W.*	"	2	*C.*		12
Sarah Masury *W.*	"		*C.*		8
Elizabeth Rothwell (Husb[d] absent)	"	1	*P.*	Sailor	12
Mary Dolton	"	1	*P.*		8
Elizabeth Atkin (Husb[d] absent)	"	2	*C.*	Sailor	12
Dorcas Russell *W.*	"		*P.*		10
Anna Abbot *W.*	"	2	*P.*		12
Elizabeth Bayley *W.*	"	1	*P.*		12
Susanna Hooper *W.*	"		*P.*		10
Will[m] Robinson & Wife			*P.*		10
Mary Hitchborn (Husb[d] absent)	"	2	*P.*		12
Rebekah Robinson *W.*	"	3	*P.*		15
Eliz[a] Cross *W.*	"	2	*P.*		15
Elizabeth Gilbert *W.*	"		*P.*		9
Mary Mase *W.*	"		*P.*		10
					£33 4

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
					Bro^{t} forward	£33 4
Ann Tefts *W.*	Marblehead			*P.*		12
Mary Hooper *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Mary Ingalls, Maiden	"			*P.*		10
Mary Dodel *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Saml Loviss & Wife	"		1	*P.*		12
Hannah Brimblecomb *W.*	"			*P.*		15
Hannah Biard *W.*	"			*P.*		10
Hannah Bully *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Eliz^{a} Gowdy *W.*	"			*P.*		10
Eliz^{a} Pousland *W.*	"		2	*P.*		12
Mary Treffry *W.*	"			*P.*		10
Jane Strong *W.*	"		5	*P.*		18
Mary Meservy *W.*	"			*P.*		10
Charity Pritchard *W.*	"		1	*P.*		10
Mary High *W.* & Widow Eliz^{a} her Daugh^{tr}	"		3	*P.*		18
Sarah Elkins *W.*	"			*P.*		10
Eliz^{a} Perry *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Charity Foot *W.*	"					10
Mary Russell *W.*	"		5	*P.*		15
Sarah Flint *W.*	"		2	*P.*		12
Mary Andros *W.* & an antiente Mother *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Mary Nuting *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Rebekah Torner *W.*	"			*P.*		12

Deliverance Hindly *W.*	"		*P.*			15
Mary Dixy *W.*	"		*P.*			12
Mary Grant *W.*	"	1	*P.*			10
William Peters & Wife	"		*P.*			18
Joseph Snellings & Wife	"	3	*P.*			12
Hepzibeh Virge *W.*	"		*P.*			12
Hannah Dennis *W.*	"		*P.*			12
Joseph Doliber & Wife	"		*P.*	Labourer		15
Eliz[a] Ellit *W.*	"	1	*P.*			15
John Grant and Wife	"		*P.*			15
Nicholas Gale	"		*P.*	Fisherman		12
Prissila Jacobs *W.*	"	1	*P.*			15
Elizabeth Nuting *W.*	"	2	*P.*			15
Margret Lecrow *W.*	"	1	*P.*			15
Alice Dimond *W.*	"		*P.*			12
Nathan[1] Stacey & Wife	"	5	*P.*		1	4
Hannah Salter *W.*	"		*P.*			15
Anna Morgan *W.* & Mother *W.*		1	*P.*			15
Susanna Ashton *W.*	"	2	*P.*			15
Ann Furgison *W.*	"	2	*P.*			15
Mareb Glover *W.*	"		*P.*			10
Sarah Loviss *W.*	"		*P.*			15
Sarah Ritchead (Husb[d] absent)	"	3	*C.*			10
Abigail Call *W.*	"	2	*C.*			15
Mary Reed *W.*	"	2	*C.*			15
					£64	16

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
					Bro^{t} forward	£64 16
Mary Blaney *W.*	Marblehead		3	*P.*		15
Mary Ashton *W.*	"			*C.*		10
Esther Gabriel *W.*	"		1	*C.*		15
John Pain (a Child 6 y^{rs} old)	"					6
Mary Pierce *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Rebekah Kinsman *W.*	"			*P.*		9
Sarah Neal *W.*	"		2	*P.*		15
Meriam Fryer *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Lydia Reed *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Rebekah Cavendish (Husb^{d} absent)	"		3	*P.*		12
John Pedrick & Wife	"			*P.*		12
Anna Rose	"		3	*P.*		15
Mary Laske *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Hannah Copp (Husb^{d} absent)	"			*P.*		12
Elizabeth Ramsdell *W.*	"			*C.*		10
Jane Girler *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Mary Kenterbery *W.*	"		1	*C.*		12
Lois Mumford *W.*	"		1	*C.*		12
Mary Criste (Husb^{d} absent)	"		1	*C.*		12
Bethiah Waters *W.*	"			*C.*		12
Meriam Lapthorn *W.*	"			*P.*		15
Elizabeth Adams *W.*	"		3	*P.*		18
Sarah Brown *W.*	"			*C.*		10
Martha Gassear *W.*	"		6	*C.*		1

Sarah Taylor *W.*	"	1	*C.*			6
Ann Rush *W.*	"	1	*C.*			12
Mary Furne (Husb^{d} cast away)	"	1	*C.*			12
John Whitam & Wife	"	3	*C.*	Fisherman		15
Abigail Dennis *W.*	"		*P.*			10
Sarah Humphres *W.*	"	3	*P.*			12
Joanna Shaddock *W.*	"	3	*P.*			15
Lydia Hunskam *W.*	"		*P.*			9
Mary Anderson (Husb^{d} absent)	"	1	*P.*			15
Eliz^{a} Cramberse (Husb^{d} absent)	"	3	*C.*			12
Rachel Quill *W.*	"	2	*C.*			12
Charity Vickery *W.*	"	1	*P.*			6
Hannah Girler *W.*	"	6	*C.*		1	
Abigail Wormsted *W.*	"	3	*C.*			18
Bridget Lopthorn *W.* 93 y^{rs} old[1]	"	1	*P.*			18
Thomas Tucker & Wife	"	1	*C.*	Fisherman		12
Wm Gose & Wife	"	1	*C.*	Fisherman		8
Hannah Allen *W.*	"	1	*C.*			7
Ephraim Ashton & Wife	"		*P.*	Fisherman		15
Elizabeth Thorne *W.*	"					8
Mary Jones *W.*	"	1	*P.*			18
Jane Poor *W.*	"	2	*C.*			10
Ann Funda *W.*	"	3	*P.*			12
Mary White *W.*	"		*P.*			7
Elizabeth Davis *W.*	"		*C.*			10
					£94	17

[1] The "child" listed as Mrs. Lopthorn's is stated to be "aged 59 years."

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
					Bro^{t} forward	£94 17
Sarah Mojey *W.*	Marblehead		1	*P.*		10
Hannah Curtice *W.*	"		2	*P.*		12
Rebekah Clark *W.*	"		4	*P.*		18
Elizabeth Florence *W.*	"		5	*P.*		1
Grace Meeder *W.*	"		2	*P.*		10
Richard Hood & Wife	"		7	*P.*		18
Lydia Robinson (Husb^{d} absent)	"		3	*C.*		12
Deborah Foster *W.*	"			*P.*		6
Jane Bridge *W.* & 2 Widow Daughters	"		2	*C.*		18
Mary Holbrook *W.*	"		1	*P.*		9
Jane Merrit *W.*	"		1	*P.*		10
Rebekah Johnson *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Nicholas Girler & Wife	"		1	*C.*		15
Susanna Lewis *W.*	"		1	*P.*		8
Ann Grow *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Abraham Staples & Wife	"		3	*P.*		1
Bulah Brock & 2 Widow Sisters	"			*P.*		1
Thomas King & Wife	"		5	*P.*	Husbandman	1
Susanna Miles *W.*	"		3	*C.*		12
Ann Coleman (Husb^{d} absent)	"		3	*C.*		18
Elizabeth Diamond *W.*	"		1	*P.*		8
Thomas Mollet & Wife	"		3	*P.*	Tallow Chandler	15
Mary & Eliz^{a} Queker, two Orphans	"					12

Susanna Dennis *W.*	"	2	*C.*		15
Elizabeth Swan *W.*	"	1	*P.*		6
Elias Briars & Wife	"		*C.*		18
Elizabeth Burrill	"	1	*C.*		6
Deborah Codner *W.*	"	1	*C.*		12
Elizabeth Dodd *W.*	"	5	*P.*	1	4
Jane Chapman *W.*	"	1	*P.*		10
Lydia Main *W.*	"	1	*P.*		10
Mary Brown	"		*P.*		8
Mary Lodg *W.*	"		*C.*		9
Mary Bassett *W.*	"		*P.*		9
Elizabeth Gray *W.*	"		*P.*		8
Hannah Dolton *W.*	"	5	*C.*		18
Elizabeth Wallis *W.*	"	2	*P.*		12
Mary Hagatha (Husb^{d} absent)	"	5	*P.*	1	
Anna Stacy *W.*	"		*P.*		10
Mary Sammon *W.*	"		*P.*		10
Emm Clark *W.*	"	1	*C.*		9
Elizabeth Garreson *W.*	"	2	*C.*		12
Mary Girdler *W.*	"		*C.*		12
Mary Hickey *W.*	"		*P.*		9
Abigail Thompson *W.*	"	6	*P.*	1	4
Mary Girrel *W.*	"	1	*P.*		15
Mary Flack	"		*P.*		10
Sarah Bevrage *W.*	"		*P.*		6
				201 Donations	£125 14

Brot forward	£125 14
Left in the Hands of the Select Men of Marblehead for some people omitted, to be distributed in like manner and an acct to be renderd	9 1 11
	£134 15 11

The above were Visited by Jeremiah Hacker & Samuel Collins, in Company with the Select Men £72 pd by S. Collins & £62 15 11 by Jere. Hacker

No. 5. Salem and Danvers

288 Donations the families containing 799 persons
of whom about 250 D[onations] Contg 690 persons
were vissited before 38 New [Donations] 109 [persons]

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
1776						
John Daland & Wife	Salem		5	*P.*	Butcher	£1 10
Rebekah Moolet (Husbd absent)	"	Marblehead	3	*P.*	Husband Sailor	15
Sarar Oliver *W.*	"	"		*P.*		12
James Whittemore & Wife	"			*F.*	Labourer	10
Samuel Masury & Wife	"			*P.*	Mariner	16
Thomas Meek & Wife	"		6	*P.*	Fisherman	1 10
Lydia Hood *W.*	Lynn	Charlestown		*P.*		1
Richard Hood & Wife	"		3	*F.*	Coaster	12
Sam[1] Nicholls' Wife (himself taken on Bord a Man of War)	Salem		5	*P.*	Mariner	1 4
To Sundry Poor Children of	Marblehead					2

Lydia Galley *W.*	Salem	Boston	2	*P.*		1	4
Eunice Veil (single Woman)	"	"		*P.*			10
William Burk & Wife (himself absent)	"		2	*P.*	Sailor		12
John Masury	"		2	*P.*	Sailor		12
Lydia Palfrey *W.*	"		1	*P.*			18
Mary Wellman *W.*	"		3	*P.*			6
Rebekah Turner *W.* (a Negroe)	"			*P.*			6
Benjamin Masury & Wife	"		1	*P.*	Barber		10
Daniel Shehen & Wife (himself absent)	"		3	*P.*			12
Susanna Hamblen *W.*	"	Boston	2	*C.*			18
Ann Goodhue *W.*	"			*C.*			12
Gidney King & Wife	"		3	*P.*	Joiner		18
Robert Hooper & Mother	"			*C.*	Labourer		6
Sarah Lemmon *W.*	"			*C.*			12
Cornelius Mathews & Wife (himself taken)	"		3	*C.*	Sailor		18
Hannah Sluman *W.*	"		3	*P.*			12
John Crowningshield & Wife	"		5	*C.*	Carpenter		18
Susanna Beadle *W.*	"		5	*P.*			18
Jane Flint *W.* & a Maiden Sister	"			*P.*			10
Joshua Trask & Wife & Mother	"		2	*C.*	Sailor	1	4
Mary Mires *W.*	"		2	*P.*			18
Joseph Smith & Wife	"			*P.*	Fisherman		18
Abigail Punchard	"			*P.*			10
						£24	13

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
					Bro^t forward	£24 13
Elizabeth Giles *W.*	Salem			*P.*		12
Jemima Porter *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Abigail Cash *W.*	"			*P.*		6
Rebekah Pattison *W.*	"			*C.*		12
Sarah Gerald *W.*	"			*P.*		12
To John Collos of Plymouth, Peter Larche of Portsmouth, Joseph Temple of Greenwich, Old Eng^d 1						1 14
Left with the Goal Keeper to add to their allowance a Q^t of Coffee & a bisket a day						
Elizabeth Yell *W.* and her Daughter Eliz^a Foster *W.*	Salem		2	*P.*		1 4
Elizabeth Bell *W.*	"		2	*P.*		13
Ruth Hacker, single Woman	"		1	*P.*		10
Hannah Abbot *W.*	"		1	*P.*		11
Francis Nicholson & Wife (himself abs^t)	"		3	*C.*	Sailor	10
Thomas Johnson & Wife & their Daughter (her Husb^d absent)	"	Boston	2	*P.*	Cabinetmaker	1 4
Susanna Masury *W.*	"	"	2	*C.*		12
Ruth Getchel *W.*	"		1	*P.*		6
Samuel McIntire & Wife	"		6	*P.*	Carpenter	15
Jemima Hurlbut *W.*	"			*P.*		8
Hannah Punchard *W.*	"			*P.*		10
Jane Seaver *W.*	"	Boston		*P.*		12
Lydia McMarrow *W.*	"		2	*P.*		14

Abigail Powell (Husb[d] absent)	"		2	*P.*			10
Mary Glover *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12
Will[m] Hacker & 2 Daughters	"		1	*P.*			18
Mary Burchmore *W.* & her Daughter Hannah *W.*	"			*P.*			16
Elizabeth McIntire *W.*	"		4	*P.*			18
Lydia Alexander *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12
Hannah Manning *W.*	"			*P.*			6
Sarah Edey (Husband absent)	"		1	*P.*			11
Bethiah Trask *W.*			3	*P.*			10
Mary Lander *W.*	"			*P.*			12
Richard Lander & Wife	"		6	*P.*			18
Mary Mecham *W.*	"			*P.*			12
Sarah Briggs *W.*	"		1	*C.*			12
Jane Doyle *W.*	"		3	*C.*			18
Mary Leavit *W.*	"		2	*P.*			15
William Lofty & Wife & Widow Mother	"			*C.*	Sailor		15
Hannah Robinson *W.*	"			*C.*			10
Eunice Robinson *W.*	"		4	*C.*			12
Mary Chamberlain *W.*	"	Charlestown	2	*P.*			18
Rebekah White *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12
Mary Austin *W.*	"	Charlestown		*P.*		1	
Elizabeth Bullock *W.*	"		1	*P.*			10
John Archer & Wife	"		1	*P.*			12
						£52	19

[1] "Taken Prisoners at Mechias in 6th M° 1775 whose allowance is small (1st of y[e] 3[d] M° 1776)."

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
					Bro[t] forward	£52 19
Sarah & Bethiah Archer, Maidens	Salem			*P.*		12
Rebekah Sutton *W.*	"			*P.*		6
Abigail Edey *W.*	"	Charlestown		*P.*		12
Elizabeth Williams *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*		12
Joseph Brown & Wife	"		2	*P.*	Sailor	12
Mary Rich (Husb[d] absent)	"		3	*P.*	Husband Sailor	12
Hannah Clemens *W.*	"		4	*P.*		12
Hannah Farrand *W.*	"	Boston	1	*P.*		12
Susanna Sanders *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*		18
Hannah Fraizer *W.*	"		3	*P.*		18
Rachel Ervin *W.*	"			*P.*		15
Rachel Fuller (Husb[d] absent)	"		3	*P.*		15
Lydia Killey *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Elizabeth Morgan *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Nathaniel Perkins & Wife	"		1	*P.*	Labourer	12
Ruth Tarrant *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Mary Marston *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Alice Ballard *W.*	"		4	*P.*		15
Sarah Sims *W.*	"			*P.*		6
Simon Lamb & Wife	"		4	*P.*		15
Hannah Muchford *W.*	"		6	*P.*		12
Joseph Peel & Wife	"		3	*P.*		12
Elizabeth Procter *W.*	"	Boston		*P.*		6
John Riche & Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Sailor	12
Richard Shelton & Wife	"	"	7	*P.*	Tidesman	18

2

John Sluman & Wife	"		*P.*			16	
Thomas Sluman & Wife	"	1	*P.*	Sailor		12	
Edmund Munyon & Wife	"	7	*P.*	Labourer		12	
Peter Henfield & Wife	"		*P.*	Labourer		6	
Sarah Pease *W.* & Mother	"	1	*P.*			15	
John Sluman Junr & Wife	"	1	*P.*	Sailor		15	
Rebekah Oakman *W.*	"		*P.*			8	
John Tink & Wife	"	1	*P.*	Caulker		12	
Hannah Lecrow (Husb^{d} absent)	"	1	*P.*			15	
James Chapman & Wife	"		*P.*	Labourer		6	
Thomas Horton & Wife	"	1	*P.*	Labourer		10	
Lydia Osborne *W.*	"	3	*P.*			15	
Mary Young *W.*	"		*C.*			6	
Mary Kelley *W.*	"	1	*P.*			14	
Thomas Heather & Wife	"	2	*C.*			15	
Robert Cook & Wife	"	1	*P.*			12	
Jonathan Whitefoot	"		*P.*			10	
Mary Frye *W.*	"		*P.*			12	
Mary Bowdwich (Husb^{d} absent)	"	6	*P.*		1	4	
Susanna Phippin *W.*	"		*P.*			10	
Lydia Stillman *W.*	"		*P.*			12	
Samuel Gavet & Wife	"	2	*P.*			12	
Mary Lister *W.*	"	1	*P.*			8	
Margret Clerk	"	3	*P.*			18	
John Brown & Wife	"	1	*P.*			16	
Lydia Cook *W.*	"		*P.*			12	
					£84	14	2

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
					Bro^t forward	£84 14 2
Mary Brown *W.*	Salem			*P.*		10
Desire White *W.*	"			*P.*		10
Sarah Tozer *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Elizabeth Millit *W.*	"		3	*P.*		18
Mary Whitefoot *W.*	"			*P.*		8
Abial Tozer *W.*	"		3	*P.*		12
Abigail Wiley (Husb^d absent)	"		3	*P.*	Husband Sailor	15
Ruth Squires (Husb^d absent)	"		1	*P.*	Husband Sailor	12
Ruth White (Husb^d absent)	"		2	*P.*	Husband Sailor	12
Ann Clough *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Margret Swasey *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Sarah Silver (Husb^d absent)	"		5	*P.*	Husband Sailor	18
Mary Wardels *W.*	"			*P.*		8
Margret Curtice *W.*	"			*P.*		8
Lydia Walper *W.*	"		2	*P.*		12
Hannah Wells *W.*	"		3	*P.*		18
Abigail Curtice *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Rachel Cane *W.*	"		2	*P.*		16
James Chever & Wife	"		4	*P.*		18
Mary Megraw *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
Ruth Searls *W.*	"			*P.*		10
Sarah Brimblecomb (Husb^d absent)	"		3	*P.*	Sailor	16
Mary Cox *W.*	"		1	*P.*		9
Abigail Laskin, Maiden	"		1	*P.*		5

Mary Cox *W.*	"			*P.*			9	
Hannah Cox *W.*	"		2	*P.*			9	
John Walper & Wife	"		3	*P.*	Sailor		18	
James Collins & Wife	"			*P.*	Carpenter		10	
Mary Cloutman *W.*	"		1	*P.*			6	
Joseph Searls & Wife	"			*P.*			10	
Mercy Beadle *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
Lydia Authur (Husb[d] absent)	"		2	*P.*			12	
Susanna Knight *W.*	"			*P.*			11	
John Batten & Wife	"		3	*P.*	Sailor		11	
John Foot	"			*P.*	Labourer		12	
Isaac Williams & Wife	"	Marblehead	5		Shoreman		18	
Christian Fransworth & Wife	"	Boston	2	*C.*			18	
Elizabeth Philpot, Maiden & her Aunt	"			*P.*			12	
Hannah Murry & Mother a Widow	"		1	*P.*			15	
Abigail Masury *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
John Ingersol & Wife	"		5	*P.*			18	
Clifford Burns & Wife (himself absent)	"		2	*P.*			12	
Elizabeth Whitefoot *W.*	"			*P.*			5	
Martha Renew *W.*	"		3	*P.*			15	
Hannah Mansfield *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
Sarah Cash & Widow Littlefield	"			*P.*			12	
John Brown & Wife	"		2	*P.*			15	
						£113	13	2

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
					Bro[t] forward	£113	13	2
Thomas Tolbert & Wife (himself absent)	Salem		1	*P.*			12	
To John Whitford for a poor Child	"		1				8	
Lydia Miller *W.*	"		1				8	
Mary Cloutman *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
Ebenezer Whitefoot & Wife (himself absent)	"			*P.*			9	8
John Bean & Wife (himself absent)	"			*P.*			10	
Robert Allen & Wife	"		1	*P.*			12	
Elizabeth Hibbert *W.*	"		3	*P.*			15	
Joseph McIntire & Wife	"		5	*P.*	Carpenter		18	
Joseph Gilford & Wife	"		5	*C.*	Labourer		18	
Thomas Needham & Wife	"		5	*P.*	Joiner		12	
Mary Gottear *W.*	"		1	*P.*			10	
Bethiah Ruck *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12	
Hephzibeh Ruck *W.*	"		3	*P.*			15	
Mary Felt *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
Susanna Townsend *W.* & Widow Couch	"		3	*P.*			18	
Joseph Roberts & Wife	"			*P.*	Sailor		12	
Abigail Still *W.* & Mother	"		1	*P.*			12	
Mercy Giles *W.*	"		1	*P.*			11	
Mary Hubbart *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12	

John Foster & Wife	"		2	*P.*		12
Mary Hathorne *W.*	"		5	*P.*		18
Mary Osborn	"		2	*P.*		9
Mary Hinman	"			*C.*		8
Joshua Pearce & Wife	"	Boston	1	*P.*	Boatbuilder	12
Mary Pearce, Maiden	"	"		*P.*		6
Margret Crispin *W.*	"		3	*P.*		12
Love Herrin *W.*	"		1	*P.*		12
John Leach Junr & Wife	"		2	*P.*	Carpenter	15
John Leach	"			*P.*	Carpenter	10
Elizabeth Leach (single)	"			*P.*		8
Walter Richards & Wife	"		5	*P.*		18
Mary Gould *W.*	"	"		*P.*		6
Eunice Coffin *W.*	"			*P.*		6
George Thomas & Wife		"	3	*P.*		18
Lydia McIntire & Sarah Tarrant *Ws.*	"			*P.*		12
Elizabeth Pease *W.* & Daughter	"			*P.*		12
Elizabeth Very (Husb^{d} absent)	"		1	*P.*		6
Damaris Dowst *W.*	"		1	*P.*		10
Joseph Pitman & Wife	"		3	*P.*		18
Jacob Barret & Wife	"			*P.*	Labourer	12
Mary Langsfood, Maiden, & Sister Hannah	"			*P.*		12
Mary Searls (Husb^{d} absent)	"		2	*P.*		12
Sarah Tarrant *W.*	"		1	*P.*		9
						£139 12 10

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
					Bro[t] forward	£139	12	10
Nathaniel Holden & Wife	Salem		5	*P.*	Labourer		18	
Hannah Wallis *W.*	"		1	*P.*			10	
Eliz[a] Kempton *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
Elizabeth Marsh *W.*	"			*P.*			6	
Mary Wellman *W.*	"		6	*P.*		1	4	
Sarah Felt *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
John Bullock & Wife	"		7	*P.*	Fisherman	1	10	
William Reeves	"		1	*P.*	Heelmaker		12	
Rebekah Sterns *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
Elizabeth Drisdill *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
Margret Meloy *W.* (Husb[d] killed at Cape Ann)	"		5	*P.*		1	4	
Margret Pitman *W.* & Mother	"		2	*P.*			12	
Eunice Stuard *W.*	"			*P.*			8	
Mary Lambert *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
Mary Grant *W.*	"			*P.*			6	
Lydia Stuard *W.*	"			*P.*			12	9
Jacob Hendly & Wife	"	Boston	2	*P.*	Blacksmith		18	
Jonathan Southwick & Wife	"		4	*P.*	Fisherman		18	
James Phillips & Wife	Danvers	"		*C.*	Rigger		18	
Mary Trask *W.* & Mother	Salem		2	*P.*			15	
Eunice Burns *W.*	"		1	*P.*			10	3
Catherine Geminy *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12	
Jemima Teuksbery *W.*	"		3	*P.*			18	
Enoch Goodale & Wife	"		5	*F.*	Potter	1	4	

Susanna Rix *W.* & her Sister a *W.*	"			*P.*			15	
Benjamin Peters & Wife	"		7	*P.*	Joiner		15	
Betty McIntire *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
Timothy Jarvis & Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Mariner	1	4	
Samuel Rowls & Wife	Danvers	Marblehead	5	*C.*	Sailor		18	
James Lowden & Daughter	"	Boston		*F.*		1	4	
Susanna Tropheter *W.*	Salem		2	*P.*			12	
Richard Teuksbery & Wife	"		3	*P.*	Currier		12	
Alice Whittemore *W.*	"		1	*P.*			10	
Sarah Merrit *W.*	"		1	*P.*			6	
Daniel Cloutman & Wife	"		1	*P.*			8	
John Bickford & Wife	"		6	*P.*	Fisherman	1	4	
Martha Boyd *W.*	"		3	*P.*			18	
Sarah Adams *W.*	"	"		*P.*			18	
Mehetable McIntire *W.*	"			*P.*			6	
Ann Goodale *W.*	"			*F.*			6	
Elizabeth Ellison (Husband absent)	Danvers		4	*P.*			15	
Elener Breson (very poor)	Salem	"		*C.*			15	
Rhode Giles (Husb[d] absent at Sea)	"		5	*P.*			18	2
Sarah Hunstable (Husb[d] absent)	"	"		*P.*			18	
Miriam Minto (free Negroe)	"						12	
Nance Midleton (a free Negroe)	"						12	
Mary Ruby *W.*	"	"		*P.*			18	
						£174	3	

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*	
					Bro[t] forward	£174 3	
Mary Parker, Maiden	Salem	Boston		*P.*		12	
Mary Hopping *W.*	Newbury	Charlestown	1	*P.*		18	
Mary Jackson *W.*	Salem	Boston		*P.*		12	
John Top & Wife	"	"		*P.*		6	
E. Eden *W.*	"		2	*P.*		12	
Mary Gale *W.*	"		2	*P.*		8	
Nathan[1] Ropes & Wife	"		1	*P.*	Cooper	12	
Hannah Emmerson *W.*	"		2	*P.*		15	
Ruth Hines *W.*	"		5	*P.*		18	
Hittey Commings (Husb[d] absent)	"		1	*P.*		12	
Margret Tyler *W.*	"		2	*P.*		15	
William Holman & Wife	"		5	*P.*		18	
Betty Nurse *W.*	Danvers		2	*P.*		15	
John Peese & Wife	"		2	*P.*		15	
Elizabeth Leach *W.*	Salem		2	*P.*		12	
Thomas Grant & Wife	Danvers	Marblehead	6	*P.*	Fisherman	1 10	
Susanna Reeves *W.*	Salem		1	*P.*		12	
Phebe Tink *W.*	"		5	*P.*		18	
Susanna Bickford, Maiden	"	Boston		*C.*		7	6
Jonathan Tarrant & Wife	Reading	Salem	4	*P.*	Sailor	18	
To Deborah Burrill, ——Davies & several others poor in Meal &c.	Marblehead					9	6
John Brown	Salem	Boston		*C.*	Boatman	2	

Eunice Tucker *W.*	Danvers		1	*P.*	Weaver	12
						£189 12

The within Visited & Relieved out of Friends' Charity, By Jeremiah Hacker, Josiah Southwick & Samuel Purintun accompanied by Cap[t] Richard Derby & Cap[t] Jonathan Gardner Jun[r] part of the time.

No. 6. Places East of Cape Ann to Falmouth. 3[d] M° 1776, 139 Donations & £70 left to be Distributed & Accounted for, the Families containing 539 persons

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
Aaron Honskons & Wife	Lee, N. H.		5	*P.*	Labourer	£ 17
Mary Rand *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Eliz[a] Whood *W.* & Sarah Fox single Woman, poor	Greenland			*P.*		12
Ebenezer Warters & Wife	Dover	Boston	3	*P.*	Joiner	1 4
Abigail Calf *W.*	"	"		*P.*		12
Ebenezer Ransom & Wife	"		2	*P.*	Labourer	12
Thomas Barns & Wife	Durham	Great Island	5	*P.*	Fisherman	18
Johanna Lerry *W.*	Dover	"	4	*P.*		1 2
William Gillparatick, Jun[r] & Wife (himself taken)	Biddeford		4	*P.*		1 10
Andrew Yaten & Wife	Dover	"	3	*P.*	Sailor	18
Mary Kenny *W.*	"	"	4	*P.*		1
						£9 17

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
					Bro^t forward	£9 17
Abigail Smith (Husb^d absent) & Mother a *W.*	Dover	Portsmouth	4	*P.*		1 2
Moses Sawyer & Wife	"		3	*P.*		18
Palatiah Furnall & Wife	Falmouth		5	*C.*	Blockmaker	1 4
Elizabeth Spinnel *W.*	"		2			18
Thomas Crisp & Wife	"		1	*C.*		12
William Brown & Wife	"		4	*P.*	Carpenter	12
Josiah Tucker & Wife	"		6	*P.*	Sailmaker	1 10
Esther Stickney *W.* & her Mother a *W.*	"		3	*P.*		1 10
John Johnson	"			*C.*		12
Hagar West, a Negro Woman	"					6
Sarah Cox *W.*	"		5	*P.*		1 10
John Bradbery & Wife	"		1	*C.*	Barber	1 4
Bethiah Rollins (Husb^d absent)	"		3	*P.*		12
James Wildridge & Wife	"		6	*P.*	Sailor	1 10
John Wood & Wife	"			*C.*		12
Sarah Jackson (Husb^d absent)	"	Boston		*P.*		18
Sarah Prat *W.*	"			*C.*		18
Henry Whales & Wife	"		3	*P.*		1 4
Joseph Roberts & Wife	"		4	*C.*	Caulker	1 10
Ann Cotes *W.* & Mary Coney *W.*	"		1	*P.*		1 8
Mary Sherman (Husb^d absent)	"		1	*F.*		18
Elizabeth Wommagom *W.*	"		3	*P.*		1 10
Margret Dew *W.*	"		1	*P.*		18

Mary Cunningham *W.*	"		2	*C.*			18
Dominecas Cavon & Wife	"			*C.*			18
John Knight & Wife	"		5	*P.*	Carpenter	1	16
John Baker & Wife	"		3	*C.*	Caulker	1	4
Anna Moses *W.*	"			*P.*			12
Mary Corser (a Maiden)	"			*P.*			12
Peter Merril & Wife	"		3	*C.*			18
William Freeman	Broadbay			*P.*			6
Susanna Sweet *W.*	Scarborough		3	*P.*			18
John Brooks & Wife	Falmouth		6	*P.*	Caulker	1	16
Mary Westerman *W.*	"		1	*P.*			15
Thomas Cook & Wife	"		4	*P.*	Glazier	1	4
Elizabeth Stephens *W.*	"		3	*P.*		1	10
Mary Tuckfield *W.*	"		1	*P.*			18
Mary Cox *W.*	"	Georgetown	2	*P.*			18
William Wissell & Wife	Georgetown	Falmouth	5	*C.*	Carpenter	1	4
Lucy, Nancy & Hannah Oatten, Maiden	Falmouth					1	16
Benjamin Bagly & Wife	"		2	*P.*	Mason	1	
John Leatherby & Wife	"		3	*P.*	Labourer		18
Sarah Cromwell *W.* &	"						18
her Daughter Mary Chadwit *W.*	"		1	*P.*			18
Edmund Dossett & Wife	"		2	*C.*		1	4
Rebekah Burdick	"	Boston		*P.*		1	4
Margret Merry (Husb[d] absent)	Biddeford		1	*P.*			12
Elijah Jenkins & Wife	Berwick		6	*F.*		1	16
						£60	6

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
					Bro^t forward	£60	6	
Joseph Storer & Wife	Falmouth		5	*P.*	Joiner		18	
Jonathan Lambert & Wife	"		3	*P.*	Barber	1		
Peleg Willard & Wife	"		3	*B.*	Tanner		12	
Benjamin Poland & Wife	"		1	*P.*	Sailor	1	4	
Hannah Poland & Wife [*sic*]	"			*P.*			12	
James Swain	"		3	*C.*	Tailor	1	4	
Lucy Preston (Husb^d absent)	Cape Eliz^a		2	*P.*			18	
William Davis & Wife	"	Falmouth	5	*P.*		1	8	
Anna Mariner (Husb^d absent)	"		1	*P.*			12	
Whitford Mayo & Wife	"		3	*P.*		1	4	
Hannah Parker *W.*	"			*P.*			7	6
David Strout & Wife	"		6	*P.*		1	4	
Ruth Horton *W.*	"		3	*P.*		1	4	
Joseph Stanford & Wife	"		5	*P.*		1	8	
Jeremiah Sawyer & Wife	"		6	*P.*		1	16	
Humphrey Richards & Wife	"		5	*P.*		1	4	
Mary Woodbery *W.*	"			*P.*			10	6
David Alden & Wife	"		8	*P.*	Labourer	1	16	
Samuel Cash & Wife	"		3	*P.*	Labourer	1	4	
Elizabeth Cash (Husb^d absent)	"		2	*P.*		1	4	
John Stimson & Wife	"		6	*P.*		1	4	
John Strout & Wife	"			*P.*			12	
Bathsheba Strout *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12	
Catherine Roberts *W.*	"			*P.*			9	
Jonathan Webb & Wife	"		1	*P.*	Schoolmaster		15	

Robert Mayo & Wife	"			*P.*				18	
Rowland Cushing & Wife	"		6	*P.*			1	10	
Deborah Bayley *W.*	"			*P.*				12	
Lydia Lowell *W.*	"			*P.*				15	
Mary Cornish, Maiden	Falmouth			*P.*				12	
Nathaniel Low & Wife	"	Boston	3	*F.*	Blacksmith		1	16	
Joshua Lawrence & Wife	"		2	*C.*	Sailor		1	4	
Jonathan Morse & Wife	"			*P.*	Joiner			15	
Abigail Crosby *W.*	"		2	*C.*				12	
Cate Stone (Husb[d] absent)	"			*P.*				9	9
Mary Bradbery *W.*	N. Yarmouth	Falmouth		*P.*				12	
Mary Whitney *W.*	Falmouth		2	*P.*				18	
Manoah Pearson *W.*	"		5	*P.*			1	4	
Benjamin Rann & Wife	"		5	*P.*	Baker			18	
Charity Lunt *W.*	"			*P.*				10	
John Rann & Wife	"		4	*P.*	Cabinetmaker		1		
John Frink & Wife	"		5	*P.*	Carpenter			18	
Phebe Pope *W.*	"	Boston		*F.*				18	
Elizabeth Weazie *W.*	"		1	*P.*			1	4	
Ebenezer Snow	"			*P.*				18	
Elizabeth Wire *W.*	"		4	*C.*			1	4	
Eliz[a] Baker *W.*	"		4	*P.*				18	
Rowland Bradbery & Wife	"							18	
Simon Gougens & Wife	"		1	*P.*				18	
Michael Newman & Wife	"			*C.*			1	10	
Edmund Mumford & Wife	"		5	*C.*			2	8	
						£	111	7	9

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
					Bro^t forward	£111 7
Martha Millet, Maiden	Falmouth			*P.*		12
Joshua Henshaw & Wife	"		5	*P.*		1 4
Anna Knight	"			*P.*		12
Sarah Whitney	"		1	*P.*		6
Mary Cavens *W.*	"		2	*P.*		12
Jemima Harrison *W.*	"		1	*P.*		1 4
Benjamin Pettingill & Wife	"		3	*P.*		12
Elizabeth Campbell *W.*	"		3	*P.*		1 4
Sarah Procter (Husb^d absent)	"		3	*P.*		1 4
Samuel Lowell & Wife	"			*P.*		12
David Hoyt & Wife	"			*P.*		1 4
Jane Bayley *W.*	"		7	*P.*		1 16
Alice Rice *W.*	"			*P.*		12
Ignatius Smith & Wife	Cape Eliz^a			*P.*	Tailor	12
Peter Thomas & Wife	"		5	*P.*	Sailmaker	18
Mary Scot *W.*	Falmouth					12
John Damm & Wife	Scarborough		6	*P.*	Sailor	18
Henry Estes & Wife	Berwick		9	*F.*	Labourer	1 16
Samuel Gould & Wife	"		2	*F.*	(Infirm)	18
Ebenezer Hussey & Wife	"		5	*F.*	Potter	1 16
Tabitha Weighmouth & Neice	Dover			*F.*		18
Samuel Pinkham & Wife	"	Newcastle	3	*P.*		18
Moses Verney & Wife	"		6	*F.*		18
Lydia Fowler *W.*	Hampton			*F.*		12
Abigail Fowler *W.*	Newbury			*P.*		6

Mary Fowler *W.*	"	3	*P.*		1 8	
Reuben Mace & Wife	"	1	*P.*	Fisherman	1 4	
Rebekah Stocks (Husb[d] on bord a Man of War)	"	2	*C.*	Husband Sailor	1 10	
William Mace & Wife	"	1	*C.*		12	
					£138 17	9

Left in the Hands of Elijah Estes, Jonathan Damm & Solomon Hanson, for the Sufferers at Portsmouth, New Castle & Island of Shoals in New Hampshire of which an Acc[t] is to be Renderd 70

£208 17 9

The preceeding Names were Visited by Jeremiah Hacker, Elijah Estes, Jonathan Damm, Benj[a] Winslow, Stephen Morrill & other Friends accompanied by the Select Men part of time. N.B. there were Corn, Hoggs Fatt & Pork purchas'd and sent on the Island.

No. 7. Acc[t] of 158 Donations, Distributed to the People (principaly) out of Boston & Charleston in 18 different Towns, the Families Containing 522 persons

Date	*Names*	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
1776 1st Mo. 2d	Lydia Geer *W.*	Providence	Boston		*B.*	Seamstress	£1 4
	Mary Hawes, single Woman	"	"		*B.*	Tailoress	10
27	Mary Barns (her husband in Boston)	"	"	2	*P.*		1 10
							£3 4

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums
						Brot forward	£3 4
2d Mo. 3d Day	Josiah Gladings Wife	Glastonbury	Newport	4	P.	Chaisemaker	1 10
15	Mildred Frothingham *W.*	Providence	Boston		P.		1 4
	Susanah Hollioke *W.*	"	"		P.		1 2
29th	Mary Checkley *W.*	Killingly	"		P.		1 10
	Susanah Adams & Sister, single Women	Providence	"		P.	Seamstress	2
2d 3d Mo.	Phillip Freeman Jun.	Medfield	"	5	B.	Trader	2
	Love Gray *W.*	"	"		B.		1 10
	—— McClound & Wife	"	"		B.	Mariner	1 10
	Experience Ingerson *W.*	"	"	1	P.	Schoolmistress	1 10
	Sarah Brown *W.*	"	"	1	B.		1 10
	Thankful Hawes, single & weakly	"	"		B.		1 10
	Elizabeth Brown *W.*	"	"	2	P.		1 10
	John Wheeler, Wife	"	"	2	B.	Mason	1 10
	Thomas Perkins, Wife	Sherburn	"	2	P.		1 10
	Robert Brick, Wife	"	"	4	P.	Cooper	2
	Eliezer Dowse, Wife	Holliston	Charlestown	5	P.	Leatherdresser	2
	Widow Bruister aged 87	"	Boston		P.		2
	Benja Pearce, Wife & aged Mother, crazy	Framingham	"	1	P.	Chairmaker	2
	Edward Brazier, Wife	"	"	5	P.	Mason	2 10
3d	Nathanael Brewer, Wife	Bolton	"	1	P.	Carpenter	1 8

	David Jones	"	"		*P.*	Sailmaker		10
	Benj[a] Edwards	"	"		*P.*	Tailor		10
	Thomas Brewer, Wife	"	"	4	*P.*	Glazier	2	10
	Avis Brewer *W.*	"	"		*P.*	Nurse	1	
	Avis Brewer Jun.	"	"		*P.*	Seamstress		10
	Giles Brewer, Wife	"	"	6	*C.*	Carpenter	2	10
	Giles Brewer & Wife near her Time	"	"		*C.*	Carpenter	1	10
4th of 3d Mo.	James Flood, lame Man	"	"		*P.*	Sailor	1	10
	John Richardson & Wife	"	"		*C.*	Labourer	1	
	Marcy Carder, *W.* sick, her things burnt in Charleston as she came out	"	"		*P.*	Nurse	2	
	Unice Kilcup (her husband dec[d] since she came out)	Lancaster	"	1	*P.*		1	15
	John Newman, Wife	"	Charlestown	6	*C.*	Clockmaker	2	10
	Sarah Serjeant, single Woman	"	Boston		*P.*	Seamstress	1	
	John Swetser & Wife, aged People	"	"		*P.*	Tallow Chandler	1	10
	Jacob Swetser, Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Writing Clerk	1	10
	Joseph Nowel, Wife	"	"	2		Cooper	1	10
	Daniel Lilbe, Wife	"	"	6	*P.*	Ship Carpenter	2	
	James Baly, Wife	"	"	6	*P.*	House Carpenter	2	
	Elizabeth Child, single Woman	"	"		*P.*		1	
							£64	13

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums	
						Bro^t forward	£64	13
	John French, Wife	Lancaster	Boston	2	*P.*	Carpenter	1	10
	Sarah Nicholson (Husband absent)	"	"		*P.*		1	
	Hannah Langley *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*		1	5
	Mary Thompson *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*	Nurse	1	8
	Mary Colter *W.* & grand-child	"	"		*P.*	Victualer	1	12
	Rebeckah Brown, single Woman	"	"		*P.*	Tailor	1	
	Mary Emmens *W.* an aged Mother	"	"	4	*P.*	Mantuamaker	2	10
	Nicholas Pearce, Wife	"	"	4	*P.*	Mason	2	
	Mary Pearce *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*	Seamstress	1	10
	M. Grinno *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*	Seamstress	1	12
	Ailce Collins *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*	Schoolmistress	1	10
	Abigail Britt (husband 6 years absent)	"	"	2	*P.*	Shopkeeper	1	10
5th	Lucy Wilco *W.*	Northborough	"	1	*P.*	Labourer	1	
	Mary Hiter, Orphan of 18	"	"		*P.*		1	
	Michael Staply, Wife	Waltham	"	4	*P.*	Cooper	1	18
	George Frank, Wife	"	"	3	*C.*	Labourer	1	15
	Peter Farr, Wife	Northborough	"	1	*P.*	Shoemaker	1	5
	Jacob Kuhn, duchman, his Wife, Daug^r & Grand-child	Marlborough	"	2	*C.*	Tailor	1	10

Samuel Jennison, Wife	"	"	6	*P.*	Shoemaker	2	8
Phillip Cline, Wife	"	"	1	*C.*	Labourer	1	5
Ezekiel Walker, Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Mason	1	15
*Sarah Power *W.*[1]	"	"		*P.*		1	
*Widow Smith	"	"	1	*P.*		1	5
*Widow Wane	"	"	1	*P.*		1	5
*Spencer Walker, Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Tailor	1	10
*Thomas Pitcher, Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Painter	1	10
*Joseph Clow, Wife	"	"	3	*P.*	Joiner	1	15
*Widow Fowle	"	"	2	*P.*		1	10
*David Brace, Wife	"	"	4	*P.*	Mariner	2	10
*Andrew Burges, Wife & 2 young Women	"	"		*P.*	Ropemaker	2	
*Wm Swett, Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Schoolmistress	2	
*Joshua Barrot & Wife	"	"		*P.*	Blacksmith	1	5
*John White, Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Gardner	1	10
*Abigail Pitcher *W.*	"	Charlestown		*P.*		1	10
Sarah Kittle *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*		1	15
John Williams, lame Man	"	Boston		*P.*	Keeper of Boarders	1	10
Mary Marvelick *W.*	"	"		*P.*		1	10
Elizabeth Quincy *W.*	"	"		*P.*		1	10
Ann Hart, Orphan	"	"		*P.*		1	
						£124	11

[1] "Those in Malbrow marked * in the Margin were not Vissited Living much dispers'd in the Town, but after due Enquiry of other people who came from Boston & the Select Men the Sums were apportion'd and sent by John Sigane of Boston & Two of the Select Men."

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums	
						Bro[t] forward	£124	11
	Elisabeth Hilliard Dau[r] of Joseph	Marlborough "	Boston		P.	Seamstress		15
	*Elijah Davis, Wife	"	"	1	P.	Cooper	1	10
	Mary Feasanton, Orphan	"	"		P.			12
	*John Lane, Wife	"	"	1	P.	Cordwainer	1	10
	*Widow Geer, Children & Grandchildren	"	"	7	P.	Huckster	2	10
6th 3d Mo.	James Pratt, Wife	Sudbury	"	6	B.	Cooper	2	7
	Sam[l] Webb, Wife	"	"	7	P.	Bookbinder	2	10
	William Tate, Wife	"	"	4	P.	Cooper	1	16
	John How, Wife	"	"	7	P.	Cabinetmaker	2	7
	Hugh Tayler, Wife	"	"	1	P.	Labourer	1	5
	William Stone 76 & Daug[r] 46	"	"		P.	Ship Carpenter	1	10
	Hannah Pearce *W.* & Rebeckah Godard	"	"		P.	Housekeepers	1	8
	Prudence Tenney aged *W.*	"	"		P.	Seamstress	1	9
	Edward Howe, Wife	"	"	4	P.	Ropemaker	1	16
	John Adams, Wife	"	"	6	P.	Barber	2	7
	Sarah Tayler *W.*	"	Charlestown	5	P.		2	
	Ebenezer Cushing, Wife	"	Boston	6	P.	Boatbuilder	2	7
	Elizabeth Bennet, Orphan	"	"					18
	Hannah & Eliz[a] Warner, single Women	"	"		P.	Labourer	1	8

Sipeo Fareweather & Wife Negros[1]						2	8
Elizabeth Graves & Girl	"	"		*P.*		1	15
Mary Varney, Wife	Weston	"		*P.*	Mantuamaker	1	8
Benj[a] Varney, Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Carpenter	1	12
Thomas Dillaway, Wife	"	"	3	*P.*	Ship Joiner	1	15
Robert Davis, Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	House Carpenter	1	18
Timothy Pike, Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Chairmaker	1	18
John Chamberlain aged 82 & Wife 75, their House &c burnt	"	Charlestown		*P.*	Shoemaker	2	
Thomas Rand, Wife	"	"	4	*P.*	Leatherdresser	1	17
Samuel Turss, Wife	"	Boston	6	*P.*	Hatter	2	7
Zachariah Hall, Wife, her Mother	"	"	6	*P.*	Boatbuilder	2	15
Widow Nesbit	"	"	5	*P.*		2	7
Benj[a] Smith, Wife	"	"	1	*P.*	Fisherman	1	5
Sam[l] Larkin & Wife aged 75 & 73. Lost their House &c.	Menotomy	Charlestown		*P.*	Chair Maker	2	
Josiah Harris Junr., Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Tallow Chandler	1	18
John Siders, Wife	Woburn	Boston	3	*C.*	Hostler	1	15
Abigail Frothingham, lost husband since she came out	"	Charlestown	1	*P.*		1	12
						£189	6

[1] "He freed by his master. She purchased by him, have a house in Boston & paid Taxes per bills shewn us from 1766 to 1772, but have not been favor'd with the publicks support he has 10 children She One of them, all Slaves."

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums
						Bro^t forward	£189 6
	Hannah Road a *W.* and weak	Woburn	Charlestown	1	*P.*		1 12
	Mary Furss *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*	Huckster	1 18
	Sarah Miller *W.*, her husband shot by his own Door at Lexington Battle	"	"		*P.*		1 8
	Relief Ellery *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*	Shopkeeper	1 12
	Jonathan Coggeshall, Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Sailmaker	1 17
	Joseph Sweetser, frequently many fits in a day, Wife	"	"	5	*P.*	Retailer	2 7
	Rebeckah Parker aged *W.*	Reading	Boston	1	*P.*		1 12
	Thomas Jarvis, Wife	"	"	6	*P.*	Barber	2 7
	Thomas Searjeant & Wife	"	"		*P.*	Huckster	2
	Victor Blair, Wife	"	"	3	*B.*	Ropemaker	1 18
	Hannah Badger, Orphan	"	"		*B.*		18
	*Ebenezer Leman, Wife[1]	"	Charlestown	3	*P.*	Shoemaker	1 15
	*Elizabeth Osborn *W.*	"	"	3	*P.*		1 15
	*Elizabeth Or *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*	Innkeeper	1 14
	*Mary Philbrown, single Woman	"	Boston		*P.*	Seamstress	12
	*Mary Fosdick *W.*	"	Charlestown	3	*P.*		1 15
	*Anna Symmes, aged deaf single Woman	"	"		*P.*		1

7th 3d Mo.	*Benj[a] Pool & Wife	"	Boston		*P.*	Bookkeeper	1 8
	Abigail Coverby Wife of Tho[s]	"	"		*P.*		18
	Ellis Tyler & Wife	"	"	3	*P.*	Tailor	1 18
	*Elias Stone, Wife	"	Charlestown	5	*P.*	Carpenter	2 7
	*—— Edmunds & Wife	"	"		*P.*	Sexton	1 4
	Mary Magg Wife of Thomas at Sea	"	Marblehead	3	*C.*		1 18
	Elizabeth Wyman Wife of Nath[1], absent from Vassalborough on Kennebeck River	"	Vassalborough		*P.*		18
	*Marcy Lait *W.* aged 80 & lame	"	Boston		*P.*	Schoolmistress	1
	*Marcy Roberts *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*		1 14
	*Jonas Eaton & Wife	"	Charlestown		*P.*	Tanner	1 10
	Mary & Bethankful Doak & their Sisters Child whose Mother is in Boston	"	Boston		*P.*		1 8
	Hannah Reynolds Wife of Valentine who was taken & caried to Boston	"	Marblehead	1	*P.*		1 8
							£234 17

[1] "Those marked * in Reading liveing scatter'd & remote were after due Examination relieved by sending the Moneys Anex'd to each, by Benj[a] Brown a Select Man per Rc[t]."

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
						Bro^t forward	£234	17	
	Mary Miller, single aged Woman	Reading	Charlestown		P.	Glover		12	
	Anna Sheppard *W.*	"	"	3	P.	Huckster	1	13	
	Samuel Edes, Wife, objects of extreem Poverty, like many on the Sea Coast	"	"	4	P.	Hatter	2	12	
13 3d Mo.	Edward Southwick	Douglas	Dighton	2	F.	Seaman	1	4	8
	John Williams, his Wife & 4 Children, Dec^d since he came out	Bellingham	Boston	3	B.	Shopkeeper	2	7	
	Mary Hall, single Woman	Providence	"		P.	Seamstress		12	
	Elizabeth Phillips & Daug^r Pain	"	"		B.	Schoolmistress	1	10	
	Susannah Callender, young Woman	"	"		B.	Seamstress		12	
	Mary Dodge *W.*	"	"		P.	Schoolmistress	1	10	
20	John Loring, Wife	Rehoboth	"	1	C.	Tallow Chandler	1	16	
21	Samuel Tresposs	"	"	1	C.	Fisherman		12	
5th of 4th Mo.	Jonathan Pain, Wife, Travel^g home being taken by Govr Dunmore		Truro	5	P.	Fisherman	1	10	
					158 Donations amt^g to		£251	7	8
					146 in Acc^t Sent Is^l Pemberton		122	12	6
					304		£374	0	2

No. 8. Containing 85 Donations to the Inhabitants of Towns Southward from Boston to Plymouth, with Acc^t of the Seccond Vissit to Glocester on Cape Ann and a Number of Families from Boston, the Families containing 568 persons[1]

Date	*Names*	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
1776							
3d Mo.	Pool Spear, Wife	Pembroke	Boston	6	*P.*	Tailor	£2
	Edward Cowel, single Man, 68 years	Plymouth	"		*P.*	Cooper	12
	Joseph Morton & Wife	"	"		*P.*	Cordwainer	1 4
	Ebenezer Brown, Wife	"	"	3	*P.*	Tailor	1 4
	Ebenezer Boylston, Wife	"	"	3		Twine Spinner	1 4
	Edward Cox, Wife	Pembroke			*P.*	Tailor	1 10
	Mary Mitchel *W.* newtral french aged 73	Marshfield	Port Royal		*R.*	Spinster	1 10
	Margaret Mitchel, single Woman	"	"	1	*R.*	Spinster	1
	Colaste Mitchel, single Woman	"	"	1	*R.*	Spinster	1
	Joseph Edwards, Wife	"	Boston		*P.*	Stationer	1
	Sarah Hamet *W.*	"	"		*P.*	Seamstress	1
	Mary Lash, single Woman	"	"		*P.*	Seamstress	1
	Nathanael Bosworth, Wife	Duxbury	"	3	*P.*	Mariner	2
	Tener, a Negro Woman, single	"	"		*F.*[2]		1
							£17 4

[1] "N.B. All those in Glocester on Cape Ann (a few excepted as per the first Lists) are Presbiterians or Congregationalists."

[2] "Calls herself a Quaker."

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums	
						Bro^t forward	£17	4
	Caleb Oldham & Wife	Duxbury			P.	Husbandman		18
	Peleg Oldham & Wife	"	Boston	3	P.	Cordwainer		18
	Hasekiah Bosworth, single Man		"		P.	Mariner	1	
	Hannah Goold, single Woman	Pembroke	Hull		P.	Spinster	1	
	Rebekah Frasher & Husband	Duxbury	Boston	3	P.	Spinster	1	10
	Daniel Thomas & Wife	Marshfield		3	P.	Mariner	1	
	Barnibas Fountain & Wife	"		5	P.	Mariner	1	
	Hannah Thrift *W.* aged 72	Scituate			C.	Weaver	1	16
	Abigail Turner *W.*	"	Boston	2	P.	Shipwright		18
	Hannah Waldo *W.*	"	"		P.	Spinster	1	2
	Thomas Holt & Wife, each age 67 y^r	Cohasset	"		C.		1	16
	Sarah Elwood & Husband	"	"	4	P.	Spinster	2	2
	Sarah Tower *W.*	"	"	3	P.	Spinster	2	
	Asa Stoder & Wife	"	"	5	P.	Mason	1	16
	Jonathan Cushing	"	"	6	P.	Cooper	1	10
	David Lowring & Wife	Hingham	Hull		P.	Husbandman	1	10
	Ann Bealy *W.*	"	"	3	P.	Spinster	2	6
	Joseph Sergant & Wife	"	Boston		P.	Housewright	1	19
	Rebekah Hill *W.*	"	"		P.	Spinster	1	10
	John Wilson & Wife	"	"	2	P.	Spinster	1	10
	Elisabeth Binney *W.*	"	Hull		P.	Spinster	1	10

Mary Loring *W.*	"	"	4	*P.*	Spinster	1	10
James Barrett & Wife	"	Boston	5	*P.*	Baker	1	10
Cuff, a Negro Man, & Wife, an aged Mother & an aged Mother	"	Hull	1	*B.*	Comber	1	10
Elisabeth Wheeler *W.*	"	Boston	3	*P.*		3	12
Darkis Bealy *W.*	"	Hull	4	*P.*	Spinster	3	
Jane Dauson *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*	Spinster	1	4
Samuel Loring & Wife	"	"	8	*P.*	Husbandman	2	2
Jeremiah Sprague & Wife	"	Boston	2	*B.*	Cordwainer	1	10
Sarah Law, Sister & 3 Brothers	"	"		*P.*	Mantuamaker	2	8
Rachel Bradford	"	"	1	*P.*	Spinster	1	16
Elisabeth Woodward *W.*	"	Hull		*P.*		1	10
Rebekah Newel, single	"	Boston		*C.*		1	10
Elkanah Haden & Wife	"	Hull		*P.*	Fisherman	2	2
Elisha Goold, Junr & Wife	"	"	3	*P.*	Tailor	1	10
Experiance Cooms, aged 80 years	"	"		*P.*		2	8
Daniel Barker & Wife	"	Boston	2	*B.*	Blacksmith	2	10
Elisha Goold & Wife	"	Hull	4	*P.*	Yeoman	3	12
Stephen Greenlief & Wife	"	"	1	*P.*	Boatbuilder	1	10
Lydia Milton, single Woman	"	"		*P.*	Spinster	1	
Barshaba Greenlief *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*	Spinster	1	10
						£86	19

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums	
						Bro^t forward	£86	19
	John Greenlief & Wife	Hingham	Hull	4	*P.*	Blacksmith	2	4
	Joseph Spear & Wife	Weymouth	Boston	4	*P.*	Lighterman	2	
	James Ferriter & Wife	"	"		*P.*		1	16
	Elkanah Binney & Wife	"	Hull	5	*P.*	Tailor	2	2
	Elisabeth Loring *W.*	"	"		*P.*	Mantuamaker	2	8
	Judith, single Woman	"	"		*P.*	Spinster	1	10
	William Stubbs, aged 82, & Wife	"	"		*F.*	Husbandman	3	
	William Smith & Wife	Braintree	Boston	2	*B.*	Fisherman	2	8
	Benjamin Jones, Junr & Wife	"	"	6	*P.*	Mariner	3	
	Robert Milton, single Man	"	Hull		*P.*	Cordwainer	1	4
	Elisabeth Carpenter (husband taken on board a man of war)	"	Boston	3	*C.*	Spinster	1	11
	Rebeckah Spear *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*	Spinster	1	4
	John Haden & Wife	"	"	7	*C.*	Blacksmith	2	
	Ibrook Wooward & Wife	"	"	1	*P.*	Fisherman	1	16
	Susannah Price *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*	Spinster	2	8
	Robert Price & Wife	"	"	1	*P.*	Fisherman	1	16
	Peter Geyer & Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Fisherman	1	6
	Benjamin Jones, aged 80 years	"	Hull		*P.*	Comber	2	8
	Sam^ll Jones & Wife	"	"	2	*P.*	Cordwainer	2	8
	Mary Jones, single Woman	"	"		*P.*	Spinster	1	2

Widow Diman	"	Boston	1	*P.*	Spinster	1	2	
Elisabeth Pope *W.*	"	Dorchester	1	*P.*	Spinster	1	4	
Ann Sender, single Woman	"	Boston		*P.*	Spinster	1	12	
Thomas Bealy, single Man and blind	Hingham	Hull		*P.*			12	6
Thomas Josler & *W.*	Plymouth	Hanover	4	*P.*		1	3	6
Nicholas Goodrich	Cape Ann		5		Labourer	1	4	
Flora Douseate & Wife	"		4		Labourer	1	4	
Jo^s^ Brown's Widow	"		6			1	10	
Sarah Witham	"		4				12	
Anna Ellwell *W.*	"		2				8	
Wife of Jno Gardiner							10	
Widow Robinson	"						6	
Widow Mary Batten	"		2				12	
Widow Curney	"						8	
Solomon Howard & Wife	"						18	
The Wife of James Witham	"						12	
Sarah Hadley *W.*	"						8	
Sarah Row *W.*	"		4				18	
Vinson Ellwood's *W.*	"						12	
Widow Mackeel	"						12	
Widow Coprel	"		4				18	
Anna Ellery *W.*	"		3				12	
Sarah Parsons *W.*	"		3				12	
						£145		

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums	
						Bro^t forward	£145	
	Dependance Ellery *W.*	Cape Ann						8
	Jemime Allen *W.*	"						12
	Wm Bopson & Wife	"						15
	Widow Sever	"						10
	Widow Gover	"		1				6
	Jemime Millet *W.*	"						8
	Caleb Tarr & Wife	"						8
	Widow Anna Carter	"		2				15
	Sarah Holland (Husband absent)	"		3				17
	Jane Foster *W.*	"		1				10
	Susanna Elwell *W.*	"		1				10
	Lydia Hogkens & Ellot	"		2			1	4
	John Huse	"		1				14
	Susanna Leandel *W.*	"		3			1	
	Hannah Perry *W.*	"		1				6
	Rachel Allen *W.*	"						6
	Rachel Rich *W.*	"		2				12
	Jane Carter *W.*	"		1				10
	Anna Clowland *W.*	"		3				12
	Stephen Robinson & Wife	"		7				18
	Sarah Lerve *W.*	"		1				6
	Sarah Hunter *W.*	"		1				12
	Sarah Lirve *W.*	"		5			1	4
	Thomozen Smith *W.*	"		4			1	

Ruth Millet *W.*	"				10
Sarah Smith *W.*	"	4		1	4
Eunice Rennicom *W.*	"	1			12
Susanna Sargeant *W.*	"				12
Lydia Robinson *W.*	"				10
Martha Robinson & Sister *W.*	"	1			12
Judith Knolton (Husband run away)	"	5		1	4
Elizabeth Row *W.*	"	4		1	
Widow Brown	"				8
Lydia Davis *W.*	"	1			12
Hannah Noble *W.*	"				6
Sarah Bray & Flag	"	1			12
Elizabeth Harde *W.*	"	1		1	4
Mary Steel *W.*	"	6		1	10
Enoch Brays & Wife	"	7			18
Abraham Burrell & Wife	"	2			12
Abigail Stephens *W.*	"				6
Patience Knights *W.*	"	6			18
Bethiah Adams *W.*	"	3			15
Mary Harris *W.*	"				10
Ruth Boynton *W.*		3			15
Sam[11] Clark	"				18
Bethiah Abbot *W.*	"	4			18
Lois Tarr *W.*	"	3			14
			£178		3

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums	
						Bro^t forward	£178	3
	Widow Brook	Cape Ann		5			1	
	Joshua Kendal	"						15
	Elizabeth Kendal *W.*	"		2				15
	Martha Stephens *W.*	"		3				18
	Mary Rigs *W.*	"		2				8
	Lydia Gatwood *W.*	"		2				12
	Rachel How *W.* & Daughter	"						10
	Sarah Rigs *W.*			1				12
	Martha Brook *W.*	"		4				18
	Deborough Griffin *W.*	"		4				18
	Patience Thomson *W.*	"						12
	Unice Harrindon *W.*	"		2				15
	Patience Chirde (Husband absent)	"		5			1	
	Abigail Godard *W.*	"		2				12
	Rachel Dover *W.*	"		2				12
	Joshua Norred	"						16
	Abigail Jumper *W.*	"						15
	Elizabeth Wayle *W.*	"						15
	Sarah Allen *W.*	"		3				16
	Widow Glover	"						10
	Mary Parsons *W.*	"		1				15
	Sarah Parsons *W.*	"		2				15
	Mary Johnson *W.*	"						10

Lydia Morgan *W.*	"			12	
Widow Bapson	"			12	
Hannah Davis *W.*	"	3		1 4	
Mary Millet *W.*	"	4		1 4	
Susanna Varrel *W.*	"			15	
Elizabeth Hammond *W.*	"			15	
George Franuel	"	4		1 10	
Widow Dunnchoe	"	4		1 4	
Widow Lufkin	"			12	
Widow Shappen	"	4		1	
Naome Grant	"			10	
Elizabeth Millet *W.*	"			10	
Abraham Millet & Wife	"			12	
Dorkes Stanwood	"			10	
Ann Urien *W.*	"			10	
Judith Low *W.*	"	7		18	
		85 Donations, 568 persons		£207	10
Left with the Select Men for some supposed to be omitted to be Distributed				4	14
				£212	04

No. 9. Cont^g ab^t 330 Donations at 600 Different Times to 1267 Persons. List of Persons to Whom Friends Donations hath been Distributed in the Town of Newport

Names	*Place of Residence*	*No. of Childn.*	*No. in Family*	*No. Times Visited*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
Mary Atwood *W.*	Newport	1	2	3			£1	4	6
Sarah & Ellenor Akins	"		2	4			3	8	
							£4	12	6

Names	*Place of Residence*	*No. of Childn.*	*No. in Family*	*No. Times Visited*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
						Bro^t forward	£4	12	6
Abraham All	Newport		3	2	*P.*	Tailor	1		
Widow Archer	"		1	2	*C.*		1		
Ruth Ailman *W.*	"	3	4	1	*B.*		1		
Dorothy Archer & Ann Sabin *Ws.*	"		2	1	*C.* & *B.*		1		
Johanna Anthony *W.*	"	2	3	2	*F.*		1	12	
Sarah Anthony	"		3	1	*F.*	Spinster		10	
John Attwood	"	1	2	1		Labourer		9	
Hannah Allen	"		2	1	*C.*	Mantuamaker		12	
Hope Bridges *W.*	"	3	5	3	*C.*		2	5	
Freelove Boss	"		1	1		Mantuamaker		15	
Oliver Bur	"	5	7	3	*C.*	Cooper	2		
Thomas Brown	"	1	3	2	*P.*	Leatherdresser	1	2	
Edmond Bell	"	1	3	4	*C.*	Labourer	1		
Elizabeth Burgis *W.*	"		1	3	*B.*		1	1	
John Butts	"		2	1		Chaisemaker		10	
Joseph Brown	"	6	8	2	*P.*	Mason	1	15	
Sarah Brown *W.*	"	4	5	2	*M.*		1	2	
Marcy Barney *W.*	"	2	4	1	*M.*			12	
Mary Brown *W.*	"	3	4	5	*P.*		2	16	
Mary Burk *W.*	"	7	8	2	*B.*		1	10	
Elizabeth Brewer *W.*	"		1	1				6	
Marcy Barney *W.*	"	1	2	1				12	
Thomas Baley	"	3	4	2	*C.*	Leatherdresser	1	5	
Giles Barney	"	5	7	2		Chairmaker	1	6	6

Samuel Burroughs Jun[r]	"	3	5	1	*B.*	Labourer	1		
Samuel Billins	"	7	9	1	*P.*	Tailor	2		
Richard Bissell	"	1	3	1	*P.*	Mariner		15	
Mary Batty *W.*	"		1	1	*B.*			10	
Marcy Brown *W.*	"	2	3	1	*P.*			15	
Binah Bryer *W.*	"		1	1				6	
Philip Bassell	"	3	5	3	*P.*	Fisherman	2		3
Edward Belchor	"	3	4	2	*C.*	Shipwright	1	2	6
Mary Browning *W.*	"	2	4	1	*F.*		1		
Ann Barnum	"	2	4	1	*B.*			12	
Elizabeth Bryer *W.*	"		3	3			1		
Jonathan Bryer	"		4	2	*B.*	Joiner		18	
Patience Budge	"		1	1	*C.*			6	
Abigail Burgis *W.*	"	8	9	1	*P.*		1		
Eliz[a] Brown *W.*	"	3	4	2	*P.*			15	
Jon[a] Chadwick	"	7	9	2	*B.*	Cooper	3		
Jerad Caswell	"	1	3	2	*B.*	Labourer		15	
Eliz[a] Clarke *W.*	"	4	5	3	*B.*		2	9	
Boitston Coggeshall	"	7	9	2		Labourer	2	10	
Sarah Clarke *W.*	"	3	4	1	*C.*		1		
Dorothy Castoff *W.*	"	3	4	2	*C.*		1	7	
Jon[a] Chace, blind	"	2	4	5	*P.*		2	18	
Hannah Corey *W.*	"	7	8	2	*B.*		1	17	
Susanna Crossin	"	2	3	1	*B.*			12	
Sarah Clarke *W.*	"		1	2	*B.*			10	
Jane Clanning	"	5	6	4	*B.*		1	15	
							£64	5	9

Names	*Place of Residence*	*No. of Childn.*	*No. in Family*	*No. Times Visited*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
						Bro^t forward	£64	5	9
John Cahoone	Newport	4	6	3	*B.*	Mariner	1	7	
Mehetabel Cowdery *W.*	"		1	1	*B.*			6	
William Cooper	"	1	3	2	*B.*	Ropemaker	1	8	
Abigail Caine *W.*	"	3	4	1	*B.*			10	
Deborah Carr *W.*	"	2	3	2	*B.*		1	1	
Hannah Caine *W.*	"	4	7	2	*B.*		1	10	
Eliz^a Church *W.*	"	1	2	1	*M.*			9	
Mary Crawford *W.*	"	3	4	3	*P.*		1	15	
Charles Chaloner	"	3	6	1	*C.*	Labourer	1		
Ann Cooper	"	1	2	1	*B.*		1		
Ann Clanning	"		1		*B.*	Spinster		10	
Oliver Childs	"	6	8		*M.*	Shipwright	2	5	
Mehetabel Calvin *W.*	"	3	4	3	*B.*		2	9	
Ann Carr *W.*	"	2	3	1	*P.*		1		
Mary Clarke *W.*	"		3	2	*B.*		1		
Ann Cubit *W.*	"		1	1	*C.*			10	
Mary Campbell *W.*	"	1	2	3	*B.*		1		
Hannah Chace *W.*	"	3	4	1			1	10	
Sarah Cranston *W.*	"	2	3	1	*B.*			15	
Esther Caine *W.*	"		1	2	*C.*			8	6
Latham Clarke	"	2	3	1	*C.*	Mariner		10	
Preserved Chamberlain *W.*	"		1	1				6	
Mary Coggin *W.*	"	1	3	2				10	
Thomas Chadwick	"	2	4	1	*B.*	Fisherman		15	
Francis Cranston	"		3	2	*B.*			16	

Ann Cubit	"		1	1				4	6
Mary Cranston	"		1	1		Spinster		9	
John Dickins	"	6	8	3	*P.*	Shipwright	2	8	
Sarah Dunn *W*	"	3	4	3	*B.*		1	10	
Edward Dickins	"	2	4	4	*P.*	Mariner	3	1	
Benj[a] Dring	"	1	3	2	*P.*	Cooper		11	6
Sarah Davis	"	5	6	4	*P.*		3	15	
John Dennis	"	1	3	4	*F.*	Cooper	4	5	3
Daniel Donham Jr.	"	4	6	1	*P.*	Carpenter		15	
Pheby Donwell *W.*	"	3	4	1	*B.*			15	
Amy Davis *W.*	"	1	2	1	*B.*			10	
Peter Daniel	"	3	5	3	*M.*	Labourer	1	7	
James Durfee	"	3	5	3		Cordwainer	1		
Thomas Durfee	"	2	4	1	*C.*	Mariner		10	
Thomas Earl	"	2	4	4		Cooper	3	16	
Ann East *W.* blind	"		1	2	*P.*			15	
Mary Ellerson *W.*	"	6	7	1	*P.*		1	10	
John Easton	"	1	2	1	*B.*	Cooper		13	
David Earl	"	4	6	1	*F.*	Carpenter	1		
James Easton	"	7	9	1	*F.*	Carpenter	1		
Susanna Fairbanks *W.*	"	4	5	2	*P.*		2		
Abigail Finks *W.*	"	4	5	4	*P.*		3	10	
Christopher Fowler	Jamestown	5	7	2		Tailor	1	3	
Thomas Foster	Newport	3	5	1	*B.*	Cordwainer	1	10	
Stephen Fry	"	6	8	1	*B.*	Cooper	1		
Sarah Fisher *W.*	"		1	2	*C.*			11	
							£128	5	6

Names	*Place of Residence*	*No. of Childn.*	*No. in Family*	*No. Times Visited*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
						Bro[t] forward	£128	5	6
Abigail Fox *W.*	Newport		1	1			1		
Jane Fish *W.*	"	3	4	1				12	
Abial Gibbs *W.*	"	1	4	2	*P.*		1	5	
Ann Green	"		4	1	*B.*	Mantuamaker		10	
Sam[ll] Greelea	"	2	4	3	*C.*	Cordwainer	1	4	
Amy Green *W.*	"	3	4	1	*B.*			12	
Mary Gardner *W.*	"	2	3	2	*P.*	Schoolmistress	1	16	
Katharine Grinnell *W.*	"	3	4	3	*B.*		1	18	
Ann Green *W.*	"	1	2	2	*B.*			15	
Katharine Green *W.*	"	2	4	1	*B.*			15	
Alice Gould *W.*	"		1	1	*F.*		1		
Hannah Gibbs *W.*	"	2	3	1	*B.*			10	
John Greelia Jun[r]	"	3	10	1	*M.*	Scrivener	2		
John Harris	"	5	7	3		Labourer	2	15	
James Hill	"	6	8	1	*C.*	Tailor	1	10	
Eliz[a] Hunt *W.*	"	2	3	3	*B.*		1	16	8
Sarah Howard *W.*	"	1	3	1	*C.*			10	
Sarah Howland	"	2	5	2	*F.*		2	2	
Margaret Hart	"	1	2	1				10	
Jon[a] Heath	"	5	7	2	*P.*	Cordwainer	2	1	
Jane Holt *W.*	"	3	4	2	*P.*			11	
Mary Hanley *W.*	"		1	1		Tailor		8	
Rachel Howard *W.*	"	3	4	1	*C.*			10	
Deborah Harris *W.*	"		2	1	*F.*			10	
Thomas Howland	"	2	4	1		Labourer	1		

George Harknis	"	1	3	3	*P.*	Labourer	1	10		
Luke Howell	"	4	6	1	*P.*	Tailor	1	10		
Lodowick Hoxsey	"	4	6	1		Shipwright	1			
Mary Hudson *W.*	"	8	9	1	*B.*		1	10		
Thomas Hammand	"	2	4	1				10		
Mary Hastings *W.*	"		1	1	*B.*			12		
Jane Heath *W.*	"	6	7	1	*P.*			12		
Sam[ll] Hunts 3 Daughters *Ws.*	"	7	10	1	*B.*			15		
Rebecca Hart	"	3	5	1	*B.*			10		
Sam[ll] Hayward	"	5	7	1	*M.*	Boatbuilder		11		
Samuel Hunt	"	3	4	1	*P.*	Painter		10		
Zephaniah Hadaway	"	6	8	1	*P.*	Labourer	1			
Eliz[a] Jones *W.*	"	1	2	4	*P.*	Mantuamaker	1	6		
Ann James & Son Joseph	"	5	7	1		Cordwainer	1			
Eliz[a] Jackson	"	3	4	3			1	16		
Lydia James *W.*	"		1	2	*F.*		1	6		
Joseph Jeffers	"	4	6	3		Fisherman	1	11	3	
Merriam Johnston *W.*	"	4	5	2	*B.*		1	10		
Sarah James *W.*	"	3	4	1	*C.*		1			
Mary James *W.*	"	2	4	2			1	3	6	
Susanna Jeffers *W.*	"	2	5	1	*P.*		1	10		
Jane, a Negro	"	1	2	1	*B.*			12		
Ruth James *W.*	"	4	5	3	*P.*		1	15		
John Jent	"		1	3	*P.*	Labourer		10		
Eliz[a] Johnston	"	1	2	1				10		
							£182	5	11	

Names	*Place of Residence*	*No. of Childn.*	*No. in Family*	*No. Times Visited*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
						Bro^t forward	£182	5	11
William Jackson	Newport	4	6	1	*B.*	Labourer		10	
Jacob Jackson	"	2	3	2	*B.*	Labourer		6	
John, a Negro	"	2	5	1		Labourer		12	
Eliz^a King *W.*	"	1	4	1	*C.*		1		
Eliz^a King 2nd *W.*	"	4	5	2	*C.*		1	18	
Susanna King *W.*	"		1	3	*C.*			13	
Susanna King *W.*	"	3	4	1				10	
John King	"	3	5	2	*C.*	Schoolmaster	1	1	
Esther King	"	1	3	1	*P.*			12	
Ruth King *W.*	"		1	2	*B.*			6	
Mary Luther *W.*	"	5	6	2	*B.*		2	15	
Nicholas Lee	"	1	3	7	*B.*	Labourer	2		9
Niaby Lambert	"	6	7	2	*P.*		1	5	
Eliz^a Lee *W.*	"	2	3	2	*B.*			13	6
Dorcas Lawton *W.*	"	3	4	2	*B.*		2	19	
Dan^ll Lambert	"	3	4	1	*P.*	Mariner	1		
Hannah Lawton	"	2	5	1	*C.*		1		
Elizabeth Lamb *W.*	"		1	1				15	
Jonathan Lewis	"		2	2		Mariner		14	
Lucy Lawton *W.*	"	2	3	1	*B.*			12	
Mary Little *W.*	"	3	4	2	*B.*			13	
Mary Langworthy *W.*	"	3	4	1	*P.*			12	
Mary Mondon *W.*	"	3	4	1	*B.*			10	
Ann Moss *W.*	"	1	2	1				10	
Lois Mitchell *W.*	"		1	2	*B.*		1	2	

George Monrow	"	4	8	1	*B.*	Blockmaker		5		
Ann Manchester *W.*	"	6	7	1	*P.*			12		
Martha McCloud *W.*	"	3	4	2	*B.*		1	10		
Lydia McDaniel *W.*	"	1	2	2	*B.*			11		
Isaac Martindale	"	2	4	2	*C.*	Labourer	2	5		
Ruth Mott *W.*	"	2	4	2	*P.*		1			
Thomas Melvill Jun[r]	"	3	5	2	*B.*	Carpenter		13		
Margaret McClish	"	4	5	2	*C.*		1	6	6	
Marcy Murfee *W.*	"	1	2	3				18		
Lydia Manchester *W.*	"	1	2	1				16		
Anna Mitchell *W.*	"	1	2	3	*B.*		1	7		
Eliphas Marham	"	3	5	1	*C.*	Labourer		8	4	
Alice Murfee *W.*	"		1	1	*B.*			7		
Ann Mayhew *W.*	"	2	3	1	*C.*			10		
Jonathan Mott	"	1	3	1		Labourer		11		
Benj[a] Mumford	"	1	3	1	*C.*			12		
Sarah Matterson *W.*	"	1	3	1	*C.*			15		
Rebecca Nixon *W.*	"	1	2	2	*C.*		1	1	8	
Katharine Nichols *W.*	"	3	4	1	*P.*		1			
Elizabeth Nichols *W.*	"	3	4	3	*C.*		1	10		
Eliz[a] Nicher	"	3	4	1	*B.*			1	9	
Moses Norman	"	4	6	2	*P.*	Blockmaker		13	6	
Eliz[a] Nochell *W.*	"	2	3	1	*C.*			10		
Rebecca Nixon & Mary Pinnegar *W.* & Spinster	"	1	3	1	*C.*			15		
Thomas Nicher	"	3	5	1	*C.*	Labourer		9		
							£227	2	11	

Names	*Place of Residence*	*No. of Childn.*	*No. in Family*	*No. Times Visited*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
						Bro^t forward	£227	2	11
Sam^ll Oakey	Newport		3	1	*C.*	Limner	1		
Joshua Paul	"	4	6	1	*B.*	Cordwainer		10	
Sam^ll Philips	"		1	2	*B.*			13	
Jonathan Pettyface	"	2	3	1		Skinner		10	
Mary Pinnegar	"		1	1	*B.*	Spinster		6	8
Ruth Pebody	"		1	1	*P.*			3	
Eliz^a Preston *W.*	"	3	4	1	*C.*			13	
Rebecca Purchase *W.*	"	4	5	4			2	10	
Pheby Perkins *W.*	"	1	2	1	*C.*			15	
Mary Price *W.*	"	1	2	1	*P.*		1		
Richard Partilo	"	4	7	1		Fisherman		10	
Mary Peterson *W.*	"	6	7	1	*B.*		1		
Sarah Perry *W.*	"		1	1	*P.*			10	
William Philips	"	1	3	1		Butcher	1		
Robert Proud	"	3	5	2	*F.*	Watchmaker	1	9	
Enis Peckham	"	2	3	1	*B.*	Cooper		7	6
John Price	"	5	7	3	*P.*	Cooper	1	12	
Hannah Philips	"	4	5	2	*B.*			15	
John Perkins	"		1	1	*P.*	Labourer		7	6
John Pebody	"	4	6	3	*B.*	Labourer		13	9
Widow Partilo	"		2	1	*P.*			6	
John Partilo	"	4	6	2	*P.*	Labourer	1	2	
Patience, an Indian	"	3	5	1	*C.*			4	
John Pamerton	"	3	5	1	*P.*	Labourer		4	
John Rodgers	"	2	4	1	*B.*	Shipwright	1		

Mary Rodgers	"	3	4	1	*B.*		1		
Gamaliel Richmon	"	4	6	5	*P.*	Hatter	2	12	
Mary Read *W.*	"	2	3	1	*P.*			8	
Ellenor Roderick *W.*	"	5	6	2	*C.*		1	15	
Rebecca Read *W.*	"		1	2	*C.*			4	
Rebecca Rhodes *W.*	"	5	6	3	*B.*		2		
William Ryder	"	4	6	1	*B.*	Rigger	1	10	
Charity Rodgers *W.*	"	3	4	1	*P.*			15	
Sarah Rolland *W.*	"	1	3	1	*P.*			15	
Benj[a] Read	"	3	5	2	*P.*	Leatherdresser	1	2	
James Rodgers	"	2	4	1	*B.*	Tailor		15	
Eliz[a] Ryle *W.*	"		1	2	*C.*			12	
Joseph Ryder	"	3	5	6		Mariner	1	10	9
Mary Remington	"		2	1	*F.*			15	3
Hannah Rodgers *W.*	"		1	1	*B.*			5	
James Rodgers 2nd	"	4	6	2	*B.*	Tailor	1	2	6
Sarah Ryder	"		1	1				3	9
Patience Rodgers *W.*	"		1	1	*B.*			13	
Jane Sanford *W.*	"	4	5	2	*B.*		3		
Benj[a] Shearman	"	1	3	6	*B.*	Fisherman	3	5	
Patience Smith *W.*	"	4	5	2			2	10	
Rafe Stanhope	"	3	5	1	*B.*	Labourer		10	
Ann Sabins *W.*	"		1	1	*B.*			10	
Eliz[a] Scott *W.*	"	1	2	3			1	9	
Marcy Silvester *W.*	"	4	5	2	*P.*		1		3
Mary Smith *W.*	"		1	1	*B.*			4	
							£276	10	10

Names	*Place of Residence*	*No. of Childn.*	*No. in Family*	*No. Times Visited*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
						Bro^t forward	£276	10	10
Hannah Sanford *W.*	Newport		1	2				8	
Eliz^a Sutton *W.*	"	1	2	1				1	
Abigail Sweet *W.*	"	1	2	2	*B.*			18	1
Sarah Suttle *W.*	"	3	4	1	*P.*		1		
Samson Shearman	"		2	2		Weaver	1	4	
Sarah Sinnet *W.*	"	1	3	1	*B.*		1		
Mary Sibbet *W.*	"	3	4	1	*P.*		1		
David Seavers	"	2	4	1		Carpenter		6	
Mary Siddle *W.*	"		1	1				10	
Susanna, a Negro	"		1	1	*C.*			12	
Thomas Swinborn	"	7	9	1	*C.*	Shipwright	1	10	
Thomas Stacey	"	6	7	1	*B.*	Mariner		18	
Benj^a Spooner	"	7	9	1	*B.*	Carpenter		12	
Mary Sinkins *W.*	"	4	6	1	*B.*			8	
Jon^a Sweat	"	7	9	1		Joiner		10	
John Stanton	"	7	9	1		Cordwainer		12	4
Abigail Trobridge *W.*	"	2	3	2	*P.*		2	10	
Martha Thurston *W.*	"	5	6	2	*B.*		2	10	
Binah Taylor, Negro	"		2	1				6	
John Trip	"		2	3		Tailor	1	6	
Sam^ll Turner	"	3	5	2	*C.*	Mariner		16	
Mary Thomas	"	3	4	1	*B.*	Nurse	1		
Alice Townsend *W.*	"		1	2	*P.*			12	
Rebecca Townsend *W.*	"	1	3	1	*P.*			10	
Eunis Thurston *W.*	"	1	2	2	*F.*		1	5	

Hannah Taylor *W.*	"	1	2	2	*C.*		1	2		
Abigail Taylor	"		1	1	*F.*	Spinster	1			
Martha Taylor	"		1	1	*F.*	Spinster	1			
Mary Topham	"	1	2	1	*B.*			15		
Benj[a] Tewell	No. Kingston	3	5	1	*B.*	Cordwainer		10		
Hannah Topham *W.*	Newport	2	3	1	*P.*			15		
Jonathan Trickey	"		1	1		Labourer		10		
Deborah Townsend	"	1	3	1	*F.*		1			
Ann Treby *W.*	"	1	2	1	*P.*			7		
Joseph Turner	"	8	10	1	*P.*	Cooper		15	3	
Phebe Taylor	"	6	7	1	*B.*			15		
Mary Thurston *W.*	"	2	4	1	*C.*			10	6	
Alexander Thompson	"	5	7	1	*B.*	Carpenter		6		
Job Townsend	"	1	3	1		Joiner		6		
Keziah Thomas *W.*	"	1	2	1	*B.*			15		
Mary Vaughn & Abigail Gardner *Ws.*	"		2	2	*P.*		1	6		
John Vial	"	5	6	2	*B.*	Labourer	1	10	6	
Sarah Vincent *W.*	"	3	4	1	*P.*		1			
Mary Vial	"	5	6	2	*B.*		1	3		
Sam[ll] Vincent	"	5	7	1	*P.*	Joiner	1			
John Vennable	"	6	8	1	*C.*			5	3	
Uzziel Willbor	"	5	8	1	*P.*	Cordwainer	1			
Experience Williams *W.*	"	5	6	1	*B.*			15		
Abigail Walker *W.*	"	1	2	1	*P.*			10		
Mary Way *W.*	"	6	7	1	*P.*		1	10		
							£319	1	9	

Names	Place of Residence	No. of Childn.	No. in Family	No. Times Visited	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
						Bro^t forward	£319	1	9
Content Willber *W.*	Newport	4	6	1	*B.*			6	
Henry Whiting	"	3	5	2	*C.*	Coppersmith		8	9
Susanna Whiting	"		1	1	*C.*			4	
Jane Whitford *W.*	"	2	3	1	*B.*			12	
Katharine West *W.*	"		1	2	*C.*			10	
Richard Whitehorn	"	2	3	1	*B.*	Hatter		6	4
Sam^ll Willcox	"	4	6	1	*F.*	Saddler		7	
John West	"	3	5	1	*M.*	Fisherman		5	
Sarah Walker	"		1	1	*P.*			4	3
John Willson	"		4	2	*P.*	Cordwainer	2		
Charity Whitford *W.*	"	2	3	1	*B.*			10	
Benj^a Wickham	"	3	5	1	*C.*		1	10	
Eliz^a Whitfield	"	2	4	3	*F.*		3	16	
Patience Winpenny	"		1	2	*F.*		1	2	
Mary Wigneron	"	5	7	2	*F.*		1	18	
Rebecca Willcox *W.*	"	2	3	2	*B.*			17	
Martha Woodward *W.*	"	5	8	1	*B.*		1		
William Weaver	"		3	1	*B.*	Cooper		15	
Lydia Winstenly	"	1	3	1	*C.*			15	
Jon^a Weeden	"	6	8	4	*B.*	Carpenter	3	13	
Abigail Wiley	"	2	3	2	*B.*		2		
Domini Wanton, Negro	"		2	1	*C.*	Labourer		6	
Mary Worgan *W.*	"	3	4	1	*C.*			10	9
Ellenor Wyllis *W.*	"		1	1	*P.*			10	
Richard Humphreys	"		2	1	*C.*	Cordwainer		6	

Katharine Weeden *W.*	"	5	6	1	*B.*		7	4
						£344	1	2

Cash paid for Wood delivered out to persons per list herewith sent	45	5	6
Ditto for Meal delivered per ditto	3	7	6
	£392	14	2

Cash Rec^d of Moses Brown for the use of the Poor in Newport	£390		
Gaind in Exchanging Gold for Paper	2	14	2
	£392	14	2

No. 10. Acc^t of Distributions to Persons Removed from Boston, Newport & Jamestown, with Acc^t of a Second Visit to Manchester & Lynn. 114 Donations to 450 Persons

Date	*Names*	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
1776									
3d Mo.	Rebeckah Breed *W.*	Mendon	Marblehead	2	*P.*		£1	10	
	John Torry, Wife	"	Boston	2	*P.*	Hatter	2		
	Silence Torry *W.*	"	"		*P.*		1		
	Ebenezer Torry, Wife	"	"	7	*P.*	Ropemaker	1		
	Margret Beamus *W.*	Grafton	"		*P.*		1	10	
	Abigail Pilsbury *W.*	"	"		*P.*		1	16	
	George Nowel, Wife	"	"	4	*C.*	Ship Carpenter	2	2	
	Samuel Hasham, Wife	"	"	3	*P.*	Tailor	2	2	
	John Pilsbury	"	"	1	*P.*		1	4	
							£14	4	

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
						Bro^t forward	£14	4	
	William Abram, Wife	Upton	Boston	3	P.	Tailor	1	10	
	Elisabeth Peterson, single	"	"		P.		1		
	Rebecah Flagg *W.*	Mendon	"	7	P.		2	2	
	John Boyce	Smithfield	Lynn	2	P.	Shoemaker	1	7	
	Mary Rodman *W.*	"	Newport		F.	Schoolmistress	1	8	
	Hannah Lobdell, single	W. Sutton	Boston		P.	Schoolmistress	1		
	John Welch, Wife	Worcester	"	1	P.	Blacksmith	1	4	
	Thomas Betterlay, Wife	"	"	3	P.		2		
	Ann Currier *W.*	"	"		P.		1		
	Abigail Royal *W.*	"	"		P.		2	2	
	Sarah Taylor, single Woman	"	"		P.		1	10	
	Elisabeth Manareef	"	"		P.		1		
	Marcy Scolly	"	"		P.		2	8	
	Jacob Edds & Wife	"	"	6	B.	Barber	1	10	
	Susannah & Eliz^a Dicks	"	"		P.		2	2	
	Mary Cowel	"	"		P.			10	
	William Wilson, Wife	No. Kingston	Newport	4	P.	Hatter	1	1	9
	Christopher Fowler, Wife	"	Jamestown	5	F.	Tailor	1	9	
	Daniel Austin, Wife	Warwick	Newport	5		Blacksmith		9	3
	John Proud, Wife	E. Greenwich	"	2	F.	Chairmaker		18	
	Esbel Winslow *W.*	"	"		B.		1	10	
1775 20th 12th Mo.	Susannah Stevens *W.*	So. Kingston	Boston		F.	Tailoress	2		

1776										
23d										
3d Mo.	Daniel Underwood, Wife	No. Kingston	Jamestown	1		Weaver	1	10		
4th 2d Day	Sylvester Fowler, Wife	So. Kingston	"	3		Ferryman	1	10		
10th	Sarah Tuel *W.* & aged Mother	No. Kingston	"	2			2			
	Benj[a] Tuel, Wife	"	"	3		Cordwainer		19	10	
	Ruth Smelling *W.*	Bedford	Boston		*P.*		1	4		
	Sarah Tuckerman *W.*	"	"		*P.*		1	16		
	Elisabeth Day	Manchester			*P.*		1	4		
	Jacob Hilton	"			*P.*	Fisherman	1	10		
	Elisha Allen & Wife	"				Fisherman	1			
	Joseph Leach & Wife	"				Fisherman	1	4		
	Abigail Galloway *W.*	"						18		
	Jane Moss *W.*	"		2				18		
	Margaret Hove *W.*	"		1				12		
	Benjamin Orsement & Wife	"		4		Tailor		12		
	Margaret Crowel *W.*	"						18		
	Wil[m] Jones & Wife	"		1		Weaver	1	4		
	Jerusha Joint *W.*	"		1				18		
	Mary Jones *W.*	"		1				18		
	Abigail Leach *W.*	"						15		
	Rachel Bennet *W.*	"						12		
	Anna Bennet *W.*	"		3			1	4		
	Mary Simmons (husband absent)	"		1				12		
							£69	3	10	

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums
						Bro^t forward	3 10
	Sarah Eastcot *W.*	Manchester					1 4
	Thomas Eares & Wife	"					1 10
	Margaret Hill *W.*	"		3			1 10
	Downing Lee & Wife	"		4		Sailor	1 4
	Sarah Williams (husband absent)	"		3			1 10
	Miriam Leach *W.*	"		3			1 4
	Sarah Hinch *W.*	"					18
	Mary Jones (Husband absent)	"		2			18
	Richard Pert & Wife	"		6		Tailor	1 16
	Mary Allen *W.*	"					18
	Sarah Hill (Husband absent)	"		6			1 10
	Susannah Andrews *W.*	"		3	*P.*		1 4
	Rebeccah Allen (Husband absent)	"		3	*P.*		12
	Christen Eastcot *W.*	"		3			18
	Benj^a Haskill & Wife	"		4		Labourer	1 10
	Anna McMillion *W.*	Lynn	Boston	2	*P.*		1 16
	Mary Kilbe *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*		3
	Mary Ross *W.*	"	"	5	*P.*		1 16
	Jesse Cocks & Wife	"	"	6	*P.*		1 10
	Joseph Williams & Wife	"		2	*P.*	Cordwainer	1
	Abigail Skinner *W.*	"		2	*P.*		1 16

Joseph Brown & Wife	"		7	*P.*	Cordwainer	2	14	
Tabytha Ramsdell *W.*	"			*P.*			18	
Jack & Wife, Negroes	"	"		*P.*	Pilot	1	10	
Martha Young *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
Prudence Pratt *W.*	"		2	*P.*		1	5	
Deborah Ramsdell *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
Mary Basset *W.*	"	"		*P.*		2	8	
Elisabeth Flemming *W.*	"	"		*P.*		1	10	
Elisabeth Richardson *W.*	"	"		*P.*		1	10	
Sarah Whitcome *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*		1	5	
Elisabeth Oakmore (Husband absent)	"		5	*P.*		1	16	
Henry Snow	"	"		*P.*	Joiner		18	
Mary Chadwell *W.*	"			*P.*			15	
Hannah Ramsdell *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
Two Orphan Girls	"			*F.*		4	10	
John Hundson & Wife	Bridgewater	"	2	*P.*	Seaman	1	4	
Ann Hudson *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*		1	4	
Ebenr Brown & Wife	"	"	3	*P.*	Tailor		18	
John Green & Wife	"	"	6	*P.*	Tailor	2	2	
Moses Pearce & Wife	"	"		*B.*	Sailmaker		16	8
William Bennet & Wife	"	"	5	*C.*	Seaman	2	2	
Mary Whitney *W.*	"	"	2	*P.*		1	10	
Abigail & Mary Pappoon in one Family	"	"	3				18	
John Pearce & Wife	"	"	5	*C.*	Labourer	1	19	
						£133	16	6

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
						Bro^t forward	£133	16	6
	Joshua Sever & Wife	Bridgewater	Boston	2	*P.*	Truckman	1	4	
	John Corbet & Wife	"	"	5	*P.*	Truckman	1	4	
	Elijah Ingham & Wife	"	"	1	*P.*	Seaman		12	
	John Anderson & Wife (blind)	"	"	5	*C.*		1	10	
	Rachel Masters *W.*	"	"	4	*P.*		1	4	
	Margaret Corbet	"	"		*P.*			9	
	Widow Marshal	"	"		*C.*			9	
	Margaret Emmes	"	"	2	*P.*			18	
	Grace Fouracres	"	"		*P.*			12	
	John Fisk, Wife, & Mother	"	"		*P.*	Carpenter	1	1	
	John Hood & Wife	Easton	"	6	*P.*	Shipwright	3		
	Sarah Mickel *W.*	"	"		*P.*		1		
	Nicholas Honeymon & Wife	"	"	3	*C.*	Seaman	2	2	6
	Mary Cooper, Maiden	"	"		*B.*			18	
	Elisabeth Lamson *W.*	Taunton	"	2	*P.*		1	4	
	—— Smith & Wife	"	"	3	*P.*	Seaman	1	10	
	Richardson & Wife	"	"	3	*P.*	Tailor	1	10	
	Lydia Greenhill *W.*	Freetown		5	*F.*		2		
	Lydia Boice *W.*	Dighton		6	*F.*		2	2	
	Clother Perse & Wife	Swansea	Newport	3	*B.*		1	10	
	Hannah Molton *W.*	"	"	1	*B.*			18	2½
	John Luther & Wife	"	"	4	*B.*	Cordwainer	1	4	
	John Trott & Wife	"		6	*F.*	Cooper	2	2	
				114 Donations, 450 persons			£164		2½

Acc[t] of the Distribution of Money Sent by Friends, from Philadelphia to the Meeting for Sufferings for New England

Date	*Names*	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
1776							
4 Mo.	John Phillips & Wife	Boston		1	*F.*	Ship Carpenter	£2
	James Raymor, Wife	"		4	*F.*	Tallow Chandler	1 16
	Ebenezer Pope, Wife	"		1	*F.*	Tailor	1 16
	Samuel Pope	"			*F.*	Blacksmith	12
	Elizabeth Sims	"			*F.*		12
	Susannah Barber *W.*	Salem	Boston		*P.*		18
	Hannah Keech *W.*	"	"	1	*P.*		16
	William Pratt, Wife	Malden	Penobscot	3	*B.*	Shoemaker	19
	Elisha Purinton, Wife	Berwick		4	*F.*	Blacksmith	18
	Benj[a] Estes, Wife	"		6	*F.*	Labourer	18
	Mary Miller (husband absent)	Salem		1			12
	Johanna Roberts	"	Boston				15
	Mary Low *W.*			5			18
	Deborah Burrill (husb[d] absent)						12
	To the poor of Marblehead or such of them as were before visitted to be delivered in the same proportions by the Select Men						39 12 11
	Margret Howard *W.*	Lynn		2			15
	Sarah Flint *W.*			2			18
	John Davis	Lynn	Boston				6
	Jonathan Wihea, Wife	"		3			1 10
							£57 3 11

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
						Bro[t] forward	£57	3	11
	Elisabeth Fling *W.*	Lynn						9	
	Elisabeth Clipson *W.*			1			1		
	Richard Hunnell	"	Charlestown	2			1		
	Hannah Hicks *W.*	"	Boston				1	4	
	Amey Lindsey *W.*	"		3			1	4	
	John Work, Wife							18	
	Anna Norwood	"	"					18	
	James Grun & Wife	"		6			1		
	—— Hudson *W.*	"						15	
	—— Salter *W.*	"	Charlestown	2			1	4	
	John Tryall	Malden	Boston					2	5
	Silbe Geiles	Lynn					3	14	
	Mary Rodman *W.*	Smithfield	Newport		*F.*		2	8	
	Thomas Elliot	"		2	*F.*		1	4	
26th 6 Mo.	Marcy Shaw *W.*	Providence	Boston		*P.*			12	
	Sarah Hale *W.* & Daug[r]	"	"	4	*P.*		1		
1777									
3d 6 Mo.	Josiah Gladding, Wife	Glastonbury	Newport	5	*P.*	Carriagemaker	3		
9	Elizabeth Bateman *W.*	Providence	"	2	*F.*		2	8	
	Ephraim Macumber, Wife	"	"	2	*B.*	Cooper	2	8	
	William Pike, Wife	"	"	2	*B.*	Ship Carpenter	2	14	
	Sundry Prisoners from New York Gov[t]						2	2	
	Stephen Streeter[1]						2		
	John Herenden[1]							10	

	Natha[1] Snow[1]							12	
	Joseph Emerson[1]							9	
	Sam[1] Parker[1]						2		
	—— Bowen[1]						2		
	Jonathan Emerson[1]							9	
	Jonathan Chils	Sandwich		6	*P.*			18	
	Jean Lovel	"			*P.*			18	
	Johanah Norton	Rochester		5	*P.*		3		
1st 4 Mo.	William Sergent	Plymouth		5	*P.*	Cordwainer	1	16	
	Nathan Deleno, decrepit	"		2	*P.*	Mariner		18	
	Abigail Sampson *W.* aged 71	"		1	*P.*			18	
	Thomas Savery, Numb Palsey	"		1	*P.*		1	10	
	Sarah Swift *W.* aged 74	"			*P.*			18	
	Rebeckah Due *W.*	"		1	*P.*	Spinster		18	
	Jane Tinkham *W.*	"		1	*P.*	Spinster		12	
	Thomas Dave, Wife	"		7	*P.*	Fisherman	1	10	
	Esther Church	Little Compton	Newport		*B.*	Weaver		15	
	Mercy Curry W.	"	"	4	*B.*	Spinster	1	10	
	Jean Remmington *W.*	Warwick		2	*B.*		3	8	
	Margret Keys *W.*	"		1	*F.*		1	10	
	Sarah Baker *W.*	"			*B.*			12	
							£117	19	4

[1] "These persons were Imprisoned in Worcester Goal for not Appearing (or procureing others) with Arms when calld for & Refusing to pay the fine, and Leaving their Familes poor & Needy were Visited after Visiting them in Prison; they are called by some New Lights by some Friends, they seldom Attend friends Meetings but appeard sober Some faild in their perseverance & have Lamented their fall, Others were Released by their parents & Relations and are all out of Goal."

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
						Bro^t forward	£117	19	4
	Issabell Winslow *W.*	East Greenwich		5	*B.*			16	
	Alice Gould *W.*	So. Kingston	Newport		*F.*		1	10	
	Benj^a Hoxey	Charlestown	"	3	*F.*	Ship Carpenter	1	10	
	Richard Lewis	"	"	2	*L.*	Mariner	1	10	
	Anthony, a black man (taken)	So. Kingston	St. Antonys			in Cloathing	2	8	
	Sarah Card *W.*	"	Newport		*L.*		1	10	
	Abigail Pitman *W.*	"	"	3	*P.*	Tailoress	1	10	
1777									
1st Mo.	Dld. to Jonathan Dame & Samuel Collins for poor Prisoners at Exeter and Dover						6		
2d Mo.	Sarah Brimblecome *W.*	Salem	Marblehead	3	*P.*			12	
	John Deland & Wife	"		5	*P.*	Butcher		16	
	10 C. of Rice at 30*s* £15 and a Keg of Butter and one barrel pork[1]						24		
	Meal bo't and charges in Carting to Marblehead						5	18	
	Three barrels of pork, Hogs fat, & Eleven Bushels of meal[2]						22		
3d Mo.	Timothy Bridgden & Wife	Boston	Charlestown	7	*P.*	Blacksmith		18	
	Samuel Townsen & Wife	"	"	5	*P.*	Blockmaker		17	
	Sarah Hubbard *W.*	"		1	*P.*			10	
	Katherine Starney, Maiden	"			*P.*			18	
	Relief Elery *W.*	"	"		*P.*			18	
	John Schoots & Wife	"		2	*P.*			18	
	Hannah Cole *W.*	"		3	*P.*			18	
	Thomas Edwards & Wife	"		6	*C.*	Goldsmith	1	4	
	—— Morgan & Wife	"		5	*P.*	Carpenter		18	

Cleves Been (absent) & Wife	"		2	*B.*	Sailor		18	
Mary Brown *W.*	"	"	2	*P*			12	
James Lowden	"		1	*F.*	Glazier		18	
Sarah Adams *W.*	"			*C.*			12	
Prudence Deleplace *W.*	"			*C.*			12	
Philip Richardson & Wife	"		5	*P.*	Ropemaker		19	6
Edward Prover & Daughter	"			*P.*	Porter		10	
John Phillips & Wife	"			*F.*	Carpenter	1		
Mary True *W.*	"		3	*P.*		1	4	
Elias Cox & Wife	"		5	*P.*	Cordwainer		18	
Jacob Hendly & Wife	"		2	*F.*	Blacksmith	1		
Joshua Seaver & Wife	"			*P.*	Labourer		12	
Thomas Welch & Wife	"		4	*P.*	Glazier	1	4	
Nathaniel Ashton & Wife	"		4	*C.*	Labourer		18	
George Ceyer & Wife	"		3	*P.*		1	4	
Lewis Channer & Wife	"		4	*C.*	Labourer		18	
John Loring & Wife	"			*C.*			12	
Mary Brown *W.* & Katherine Watts, single Woman	"			*P.*			15	
						£211	4	10

[1] "Put into the hands of John Beckford, Timothy Pickering, Samuel Holman, Joseph Brown, John Tuesdal and Jeremiah Hacker to deal out agreeable to directions."

[2] "Put into the hands of Robert Hooper Junr. of Marblehead, to deal out according to directions. And it appears likely more than 200 families will receive of these provisions, lodged in these two Towns, the number of poor, & smallness of the quantity to each is such, that an exact account is not required of the persons who deliver'd it, their integrity & faithfulness is not to be doubted."

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
						Bro^t forward	£211	4	10
	Robert Watts	Boston			C.			6	
	Nathaniel Low & Wife	"		4	F.	Blacksmith		18	
5th Mo.	Hannah Cole *W.*	"		3	P.		1	10	
	Mary Airs *W.*	"		1	C.			10	
	Elizabeth Wheat *W.*	"		3	P.		1	10	
	Ruth Lash *W.*	"		1	P.			10	
	Sambo Gardner & Wife, Negroes	"		1	P.		1		
	Eunice Walker *W.*	"		1	P.			10	
	Thankful Hemmingway *W.*	"		1	P.		1	10	
	Sarah McClary *W.*	"		3	P.		1		
	Elizabeth Sterling *W.*	"		1	B.		1		
	Susanna Sumner *W.*	"		3	P.			10	
	Esther Glover *W.*	"		1	B.			10	
	Ann Marshal & Daughter Martha *Ws.*	"			P.		1		
	Mary Booth *W.*	"		3	P.		1	10	
	Mary Pearce *W.*	"		1	P.			10	
	Ann Buckoon (husband absent)	"		2	P.			12	
	Widow Hill	"		1	P.			12	
	Widow Gooden	"						10	
	John Clough & Wife	"		1	C.			14	
	Eliz^a Torrey *W.*	"		1	P.		1		

William Stone & a Widow Daughter	"		*P.*			10	
Widow Martin	"					12	
Thomas, a Negro	"		*P.*			10	
Benjamin Muchmore	Isle of Shoals	3	*P.*	Fisherman		10	6
William Down & Wife	"	4	*P.*	Fisherman		10	6
William Holbrook & Wife	"	4	*P.*	Fisherman		15	6
John Brade & Wife	"	2	*P.*	Fisherman		10	6
Josiah Barrel & Wife	"	3	*P.*	Fisherman		15	6
Robert Caswell & Wife	"	3	*P.*	Fisherman		15	6
John Caswell & Wife (distracted)	"	3	*P.*	Fisherman		15	6
John Pusley & Wife	"	2	*P.*	Fisherman		10	6
Samuel Down & Wife	"	4	*P.*	Fisherman		10	6
Richard Hier & Wife	"	2	*P.*	Fisherman		10	6
Edward Down & Wife	"	2	*P.*	Fisherman		10	6
John Robinson & Wife, and a distracted woman	"	6	*P.*	Fisherman		15	6
Michael Down & Wife	"	3	*P.*	Fisherman		10	6
John Brad Junr. & Wife	"	4	*P.*	Fisherman		10	6
Sarah Perkins *W.*	"		*P.*	Fisherman		13	
Benjamin Rendal & Wife	"	4	*P.*	Fisherman		10	6
Ambrose Perkins & Wife	"	3	*P.*	Fisherman		15	6
Elizabeth Mais & Martha Caswell *Ws.*	"	6	*P.*	Fisherman	1	11	
Henry Shapleigh & Wife	"	5	*P.*	Fisherman		10	6
					£243	1	4

Date	Names	Town now in	Removed from	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
						Bro^t forward	£243	1	4
	Patrick Kenny & Wife	Isle of Shoals			P.	Fisherman		10	6
	Sarah Mather *W.*	"			P.			15	6
	Samuel Webber & Wife	"		1	P.	Fisherman		15	6
	Amos Horn & Wife	"		3	P.	Fisherman		13	
	Solomon Down & Wife	"		3	P.	Fisherman		13	
							£246	8	10

Memorandum of the distribution of money at Nantucket &c sent by Friends from Phild^a 1776

Names	Former abode	No. of Childn.	No. in Family	Relig. Profess.	Sums	
Mary Loring	Boston	6	7	P.	£2	14
Mary Black	Nantucket	3	4	F.	1	16
John Wyer	"	6	8	P.	2	8
Francis Swain Junr.	"	3	5	F.	2	2
Shubael Gardner (blind)	"	3	5	P.	2	6
John Perkins	"	5	7	P.	1	16
David Clark	"		2	F.	1	4
Lucretia Clark	"	3	4	F.	1	10
Sarah Pinkham	"	1	2	P.		15
Silvanus Ellis	"	1	2	F.		15
Peleg Gardners Child^n	"		4	P.	1	15
Mercy Allen	"	2	3	F.	1	4
Solomon Coleman	"	6	8	F.	2	8
Martha Gardner	"	2	3	F.	1	4

Edward Wyer	"	4	6	*P.*	1	4	
John Bowcotts Widow	"	2	3	*P.*	1	4	
Matthew Ellis's Widow	"	1	2	*P.*		18	
Mordica Ellis	"	1	3			18	
Benjamin Austin	"	8	10	*F.*	2	10	
Richard Folger	"		2	*F.*	1	10	
Wm Greens Widow	"	2	3	*F.*	1	4	
Zaccheus Gardners Widow	"	2	3	*F.*	2	14	
Eliphalet Paddocks Widow	"		1	*F.*		18	
Lydia Russells	"	3	4	*F.*	1	10	
Tristram Folger	"	4	6	*F.*	2	2	
Benjamin Marshall	"	1	2	*F.*	1	16	
Lydia Coffin	"	1	2	*F.*		18	
Robert Hussey	"	3	5	*F.*	1	4	
Stephen Hussey	"	7	9	*F.*	1	4	
Eliphalet Paddock	"	4	6	*F.*	1	5	
William Mooers Senr.	"	4	7	*F.*	2	2	
Benjamin Paddock	"	6	8	*F.*	1	5	
Elijah Coffin	"			*F.*	1		
W. John LeBosquet	"	7	9	*P.*	2	5	
Katharine Heath	"	5	6	*F.*	2	2	
Lydia Hammond	"	5	6	*P.*	1	16	
George Pollard	"	5	7	*F.*	2	10	
Joseph Hooten	"		2	*P.*		18	
Benjamin Stubbs	"	4	6	*P.*	1	16	
Samuel Russell Sr.	"	1	3	*P.*		18	
					£309	16	10

Names	*Former abode*	*No. of Childn.*	*No. in Family*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Sums*
				Bro[t] forward	£309 16 10
Micah Coffin	Nantucket	1	3	*F.*	1 4
Phillip Chase	"	5	7	*F.*	1 16
Benjamin Marchant Jr.	"	5	7	*P.*	1 4
Sam[l] Foy	"	6	8	*P.*	1 4
James Folger	"	2	4	*P.*	1 4
					£316 8 10
Wood sent to Newport before the Fleet arived which from the Circumstances of the Times we dont Expect as particular an Ac[t] as the last year					16 4 6
					£332 13 4

Acc[t] of 121 Donations to 390 Persons Amt[s] to £70 L.M. at New Castle, Portsmouth, Isle Shoals &c, being Left in friends hands Eastward and is containd in the Sum sent Acc[t] of tho' no Acc[t] was sent of the particulars

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
Anna Crown *W.*	Durham	Newcastle	1	*P.*		£ 18
Stephen Barton & Wife	Newcastle		1	*P.*		18
John Skinner	"			*P.*	Fisherman	12
John Rendal & Wife	"			*P.*	Joiner	12
Abigail Stocker (Husband absent)	"		1	*P.*		12
Thomas Goudy & Wife	"		2	*P.*	Fisherman	18
Clement Grandy	"					12
Sarah White (Husband absent)	"		3	*P.*		18
Robert Martin & Wife	"		3	*P.*	Fisherman	18

John Trefethrin & Wife	"		4	*P.*	Fisherman		12	
Martha Lambert *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
Elizabeth Tudich *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
John Arnozeen & Wife	"		9	*P.*	Fisherman	1	4	
Patience Pain *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
Mednego Bell & Wife	"		4	*P.*	Fisherman		18	
Luke Poor & Wife	"		4	*P.*	Fisherman	1	4	
Benj[a] Yeaton & Wife	"	Isle of Shoals	2	*P.*	Fisherman		18	
Henry Langmaid & Wife	"		2	*P.*	Fisherman		18	
George Trefethrin	"		1	*P.*	Fisherman		12	
Charles Fitz Patrick & Wife	Portsmouth	Newcastle	3	*P.*	Fisherman		7	6
Henry Tucker & Wife	Newcastle						12	
John Neal & Wife	"		2	*P.*	Fisherman		12	
Mary Colten *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
Joshua White & Wife	"		8	*P.*	Fisherman		18	
Mary Priturn *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
Joseph Benson & Sarah Yeaton *W.*	Portsmouth		4	*P.*	Fisherman		15	
Hannah Mead *W.*	"			*P.*			12	
George Woodhouse, and Daughter, *W.*	"		4	*C.*	Joiner		18	
Lydia Brown *W.*	"		1	*P.*			12	
Hannah Lendal *W.*	"		1	*P.*			6	
Eunice Hammond *W.*	"		2	*P.*			8	
Abigail Moses *W.*	"			*P.*			6	
Elisabeth Mendum *W.*	"			*P.*			6	
						£22	16	6

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
					Bro^{t} forward	£22 16 6
Ann Meach *W.*	Portsmouth			*P.*		10
Hannah Amazeen *W.*	"	Newcastle		*P.*		6
Ann Perkins *W.*	"			*P.*		6
Mary Hogan *W.*	"			*P.*		8
Charity Leech *W.*	"			*P.*		6
Abigail, Cathal, Hannah, Martha, Sarah Brown *Ws.*	"		3	*P.*		18
Mary Brown *W.*	"		1	*P.*		6
Wm Abbot & Wife	"			*P.*		12
Lydia Lewis, Bethiah Conner *Ws.*	"			*P.*		12
Elizth Lee *W.*	"		1	*P.*		10
Elizth Severit *W.*	"		2	*P.*		12
Esther Melcher *W.*	"		1	*P.*		6
Alice Beck *W.*	"		1	*P.*		4
Mary Huntriss (Husband absent)	"		3	*P.*		6
William Gibbs & Wife	"			*P.*		10
Mary Clarke *W.*	"			*P.*		8
Hannah Kenniston *W.*	"			*P.*		6
Eleanor Lambert *W.*	"		3	*P.*		10
Susanna Rand *W.*	"		1	*P.*		4
Elizth Bickford *W.*	"			*P.*		6
Wil^{m} Dokes & Wife	"	Boston		*P.*		10
Jane Jackson *W.*	"			*P.*		4

Sarah Melcher *W.*	"			*C.*	6		
Elisabeth Green *W.*	"			*P.*	6		
Eleanor Rimes *W.*	"			*P.*	6		
Gibbens Mace & Wife	"			*P.*	10		
Sarah Langley (Husband absent)	"		6	*P.*	15		
Sarah Robens *W.*	"		1	*C.*	12		
John Rendal & Wife	"	Isle of Shoals		*P.*	10		
Mary Mace & Mary Sanderson *Ws.*	"			*P.*	15		
Sarah Whidden *W.* & Mary Haman *W.*	"		3	*P.*	18		
Mary Clark *W.*	"		1	*P.*	8		
Elizth Gammon *W.*	"			*P.*	8		
Abigail Rendal (Husband absent)	"	Isle of Shoals	2	*P.*	10		
Joseph Clark & Wife	"			*P.*	10		
Margaret Hiham *W.*	"		2	*C.*	10		
Margaret Cruse & Margaret Lebby *Ws.*	"		2	*P.*	18		
Elizth Loud *W.*	"		4	*P.*	18		
Mary Whidden *W.*	"			*P.*	10		
Mehetabel Winkal *W.*	"				8		
Keziah Harvey *W.*	"	Boston		*C.*	12		
Elizth Churchel (Husband absent)	"		3	*P.*	8		
Sarah Skinner and Sarah Cate *Ws.*	"		1	*P.*	12		
					£43	6	6

Names	*Town now in*	*Removed from*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*		
					Bro^t forward	£43	6	6
Patience Hall *W.*	Portsmouth			*P.*			6	
Margaret Cleneston *W.*	"			*P.*			6	
Mary Trickey (Husband absent)	"		2	*P.*			6	
Sarah Damarant *W.*	"		3	*P.*			8	
Mary Gale *W.*	"			*P.*			6	
Anna Trickey (Husband absent)	"		3	*P.*			6	
Sarah Winkley *W.*	"			*P.*			6	
Joanna Cason (Husband absent)	"			*P.*			8	
Eliz^th Lewis *W.*	"			*P.*			4	
Hannah Perkins *W.*	Dover	Newcastle	3	*P.*			18	
Hannah Sleper *W.*	"		2	*P.*			12	
Eliz^th Richard *W.*	Rochester		6	*P.*			18	
Susanna Wallengford *W.*	"			*P.*			10	
—— Beckman *W.*							19	6
Samuel Downe & Wife	Isle of Shoals		4				10	
Wm Downe & Wife	"		4				10	
Michael Downe & Wife	"		3				10	
Solomon Downe & Wife	"		5				10	
John Hesswell & Wife	"		4				10	
Robert Heswell & Wife	"		4				10	
John Crockett & Wife	"		3				18	
Richard How & Wife	"		4				10	
Patrick Kenny & Wife	"		1				10	
Henry Shapley & Wife	"		6				10	
Wm Halbrook & Wife	"		4				7	

Mary & Anna Heswell, fatherless	"		16
Benjamin Muchimore & Wife	"	3	7
Arthur Rendal & Wife	"	4	9
Benjamin Rendal & Wife	"	3	8
John Bragg Junr. & Wife	"	2	8
Samuel Varrel & Wife	"	3	8
Wm Allard & Wife	"	5	9
John Robinson & Wife	"	6	14
Ambrose Perkins & Wife	"	3	12
Samuel Webber & Wife	"	1	6
Richard Currier & Wife	"	2	9
Josiah Varrel & Wife	"	3	6
Edward Downe & Wife	"	1	9
Amos Horn & Wife	"	5	19
Hannah & John Rendal, fatherless Children	"		10
Elizth Mace *W.*	"	3	17
Sarah Mathews *W.*	"		17
Eleanor Shapley *W.*	"		18
Sarah Perkens *W.*	"		18
Elizth Barter *W.*	"		18
Martha Downe	"		12
			£68 5
Put into the Widow Scammon's hands to deliver			1 15
In 121 Donations to 390 Persons			£70 0

Acc^t of Distribution of Donations Continued

Date	*Names*	*Town now in*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*	
1777							
8th Mo. 12	To pay the boarding of a small Fatherless boy from Newport	Dartmouth				£	18
10th Mo.							
8th	Philip Smith & Wife		5		Weaver	1	4
1777	Samuel Braley & Wife	Freetown	6	*B.*			6
	Capt. Mackey from England	Dartmouth					6
	Nathan Gardner, Junr	Nantucket		*F.*		1	4
	Mary Haman *W.*	Portsmouth, N. H.	3	*D.*			7
	George Woodhouse & Wife	"	4	*C.*			7
	Lydia Brown & Daughter	"	1	*D.*			6
	Hannah Lendal *W.*	"		*D.*			4
	Elizabeth Green *W.*	"		*D.*			6
	Elaner Rimes *W.*	"		*D.*			4
	Gibbens Mace & Wife	"		*D.*			7
	Sarah Langley (Husband absent)	"	6	*D.*			8
	John Rendal & Wife	"	1	*C.*			7
	Mary Mace *W.*	"		*D.*			5
	Mary Sanderson *W.*	"		*D.*			5
	Elizabeth Gammen *W.*	"	1	*D.*			4
	Joseph Clarke & Wife	"		*D.*	Sailor		6
	Margaret Hiham *W.*	"	2	*C.*			7
	Margaret Creso *W.*	"		*D.*			5
	Margaret Libby *W.*	"	2	*D.*			6

Elizabeth Loud *W.*	"	4	*D.*	8
Mehetabel Winkale *W.*	"		*D.*	4
Abigail Loud Ju^{r} *W.*	"		*D.*	4
Sarah Skinner *W.*	"		*C.*	6
Sarah Scates *W.*	"	1	*C.*	4
Elizabeth Cheerchill *W.*	"	3	*C.*	7
Anna Meech *W.*	"		*D.*	5
Margaret Cleminston *W.*	"	2		6
Mary Trickey *W.*	"			5
Sarah Damarit *W.*	"	3		4
Mary Gale *W.*	"			7
Anna Trickey (Hus^{d} absent)	"	3		4
Sarah Winkley *W.*	"			5
Joanna Casen (Hus^{d} absent)	"	3		7
Elizabeth Lewis *W.*	"			6
Noah Sead & Wife	"	5		7
Hannah Hull *W.*	"			5
Valentine Nutter & Wife	"	3		7
Robert Hart & Wife	"			6
John Ackaramin & Wife	"	4		8
Ichabod Clarke & Wife	"	2		6
Joseph Whitehouse	"			15
Thomas Goudy	"			7
Sarah White (Hus^{d} absent)	"			8
Robert Marten	"			6
Martha Lambert *W.*	"			7
				£16 16

Date	*Names*	*Town now in*	*No. of Childn.*	*Relig. Profess.*	*Occupation*	*Sums*
					Bro^t forward	£16 16
	Eliz^h Judick *W.*	Portsmouth, N. H.				4
	John Amazen	"				3
	Patience Pain *W.*	"				6
	Abednego Bell	"				9
	Luke Pooer	"				5
	Henry Langman	"				2
	George Treferthren	"				5
	Hannah Amazeen *W.*	"		*D.*		6
	Anna Perkins *W.*	"		*D.*		5
	Mary Hogan *W.*	"		*D.*		6
	Charity Leech, *W.*	"		*D.*		5
	Abigail Cathal *W.*	"		*D.*		4
	Hannah Mather (Hus^d absent)	"	3	*D.*		7
	Sarah Brown (Hus^d absent)	"		*D.*		5
	Mary Brown *W.*	"	1	*D.*		4
	William Abot & Wife	"		*D.*		7
	Lydia Lewis *W.*	"		*D.*		6
	Bethiah Conner *W.*	"				5
	Elizabeth Lee *W.*	"	1	*D.*		5
	Elizabeth Sevint, blind	"	2			8
	Alice Beak *W.*	"	1			4
	Esther Melcher *W.*	"				5
	Mary Huntriss (Hus^d absent)	"	3			6
	Wm Gibbs & Wife	"	3			7
	Mary Clark *W.*	"	1			5

Hannah Kenniston *W.*	"				4
Eleanor Lambert *W.*	"	3			6
Susanna Rand *W.*	"				5
Elizabeth Bickford *W.*	"				5
William Dokes & Wife	"				7
Sarah Mitchel *W.*	"				6
Jane Jackson *W.*	"				5
George Walton & Wife	"	2			6
Dorcas Mead, single Woman	"				8
Mary Elliot *W.*	"	3			6
Elizabeth Biginton *W.*	"				4
Elias Parker & Wife	"	2			6
Mary Rackliff (Husb[d] absent)	"	2			5
Eleanor Seaward (Hus[d] absent)	"	4			7
Richard Tebbete & Wife	"				6
Prisoners in Dover Goal	"		1	10	
Elizabeth Thompson	"				8
Susanna Wallingford *W.*	"				7
Sarah Richards *W.*	"	3			10
Sam[l] Robinson & Wife	"	5			9
Charles Fite Patrick	"				7
Ann Scinner *W.*	"				9
Mary Cotton *W.*	"				3
Charge of Carriage			1	13	
Benjamin Yeaton	"				6
			£33	18	

Date	Names	Town now in	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
					Bro^t forward	£33	18	
1777								
12th Mo.	Nathan Folger's *W.*	Nantucket		*P.*		2	8	
	Lydia Coffin	"	2	*F.*		2	8	
	James Newbegin	"		*F.*	Labourer	2	8	
	Martha Gardner	"	3	*F.*		2	8	
	Paul Coffin	"		*F.*	Mariner	2	8	
	George Pollard	"	6	*F.*	Shoemaker	2	8	
	Jonathan Paddock	"		*F.*	Chairmaker	2	8	
	Benj^a Marshal	"	2	*F.*	Carpenter	2	8	
	Mary Black	"		*F.*		2	8	
	Lucretia Clarke	"		*F.*		2	8	
	Eliphalet Paddock	"		*F.*	Cooper	2	8	
	Peleg Bunker	"		*F.*	Tailor	2	8	
	Elisha Coffin's *W.*	"		*F.*		2	8	
	James Forster	"		*P.*	Mariner	2	8	
12th Mo.								
1778	Robert Clasbey	"	3	*F.*	Chairmaker	2	8	
	Shubael Gardner, 2nd (blind)	"		*P.*		2	8	
	Mordeca Ellis	"		*P.*	Cooper	2	8	
	Frances Swain Junr.	"	6	*F.*	Cooper	2	8	
	Anna Gardner	"		*P.*		2	8	
	Henry Tracy	"		*P.*	Mariner	1	4	
	Richard Worth	"	4	*F.*	Carpenter	2	6	3
12th Mo.								
1777	One Ox purchased and sent to Nantucket[1]					30	10	

6th Mo.								
1777	Joshua Bab & Wife	Royalston	3	*F.*	Labourer	1		
	Jane Guston *W.*	"		*P.*			12	
	John Rand & Wife	Windham	5	*P.*	Labourer		12	
	Mary Greene *W.*	Stratham		*P.*			17	6
	Samuel Ray & Wife	Royalston	4	*P.*	Fisherman		12	
7th Mo.	Thomas Pitcher & Wife	Boston	3	*P.*	Painter		18	
	Margaret Lee *W.*	"		*P.*			18	
	Philip Bass & Wife	"	2	*P.*	Sailor	1	4	
	Cotton Bing & Wife	"	1	*P.*	Tailor		18	
	Eliz[a] Walter *W.*	"	2				18	
	Mary Thanner *W.*	"	3	*C.*		1	4	
	Mary Case *W.*	"	3	*P.*		1	4	
	Mary Earl & Daugh[r] *Ws.*	"	1	*P.*		1	4	
	Abigail Lorton	"	5	*P.*		1	4	
	Mehetable Earl	"	4	*P.*		1	4	
	Mary Giles *W.*	"	3	*P.*		1	4	
	Ezek[l] Walker & Wife	"	2	*P.*	Mason		18	
	Eliz[th] Nowell *W.*	"		*P.*			12	
	Ann Backoon (Hus[d] absent)	"	2	*P.*	Carpenter	1	4	
	Sarah Bennet *W.*	"		*P.*			12	
	Sarah Walker *W.*	"		*P.*			18	
	Hannah Collins *W.*			*P.*		1	4	
	Alice Collins *W.*			*P.*			12	
	Susanna Symmons *W.*			*B.*			18	
						£136	1	9

[1] 1,008 lbs. beef were distributed to 38 persons.

Date	Names	Town now in	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
					Bro^t forward	£136	1	9
	Moses Barron & Wife			*P.*		1	4	
	Eunice Filcup *W.*		1	*P.*			12	
	Hannah Pelham			*P.*			18	
	Rebecca Goodwin *W.*		1	*P.*			18	
	Joseph Johnson & Wife		1	*P.*		1	4	
	Eliz^th Calder *W.*		1	*C.*			18	
	Mary Wright, Maiden			*P.*			12	
	Mary Eisinger & Daug^tr *Ws*		3	*P.*		1	4	
	Ann Marshal & Daugh^tr *Ws.*		1	*P.*		1	4	
	Theodore Brown *W.*			*P.*			6	
	Saml Chandler & Wife			*P.*			12	
	Susanna Pearson (Hus^d absent)		5	*P.*		1	4	
	Mary Vocax *W.*		2	*C.*			18	
	Mary Forster *W.*			*P.*			18	
	Mary Barnes *W.* & Eliz^th Husalps, Maiden	Boston		*P.*		1	4	
	Joseph Lowden & Wife	Middleton	2	*P.*		1	10	
	Mary Winship *W.*	Boston	3	*C.*		1	4	
	Mary Adams *W.*	"		*P.*			18	
	Ann Cox *W.*	"	5	*P.*		1	10	
	Eliz^th Clark (Hus^d on board Man of War)		2	*P.*		1	4	
	Benj^a Pool & Wife			*P.*			18	
	Sarah Nickerson *W.*		2	*C.*		1	4	
	David Orrok, prisoner			*F.*		1	4	

Susanna Andross *W.*		1	*C.*		18
Mary Ward (Hus[d] absent)		2	*P.*		18
Hannah Wallis *W.*	Salem	2	*P.*		12
Mary Lambert, single	"	1	*C.*		12
Mary Grant *W.*			*P.*		6
Sarah Eden *W.*		1	*P.*		12
Margaret Malloy *W.*		3	*P.*		12
Richard Richards & Wife		5	*P.*	Baker	12
Eunice Tucker *W.*		1	*P.*		12
Mary Trask *W.* & Widow Daug[r]		1	*P.*		12
Mary Southwick (Hus[d] taken)	Danvers	1	*P.*		12
Catharine Jeminee & her Sister *Ws.*	Salem	2	*P.*		12
Eunice Steward *W.*	"		*P.*		6
Sip Orne & Wife (Negroes)	"		*P.*		12
Lydia Stuard *W.*	"	1	*P.*		12
Susanna Rex *W.*	"		*P.*		12
Eliz[th] Stone *W.*	Danvers	1	*P.*		12
James Whittemore & Wife	Salem		*P.*		12
Esther Ashton, single	"		*P.*		12
Mary Southwick *W.*	"	1	*P.*		12
Jemima Tucksbury		2	*P.*		12
Elianor Thomas & Daught[r] *Ws.*		2	*P.*		12
Prince Collins & Wife (Negroes)			*P.*		12
Abigail Eddy, and Eliz[th] Williams *Ws.*		1	*P.*		12
Alice Ballard *W.*	"	4	*P.*		12
					£174 9 9

Date	Names	Town now in	No. of Childn.	Relig. Profess.	Occupation	Sums		
					Bro[t] forward	£174	9	9
	Robert Goodale & Wife	Salem	5	*F.*			12	
	William Hacker	"	2	*P.*			12	
	Sarah Felt *W.*	"		*P.*			9	
	Ann Aborns & Jane Gould (Negroes)						12	
	Susanna Tropheter *W.*		2	*P.*			12	
	Hannah Tukesbury *W.*						6	
	Benj[a] Peters & Wife	"	5	*P.*	Joiner		9	
	Jonathan Trask Jun[r] & Wife	Danvers	3	*P.*	Labourer		6	
	Eliz[th] Bickford *W.*	Salem	2	*P.*			12	
	Abigail Forster (Hus[d] absent)	"	3	*P.*			12	
	Elizabeth Skinner *W.*	Boston		*C.*			12	
	Eliz[th] Britt *W.*		3			1	4	
	Mary Forgo *W.*		4	*I.*[1]		1	4	
	Sarah Sike *W.*	"					18	
	Nathan Jones (Negro)	Roxbury					12	
	Sam[l] Hodges & Widow Newton	New Hampshire					7	10
4th Mo. 2d 1776	Sylvester Fowler, Wife[2]	South Kingston	3		Ferryman	1	10	
10th Mo. 1776	Sarah Juell *W.* and aged Mother	North Kingston	2			2		
	Benj[a] Teal, Wife	"	3 or 4		Cordwainer		19	10
						£188	19	5

Beside the foregoing there hath been sent and distributed to the Inhabitants on Rhode Island of which we have rec[d] no particular Acc[t] as yet	35	10	8
Allso sent to Nantuckett the list not yet returned	14	16	
Paid out by Friends at Lyn & Marblehead more than they accounted for the money being lost or given away with out an Account being taken as per Sam[1] Collins Return	1	7	8
	£240	13	9

[1] "Independent."

[2] "Omitted in the other Acc[t]."

Annual Meeting
November, 1938

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Monday, November 21, 1938, at a quarter after seven o'clock in the evening, the President, SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on June 12, 1938, of ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, a Resident Member; that on June 27, 1938, of GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, a Corresponding Member; that on July 2, 1938, of EDGAR HUIDEKOPER WELLS, a Corresponding Member; that on July 3, 1938, of HOMER GAGE, a Resident Member; and that on July 13, 1938, of NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER, a Resident Member.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. CHARLES HENRY TAYLOR accepting his election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Dr. JAMES L. HUNTINGTON read the Annual Report of the Council.

Report of the Council

DURING the year 1937–1938 the Society held three stated meetings: on December 16, 1937, at the house of Mr. Augustus P. Loring, Jr.; on February 24, 1938, at the invitation of Mr. Hermann F. Clarke, at the Club of Odd Volumes; on April 21, 1938, at the invitation of the Hon. Robert Walcott, at the Signet Club in Cambridge.

Only one election to membership has occurred since the last Annual Meeting: that of Charles Henry Taylor to Resident Membership.

During the past year the Society has lost by death eight members:

WILBERFORCE EAMES, died December 6, 1937, senior Corresponding Member, elected May 14, 1898. He was the greatest figure in the field of bibliography America has produced. His faithful, painstaking labors have eased the path of every student of American history.

FRANCIS RUSSELL HART, Resident, 1915, died January 18, 1938. This

great financier and executive head of a mammoth corporation was a diligent and vivid historian of the Caribbean Sea and Central America and a zealous collector of the literature pertaining to his subject. He was an active, interested, and generous member of this Society.

Chester Noyes Greenough, Resident, 1912, died February 27, 1938, Vice-President of this Society, 1934–1937. Professor of English, former Dean of his Alma Mater and Master of Dunster House, he entered actively into the life of this Society and was a frequent contributor to its *Transactions*.

Arthur Prentice Rugg, Resident, 1910, died June 12, 1938, Vice-President of the Society from 1918 until his death. This quiet, modest New England gentleman by his outstanding ability became the foremost jurist of Massachusetts. He was a faithful and interested member of this Society.

George Lincoln Burr, Corresponding, 1927, died June 27, 1938. A versatile writer on the history of superstition and persecution, his hobby was witchcraft, and his published works on this subject show his real genius.

Edgar Huidekoper Wells, Corresponding, 1913, died July 2, 1938. He was a collector of rare books. Perhaps his most brilliant work was done as General Secretary of the Harvard Alumni Association from 1907 to 1913. He was also Editor of the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*. His great love of books is to be immortalized at the Harvard College Library by the Edgar Huidekoper Wells Memorial.

Homer Gage, Resident, 1922, died July 3, 1938. Long rightly considered one of the outstanding surgeons of America, he was devoted to his patients and unsparing of his time and strength. Retiring in 1923 from active surgical practice because of the recognized age limit of sixty-one years, he devoted himself to finance and industry with remarkable success. The death of his only child, a son who had served in France during the World War, turned his passionate devotion to that republic. The University of Paris became his foster child, and he gave freely to its upbuilding. A grateful nation made him Commander of the Legion of Honor and eloquently mourned his death.

Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, Resident, 1916, died July 13, 1938. From 1884 to 1895 he taught botany at the Bussey Institute. His love for trees and flowers remained with him throughout his long life. He was a patron of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society and Park Commissioner of the town of his adoption, Milton. His philanthropic activities were wide. He long and faithfully served the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to

Children, and the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Since the last Annual Meeting there has been issued Volume XXXII of the Society's publications containing the transactions from May 7, 1933, to April 22, 1937.

The Society is coöperating with certain other organizations, such as the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the Harvard College Library, and the John Carter Brown Library, in preparing a formal bibliography of the Cambridge press in the seventeenth century by way of marking the three hundredth anniversary of that press, thus supplying a much needed tool to bibliographers. As this is being chiefly undertaken by members of this Society, it is proposed that the bibliography, when completed, constitute a volume of *Collections* in the Society's series of publications.

As in years past, the Society continues to be the chief supporter of the *New England Quarterly*.

The Treasurer presented his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 14, 1938.

Statement of Assets and Funds, November 14, 1938

ASSETS

Cash:		
Income	$12,034.15	
Loan to Principal	*11,224.49*	$809.66
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $98,053.75)	$94,714.81	
Stocks (Market Value $48,216.88)	45,407.94	
Mortgages	10,500.00	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,162.76	153,785.51
Total Assets		$154,595.17

FUNDS

Funds		$142,398.26
Income:		
General Income	$12,034.15	
Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund Income	162.76	12,196.91
Total Funds		$154,595.17

Investments as of November 14, 1938

BONDS	*Book Value*
$5,000 American Telephone and Telegraph Company Debenture 3¼'s, 1961	$5,257.12
5,000 Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company General 4's, 1995	4,728.01
5,000 Bell Telephone Company of Canada First 5's, Series B, 1957	4,062.50
5,000 Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 5's, 1944	3,872.50
5,000 Central New England Railway Company First 4's, 1961	3,512.50
5,000 Chester Water Service Company First 4½'s, 1958	3,375.00
5,000 Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company Mortgage and Collateral Trust Refunding 5's, 1940	3,762.50
5,000 Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company Refunding and Improvement 4½'s, Series E, 1977	3,726.76
5,000 Commercial Credit Company Debenture 3¼'s, 1951	4,963.28
5,000 Consolidated Oil Company Convertible Debenture 3½'s, 1951	5,169.62
5,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie Railway Company First Refunding 6's, Series A, 1946	250.00
5,000 New York, Philadelphia and Norfolk Railroad 4% Stock Trust Certificates, 1948	5,175.00
5,000 New York State Electric and Gas Corporation First 4½'s, 1980	4,795.78
5,000 Ohio Public Service Company First 4's, 1962	5,231.25
5,000 Pacific Gas and Electric Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, Series H, 1961	5,382.12
5,000 Scranton Gas and Water Company First 4½'s, 1958	5,068.75
5,000 Southern California Edison Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, Series B, 1960	5,075.00
5,000 Texas Electric Service Company First 5's, 1960	4,437.50
2,500 United States Cold Storage Corporation First 6's, Series A, 1946	2,500.00

$4,000 United States Cold Storage Corporation First 6's, 1945	$4,000.00	
5,000 United States Steel Corporation Debenture 3¼'s, 1948	5,232.12	
5,000 Western Union Telegraph Company 5's, 1960	5,137.50	
Total Bonds		$94,714.81
STOCKS		
50 shares American Telephone and Telegraph Company	$8,593.63	
50 shares Consolidated Edison Company of New York Common	3,077.50	
100 shares Electric Bond and Share Company $6.00 Preferred	10,600.00	
50 shares E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company	2,683.75	
50 shares First National Bank of Boston	1,750.00	
1 share First National Bank of the City of New York	1,544.81	
240 shares General Electric Company Common	5,719.50	
50 shares Insurance Company of North America	1,963.75	
40 shares Radio Corporation of America Common	0.	
5 shares Travelers Insurance Company	2,225.00	
50 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation 7% Preferred "A"; 50 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation Common	6,750.00	
105 shares Wickwire Spencer Steel Company Common V. T. C.	500.00	
Total Stocks		$45,407.94
First Mortgages on improved property in Greater Boston	$10,500.00	
Deposit in Warren Institution for Savings	3,162.76	13,662.76
Total Investments		$153,785.51

Composition of Funds, November 14, 1938

Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications	$10,000.00
General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees and Commutations added to Principal, Gains on Sales of Securities, etc. Income only to be used for Current Expense	30,109.26

Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. Income only to be used	$10,000.00
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restriction as to use	20,000.00
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under the will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	2,000.00
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	30,000.00
Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund, established in 1923 under the will of Henry H. Edes as the "Henry H. Edes Bequest" to accumulate until it reached the sum of $3,000 when it would become a permanent fund to be known as the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	3,000.00
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, established by sundry subscriptions from 1923 to 1925. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $10,000. Income only to be used for Publications	6,289.00
George Nixon Black Fund, established in 1929 under his will without restriction as to use	10,000.00
Total Funds	$142,398.26

Changes in Principal of Funds

Total Funds, November 13, 1937		$144,189.48
Add—Additions to General Fund:		
Admission Fee	$10.00	
Commutation	100.00	
Proceeds from partial sale of Henry H. Edes stamp collection	85.76	
Profit from Sale of Securities:		
$5,000 Chicago and Western Indiana Railway Company Consolidated 4's, 1952	$844.62	

$5,000 Indianapolis Power and Light Company First 5's, Series A, 1957	$606.25		
5,000 Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company First and Refunding 4's, Series A, 1961	1,004.51		
2,000 Tide Water Associated Oil Company Debenture S. F. 3½'s, 1952	75.63		
5,000 Toledo Edison Company First 5's, 1962	368.75	$2,899.76	$3,095.52
Add—Additions to Special Funds:			
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund			269.09
			$147,554.09
Deduct—Charges to General Fund:			
Loss on Sale of Securities:			
$5,000 Central Pacific Railway Company First and Refunding 4's, 1949		$127.77	
5,000 Grand Trunk Western Railway Company First 4's, 1950		275.07	
5,000 Virginian Railway Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, 1966		2.99	
Reduction in book value of $5,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie Railway Company First Refunding 6's, Series A, 1946, to present estimated value of $50 per bond		4,750.00	5,155.83
TOTAL FUNDS, NOVEMBER 14, 1938			$142,398.26

INCOME CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, November 13, 1937		$12,524.69
RECEIPTS:		
Interest	$4,794.08	
Dividends	2,158.50	
Annual Assessments	810.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	263.00	
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF INCOME		8,025.58
		$20,550.27
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Editor's Salary	$1,000.00	
Services to Editor	250.00	

Secretarial Expense		$100.00	
Clerical Expense		100.00	
For Publications:			
Volume 32	$2,253.34		
" 34	39.50	2,292.84	
New England Quarterly		2,500.00	
New England Quarterly Index		450.00	
Annual Dinner		404.03	
Notices and Other Expenses of Meetings		84.00	
Accounting Services		125.00	
Storage on Stock		300.76	
Accrued Interest on Securities Purchased		293.54	
Fire and Sprinkler Insurance		122.10	
Rent of Safe Deposit Box		22.00	
Contribution to Writings on American History		50.00	
Postage and Mailing		117.16	
Dies for Bindings		35.00	
Collection Charges		.60	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund added to Principal		269.09	
Total Disbursements of Income			$8,516.12
Balance of Income Cash, November 14, 1938			$12,034.15

Principal Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Loan to Principal, November 13, 1937		*$10,864.05*
RECEIPTS:		
$5,000 Central Pacific Railway Company First and Refunding 4's, 1949	$3,634.73	
5,000 Chicago and Western Indiana Railway Company Consolidated 4's, 1952	4,484.62	
5,000 Grand Trunk Western Railway Company First 4's, 1950	4,331.96	
5,000 Indianapolis Power & Light Company First 5's, Series A, 1957	5,200.00	
5,000 Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company First and Refunding 4's, Series A, 1961	5,109.51	

$2,000 Tide Water Associated Oil Company Debenture S. F. 3½'s, 1952	$2,091.14		
5,000 Toledo Edison Company First 5's, 1962	5,250.00		
5,000 Virginian Railway Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, 1966	5,209.15	$35,311.47	
Admission Fee		10.00	
Commutation		100.00	
Proceeds from partial sale of Henry H. Edes stamp collection		85.76	
Transferred from Income to Principal:			
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund Income		269.09	$35,776.32
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF PRINCIPAL			$24,912.27

DISBURSEMENTS:

$5,000 American Telephone and Telegraph Company Debenture 3¾'s, 1961	$5,257.12	
5,000 Consolidated Oil Company Convertible Debenture 3½'s, 1951	5,169.62	
5,000 New York State Electric and Gas Corporation First 4½'s, 1980	4,795.78	
5,000 Ohio Public Service Company First 4's, 1962	5,231.25	
5,000 Pacific Gas and Electric Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, Series H, 1961	5,382.12	
5,000 Scranton Gas and Water Company First 4½'s, 1958	5,068.75	
5,000 United States Steel Corporation Debenture 3¼'s, 1948	5,232.12	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF PRINCIPAL		$36,136.76
LOAN TO PRINCIPAL, NOVEMBER 14, 1938		*$11,224.49*

JAMES M. HUNNEWELL
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended November 14, 1938, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 1052–E in the Union Safe Deposit Vaults.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

Henry L. Shattuck
George G. Wolkins
Auditing Committee

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President Kenneth Ballard Murdock
Vice-Presidents Hon. Fred Tarbell Field
Matt Bushnell Jones
Recording Secretary Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr.
Corresponding Secretary Dr. James Lincoln Huntington
Treasurer James Melville Hunnewell
Registrar Robert Dickson Weston
Member of the Council for Three Years Robert Ephraim Peabody

The following minute on the retirement of Samuel Eliot Morison from the presidency of the Society was read by the Corresponding Secretary and was unanimously adopted:

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts at its Annual Meeting on November 21, 1938, would record its grateful appreciation of the leadership it has enjoyed through thirteen years under the presidency now brought to a close by the retirement of Samuel Eliot Morison. No other president has held the office for so long a term. The previous place of the Society in the immediate and larger community to which it is related has been fortified and extended by his powers of direction. To his initiative the Society

is indebted for the fruitful addition of Associate Members to its rolls. Its meetings have been enriched by many contributions of scholarship from his pen. Its annual dinners have been enlivened by the blending of his wit with his wisdom. So it is (if words used by him in this place may be paraphrased without irreverence) that the Society he has blessed now blesses him.

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Mr. Frederick S. Allis, Jr., Professor Paul H. Buck, Mr. Arthur H. Cole, Professor S. Foster Damon, Mr. William A. Jackson, Mr. Ralph Ladd, Mr. Edmund S. Morgan, the Hon. Marcus Morton, Mr. George C. Northrop, and Mr. William G. Roelker.

After the dinner Professor Paul H. Buck addressed the Society and its guests.

December Meeting, 1938

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 15, 1938, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on December 6, 1938, of HAROLD ROBERT SHURTLEFF, a Resident Member.

Mr. WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON of Cambridge, the Hon. MARCUS MORTON of Boston, Mr. WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER of Boston, and Mr. AUSTIN WARREN of Boston were elected Resident Members of the Society; and Mr. FULMER MOOD of Berkeley, California, was elected a Corresponding Member.

The Council recommended for adoption by the Society the following amendment to the By-laws:

> Chapter II, Art. I, amend the fifth sentence by substituting the word *fifteen* for the word *ten*, so that the sentence shall read: "The number of Associate Members shall not exceed fifteen."

The amendment was unanimously adopted by the Society.

Mr. GEORGE P. WINSHIP read a paper entitled "Facts and Fancies about the Cambridge Press."[1]

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON presented by title the following paper:

The Commonplace Book of Joseph Green

(1675–1715)

CHARLES W. UPHAM, in his *Salem Witchcraft* (II. 506), spoke in glowing terms of the ministry of Joseph Green at Salem Village (Danvers, Massachusetts) on the morrow of the witchcraft delusion: "No ministry in the whole history of the New-England churches has had a more difficult task put upon it, and none has more perfectly succeeded in its labors." Into that distracted community, still festering

[1] Printed, in substance, in *The Colophon*, New Series, III, No. 4, 531–557.

with hate and fear, this recent college graduate of twenty-two brought youth, courage, and a serene faith that nothing was impossible for the power of divine love.

Green's diary from 1700 to his death in 1715, the original of which is in the Essex Institute at Salem, was printed many years ago.[1] There has now come to light another precious document of this remarkable young man, his commonplace book, containing an account of his early life, his religious experiences, and some entries for his Danvers ministry not noted in the diary. The leather-bound duodecimo volume, bearing the bookplate of Robert Theodore Gunther, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, was noted in an English bookseller's catalogue by our associate, Charles E. Goodspeed, and purchased for the Harvard College Library by another of our associates, William G. Mather of Cleveland. It is here printed for the first time.

Chronologically, the volume begins on page [124] with Green's account of his family and early life, an account that gives an intimate view of New England life in that day and generation. He was born in Cambridge on November 24, 1675, eighth son in a family of ten brothers and four sisters. His father was a tailor. Five of his brothers went to sea. John "was killed in a fight with the Turks." Edward left the tailor's bench for the sea "and became commander of a brave ship, the *Eagle*," won a notable sea fight against the French in King William's War, but died of consumption before returning home. Benjamin was a privateersman in the same war. Thomas had left the village smithy for deep waters four years before and had not been heard from when Joseph wrote. Nathaniel, also a tailor, likewise followed the call of the sea and met the same fate. Samuel followed his father's trade and died of consumption. Jonathan became a carpenter and joiner at Cambridge. Percival graduated from Harvard College with the Class of 1680 and became the minister of Wells, Maine, but died of consumption in 1684. Then it was decided to make young Joseph the scholar of the family.

Joseph was at the time at the Cambridge Grammar School, under its noted master Elijah Corlet. "I was Idle and lazy," writes Joseph, "and my master was very aged, and altho' he was excellent at Instructing me, yet he had almost lost his spirit of government, or else I might have gone to the colledge some years before I did." The death of his father, when Joseph was just ready to enter, seemed to blast his prospects; but a number of gentlemen, including all the surviving classmates of his brother Percival, each agreed to contribute from ten to thirty shillings each year to see him through.

[1] *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VIII. 215–224; X. 73–104.

Joseph entered college in 1691, a bright but frivolous boy, and graduated twentieth in a class of twenty-two, as befitted his humble social station. Early in his freshman year he was taken ill with a fever and promised to "live more seriously and circumspectly" if spared, but he forgot his good resolutions with returning health. "As to my Colledge business I was as negligent as used to be: altho I made a shift to perform my Colledge task yet I studyed little else; but spent much of my time in fowling and in fishing: and in danceing and foolishness. I have forgotten many of the sins of my youth so that I have reason to pray as [in the] 19 Psalm that God would cleanse me from secret faults, but I can call to mind enough to amaze me." Writing about a year after he graduated, Joseph enumerated his sins and drew a line through them; but one can still read under the erasure that some of them were profanity, Sabbath-breaking, and "I was once a great player at cards." "I roisterd until I had my first degree," he continues.

On graduating, Green was offered a chaplaincy on a merchant vessel but refused it as he felt no inclination toward the sea or religion. Instead he took charge of the Roxbury Latin School, "very much out of order by reason of the Sloathfullness and unfaithfulness of my predecessor." At Roxbury, reading a book by Cotton Mather on the Lord's Supper turned Joseph's mind toward serious matters. In the early part of his commonplace book he records another reason for turning to religion: the aid that it would be in governing unruly schoolboys. "I am forced to be severe and angry sometimes; and I feared least my discourse should harden my boys." Joseph Green had learned early the way of love, a way in which he walked the rest of his life.

At this point, chronologically, comes the long series of religious reflections and meditations with which the book opens. Later (page [139]) comes an account of his conversion and joining the church in Roxbury. Following this experience, but earlier in the book (pages [83 ff.]), are several copies of letters which he sent, or intended to send, to his relatives and friends, telling them the good news and proffering pious advice. The master of the *Eagle* is congratulated on his courageous fight: "The whole country rings with your praise but I pray you not to be lifted up but grow humble and give all diligence to secure your own soul." One wonders what effect this advice would have produced on the quarter-deck of the *Eagle*, especially when Captain Green read the list of theological works that his younger brother expected him to purchase in London, but Captain Edward died before the letter could have been received. He left his brother a legacy, with which he procured the library that accompanied his active ministry. Joseph urged his younger brother Benjamin to come

home from the West Indies and stay with him at Roxbury, where there was a doctor who could cure "sore heads" (Benjamin probably then had the scurvy). "Furthermore," writes Joseph, "I will learn you the mariners art & you may go to sea again in some good imploy & I hope you will be better both in soul and body." So Joseph must have learned enough nautical astronomy at college to teach navigation. "The Letter I sent," he notes at the end of the copy, "and God prospered it, so that he was thereby perswaded to come home out of a privateer."

A few pages further on comes the copy of a letter to his classmate Samuel Vassall, a lawyer at Jamaica. Vassall, the son of a planter, was head of the Class of 1695. In accordance with the social distinction of that day, Joseph Green addresses him as "Honoured Sir," bemoans his "horrid ingratitude" for not writing sooner to one who had shown him "many kindnesses," and by way of reparation sends him college news and an informal class report. As the class had not yet taken their master's degree, they are referred to by the old academic title of "Sir" reserved for bachelors of arts not yet commenced masters. Sir Price is "the same man still"; Sir Saltonstall, Jr., is the college butler; Sir Lindall is a "chirurgeon" and "merchant very solid"; seven others are schoolmasters at various places from New Hampshire to Long Island; Sir Webster is "I know not where." Evidently "lost members" of Harvard classes are of ancient origin.

After joining the church at Roxbury, Joseph Green began to preach sermons, the repute of which evidently reached Salem Village (Danvers), for Deacon Putnam invited him, on November 8, 1697, to preach there the following Sabbath. That and another sermon earned him "an invitation from the Inhabitants of Salem village to come and be their minister." "Mr. Brattle"—his college tutor—"advised me to go thither—and none discouraged me," writes Green. That none did, and that Green went, is proof of the stern sense of duty of our predecessors; for he was going into a parish impoverished by warfare with the invisible world, and where men's garments were literally stained with each other's blood. Green accepted on the condition "that they continue in love; and if once they begin to quarrel and contend; I should look upon myself to be free from any obligation to tarry with them." He was to get £60 for his first year's salary, with a promise of £70 a year thereafter, plus a few extras. On this salary he married and raised a large family of children.

The rest of the manuscript, written at odd times from 1698 to 1713, tells of his final ordination, with some pleasant details of his family life, and is full of ejaculations of praise and gratitude for the improved spiritual state of his congregation. One must look to other sources for a record of

the change that this youthful pastor wrought in his dour flock; for his wise reseating of the meetinghouse so that accusers and accused, instead of glaring at each other across the aisle, sat in the same pew; and for the dramatic scene when Ann Putnam, the girl who started the witchcraft frenzy, made humble confession of her sin. Upham writes of Green: "By wise, prudent, but persistent efforts, he gradually repaired every breach, brought his parish out from under reproach, and set them right with each other, with the obligations of justice, and with the spirit of Christianity."

Much credit, too, is due the parish, which proved worthy of its young pastor's character. Indeed, as a recent writer on witchcraft has well said, "the abiding marvel of the whole witchcraft embroglio is that no one act of private vengeance or personal violence followed the collapse of the hysteria. Yet the provocation had been enough to have filled Essex County with undying feuds on the Kentucky model. . . . Human nature was here acting up to standards far in advance of what is commonly known as human nature."[1]

Green was a secular as well as a religious leader. He established the first public school in Danvers, and his house was such a center of frugal hospitality and pleasant social life that in his epitaph he is described as a man memorable "Tum Gravitate Doctrinae Tum Suavitate Morum." One year he made forty barrels of cider. News arrived during meeting on August 29, 1708, of the Indian attack on Haverhill. Green immediately left his pulpit, hastened to the scene of the massacre, and joined his classmate Price in pursuit of the redskins. He continued without reproach to indulge his love of fowling and fishing, and was accounted quite an expert in decoying wild pigeons. From one day's shooting he came home with a catamount.

Joseph Green died suddenly in 1715, two days after his fortieth birthday and shortly after the close of his last sermon. According to the elegy on him by the Reverend Nicholas Noyes, the people crowded about his deathbed in "transports of love and grief," embracing him and declaring that he must stay with them or they go with him. Noyes compares him to Noah's dove:

> For like that Blessed Bird, he Still
> *Green Olive Leaves* brought in his bill.
> He dry'd up Floods of Strife, and he
> Made Brethren dwell in Unitie.[2]

As Upham says, "a man who extinguished the fires of passion in that

[1] Editorial in the *Boston Sunday Globe*, February 17, 1929.
[2] *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VIII. 168–174.

community deserved to be held in lasting honor." It is fortunate indeed that this permanent record of the youthful saint and hero has survived. It is fortunate, too, that we have another authentic document of love and humanity in a New England parish in a period too often dismissed as uncouth, repressive, and "glacial."

[TITLE PAGE]

Joseph Green
His Book

Anno Dom[i]

1 6 9 6

ROXB: 1696.

Think of Eternity

Eternity[1]

[1] Scribbled on the title page is the following: "P[r] 1*s* 2*d* J. G. hunc librum vendicat." On the verso of the title page Green has written a list of the symbols and abbreviations used in his manuscript. In printing, only those that can be readily reproduced in modern type have been retained.

Joseph Green: His Book

W^{t} is written in ye 81 following pages, I began in March: 96:[1] The reasons why I did it were several.

1. ye consideration of ye account y^{t} I must give at ye great day for those under me, which was quickend by a sermon of m^{r} Walters.[2]

2. my considerations for ye good of souls:

3. Thereby my heart was kept up more religious all ye week: & many other reasons: but in June, I discoursing with many sober men concerning sch^{l} government &c: they feered not to commend such a way: and many other consideration[s] there were which discouraged me: one is bec: I am forced to be severe and angry sometimes; and I feared least my discourse should harden my boys. J G:[3] [1]

Some motives to be timely religious or some arguments to persuade young ones to be religious betimes; wth some Instructions in ye principals of ye Christian religion; in usum Discipulorum

Beg: *March: 28. 1696* J. G.

To be born in a land of light and to [be] brought up under ye Gospell & to be instructed in ye Christian religion, are some of the greatest blessings that mankind is priviledged with in this world; and although (as I have often told you) y^{t} ye interest of Christ & ye Christian religion runs low & is slighted by ye greatest part of ye world; & perhaps by ye most of y^{m} y^{t} live under ye Gospell nevertheless we should [2] ye rather give all diligence to make our calling & election sure; to work out our own salvation with fearr and trembling;

And thô there are many in ye world who are asham'd of Christ & of ye Gospell: and of being strictly religious, yet we should remember y^{t} if we are ashamed of Christ now, he will be ashamed of us at ye great day. And althô we may meet with many discouragements from ye wickedness of our own hearts; and from Satans temptations, and bec: a strict religious life is contrary to ye sinfull pleasures of ye world, which are indeed no pleasures at all; yet I advise & intreat and charge you all to be religious betimes; and I shall in the first place lay down some motives & encouragements [3] both from ye danger of living irreligiously, and from ye Good that will follow upon your begining to be religious betimes; and then (by Gods leave & help) I shall proceed to instruct you in ye principals of re-

[1] When he was teaching school at Roxbury.

[2] Nehemiah Walter, minister of the church at Roxbury.

[3] This is written on the verso of the second leaf, which is unnumbered. On the recto there is a business memorandum in a later hand.

ligion: and because the result of all is to practice what we know, therefore be perswaded to put into practice what you know to be your duty, and give attention to what I shall lay before you: for I do it as expecting to be called to an account by God, what I have done for your souls; therefore I say do you observe & regard as you expect to answer it at ye great day before ye whole world; and remember these y^{ngs} to move you to be religious before it be too-late.

1. Remember that you are mortal creatures, and must not live here alwayes; in a very little time you know not how soon; [4] you must go to your long home whence you must return no more; you must take an everlasting farewel of all things here below; and consider y^{t} this life is little at longest to prepare for all eternity; for we can never be so good as we should be, while in this world.

2 Consideration. That you have immortal souls within you that must endure to all Eternity; there is not one of you but must endure thrôout eternal ages; the consideration of this should make us in good earnest; we should say when we meet with temptations, y^{t} we are acting for eternity.

3 Consideration. Remember y^{t} by nature those souls of yours are heirs of hell & eternal destruction; and if you dye in y^{t} natural estate in which we all come into ye world, you will surely have your portion with Devils & dammed spirits forever. [5]

4 Consideration. The Devil would feign have you to continue in this estate of nature, in which he knows you are miserable; and desires y^{t} you should [be] as he is himself.

5 Consideration. The only way to get out of your natural estate & to have your souls saved is to be religious & to get into Jesus Christ.

Be perswaded y^{n} to think much of eternity before it be too-late think also of Death & hell.

6 Consideration. Let me add: 6. Think seriously with your-selves what ye damned in hell would give for such opportunitys as you enjoy: if you could but discourse with a poor soul that has been in hell but a little while; to hear w^{t} torments it endures for refuseing Christ; surely you would be astonished: And suppose you should; what could such an one say more; but only bid you be religious & love & fear and serve God: and for your encouragement consider a few things. [6]

1. God the father is willing to accept you; he is truth itself and he has sworn by himself that he delights not in ye death of sinners but had rather y^{t} they should turn & live; and to confirm his willingness he has given his son to fulfill ye whole law & to dye for ye sins of any that will but accept of him for y^{eir} redeemer and saviour.

2. God ye son, ye Lord Jesus Christ is abundantly willing to save and accept of all even ye greatest sinners; and he hath declared himself willing to accept even of such young ones as you are, and he is ye same yesterday today & forever.

3. God ye Holy-Ghost is willing to accept of you; he is continually striveing with you and urgeing you every sermon and opportunity to accept of Christ for your prophet preist and king. [7]

4. The saints and angels are willing to accept of you; for there is joy in heaven at ye conversion of a sinner, Indeed there are none but Devils and mer-men y^{t} are like y^{m} y^{t} mourn at ye conversion & salvation of a sinner.

5. Consider y^{t} A religious life is truely pleasant, both in itself and in its end: it is ye most pleasant life in ye world; this is as true as ye word of God which is truth itself; for it says y^{t} her ways are wayes of pleasantness and all her paths are peace: Let y^{n} nothing disswade you from being religious.

6. Remember there is grace enough in ye Lord Jesus Christ to carry you thrô all ye hindrances difficultys & temptations you may meet with in your way.

7. Remember y^{t} God has visibly owned you in his covenant by your baptisme; thô y^{t} will not save you, but if you are not carefull to perform what your parents promised for you; ye sum of which is y^{t} [8] you love & fear God & serve him by a leading a life truely religious when you come to years of discretion; I say if you do not thus live but dye in your [sins]; your being baptized will add to your account at ye great day and will also add to your torments in hell for ever: and this advice which I have given you will rise up as a witness against you in y^{t} day; & will condemn you: but if on ye contrary you do observe to love & fear & serve God, by praying to live, by reading his word by keeping holy his sabbaths, by honouring your parents, by performing all y^{t} you know to be your duty, and by avoiding all y^{t} you know to be displeasing to God & contrary to his commands: If you lead a holy blameless conversation, you shall not only be enabled by ye spirit of God to serve him & honour him here; but you shall lead lives truely pleasant, and shall at last be brought to live with God forever in another world. [9]

Apr. 4, 1696.

The cheif end of man, or y^{t} which man ought cheifly to aim at or desire to seek and endeavour to obtain, is ye Glory of God and ye enjoyment of him forever, And to this end we should refer & direct all our actions, and ye whole course of our lives:

Now this is done in ye performance of ye dutys of a mans General calling; such as praying reading ye scriptures honouring our parents keeping strictly ye Sabbath and in a continual watch over our thoughts words & actions; or else God is glorifyed by our performing ye dutys of our particular callings; as at present it is my calling to teach & yours to learn; but yet we must not think y^{t} there is or can be any additional Glory given to God; but only ye actual manifestations of his Glory.

Now in all we should be carefull that we never do any thing from which we desire Gods absence; for God takes notice of all things, and all things are perfectly known to him. And if we are thus carefull to glorify God here, we shall enjoy his special protection and love & favour in this world, and shall be admitted to his Glorious presence in heaven and shall fully and immoderately enjoy him forever. [10]

And indeed it is well worth our while to give all diligence to do this; for God is ye cheif good & ye enjoyment of him is only capable of satisfying our immortal souls; and God in his word hath directed us how we may come to ye enjoyment of himself; and therefore we should be much in reading ye scripture, for y^{ere} is no other way given under heaven whereby we may be saved but by ye Lord Jesus Christ; and he is revealed to us only in ye scriptures. And in ye scriptures we have made known unto us what we are to beleive concerning God and our duty to him: and also our duty towards men; And our duty towards our own souls.

Concerning God we are to beleive y^{t} he is a spirit who is infinite in all perfections, and so is not to be comprehended by us: He is one God in three persons who knows all things perfectly of himself from all eternity: & of him and all things [11] He did by his power create all things out of nothing, and all things were at first very good, and he created man and endowed him with power & facultys to obey his commands; but withall man was mutable (for immutability is proper only to God) and God haveing thus made man after his own Image he then entred into a covenant with him y^{t} if he would obey his commands, he should obtain life for himself, & for his posterity, and if our first parents had stood, we had been happy forever; but they horribly rebelled against God by their eating ye forbidden fruit, and therefore according to Gods covenant they did expose themselves and their posterity after y^{m} (of which posterity we are) to Gods eternal wrath forever.

And its very just & right that if Adam had stood we should have stood and been happy; so he falling y^{t} we should fall in & with him: for ye covenant was made with him not only for himself alone, but also for all his posterity; and so we being of his seed did fall in & with him [12] and are thereby exposed to all miserys; we are also altogether sinfull, and have

(ever since Adams fall) natures in us prone to all y^{t} is evil, & y^{t} are averse to that which is good; & we are naturally heirs to Gods eternal wrath and exposed to all ye miserys imaginable; this is our wretched condition that we are in by nature wch is ye dreadfull consequent of sin.

But God who knows all things from all eternity before time was, he in his infinite love wisedome & mercy did from everlasting elect some (thô but a few) to life eternal, and he did then enter into a covenant with his blessed son Jesus Christ who willingly engaged to do & to suffer what was to be done and suffered by fallen man who was then uncapable of helping himself out of that lost condition. [13]

This God did to magnify ye riches of his grace in ye contrivance & in ye accomplishment of ye Redemption of a certain number of fallen children of Adam, who were in Christ Jesus chosen from eternity.

For man althô he had sinned, and had deprived himself of ye power of performing obedience acceptable to God; yet he stood indebted to God both to make him satisfaction for ye injury done to his law; and also to yeild perfect obedience to it. neither of which was man capable of doing: so y^{t} it was infinite rich & free grace in God to find out any way whereby man might be restored, & it was infinite wisedome in that his own justice is also fully satisfyed. So y^{t} now notwithstanding all if we will but humble ourselves and repent & turn to Jesus Christ we may hope to obtain mercy through him to the Eternal salvation of our souls. [14]

Apr. 11. 1696.

God haveing from all eternity elected a certain number of fallen man to eternal life; and haveing entred into a covenant with his son Jesus Christ concerning their salvation; our blessed Lord Jesus Christ did undertake to redeem fallen man; and he it is y^{t} is ye only redeemer of all them that are or ever shall be saved; and whoever trust to or rest on any thing else for salvation shall dye in y^{eir} sins and be lost forever.

Indeed ye Incarnation of Christ, or his takeing to himself ye nature of man & yet his continueing sinless, is a wonderfull mystery but yet so it was y^{t} he is ye eternal son of God who was from all eternity blessed forever, took upon him our nature, he was born of ye virgin mary, & took to himself a soul and body which is his humane nature; and he is at ye same [15] Time God blessed forever.

The consideration of this is enough to astonish ye rocks and stones & yet we ye sinfull sons of Adam are careless and unconcerned about our great salvation.

The angells are astonished & stand and wonder at ye infinite love wisdome and condescention of God ye Father; and they are continually ad-

mireing ye condescention & love of God ye son, to poor sinfull rebellious man in dying for him.

And this great mystery of mans redemption will be matter of wonder to ye holy angells and Glorifyed saints unto all eternity surely then we are worse than mad, if we are not very sollicitous about getting an interest in this great saviour.

He & he alone is able to save us both from ye guilt & ye dominion of sin, & to bestow upon us eternal salvation and to make us to be perfectly blessed in ye enjoyment of himself to all eternity. [**16**]

In Christ Jesus there is grace enough to make us holy & there is mercy enough with God thrô him to forgive even so great sinners as we are.

Let us then all be perswaded to fly to him for mercy and grace.

For if we neglect to seek to him we may provoke him to give over calling of us and striveing with us by his spirit, which if he do we shall as surely go to hell as if were there already. but if [we] do go to him and confess our sins and begg of him to convince us of ye evil of sin, & to convert us, he has promised y^{t} he will in no wise cast off any y^{t} come to him; and therefore he will accept of us, and will convert us, and make us more holy, and will make our peace with God for us, and will enable us to serve him while we live and when we dye we shall be received to serve him forever in his heavenly kingdom. [**17**]

April. 18. 1696.

I have heretofore laid down some motives before you to engage you to be religious now in your younger days: and I have endeavoured to instruct you in ye principles of ye Christian religion contained in the Chatechisme; as far as w^{t} offices does Jesus Christ execute &c and I intend to proceed; but because as I have before told you; y^{t} all lys in ye practiceing of what we know; therefore I shall lay down a few more motives & Dir[ections] to move you to do y^{t} which is wellpleasing to God. and y^{n} I shall (Deo volente) proceed &c.

1. Pray to God in secret; w^{t}ever you do let not this be neglected. Remember your creatour in ye days of your youth; pray to God that he would pardon your sins for his son Jesus Christ's sake Pray to Jesus Christ to pardon you he is as able now as he was w^{n} on ye earth: and pray y^{t} he would [**18**] save you from hell fire, and from eternal misery: I am sure there is none of you y^{t} is willing to have your portion with Devils and damned forever, o then be perswaded to pray in secret.

2. Read ye scriptures; labour to take delight in reading ye Gospell of Jesus Christ.

3. Keep holy ye sabbath day do not speak your own words nor think

your own thoughts on ye sabbath, but spend ye whole day in reading and praying and other holy dutys.

4. Give good attention to ye word preached; not only to remember something to tell me; but remember something for your souls and for eternity; remember it is God y^{t} speaks to you by his servants.

5. Remember Death; think much of death; think how it will be on a death bed, whether then you will not wish y^{t} you had prayed & done y^{t} you know to be our duty. [19]

6. Think much of ye day of judgement, when every secret thing shall be discovered before ye whole world, all secret sins shall be discovered and shall be punished with eternal burnings; and then also all secret good dutys shall be discovered and shall be rewarded with life eternal.

7. Think of Eternity: ye greatest thing y^{t} I would ask of you for all my pains, is, y^{t} every day you would think seriously of Eternity. Think of those y^{t} are in hell, y^{t} must abide under all ye paine imaginable to eternity and those y^{t} are in heaven shall live in ye greatest happyness with God forever.

O then be perswaded to be religious betimes: these are no trifling things, these are for eternity: think then every day when you rise, and say to yourselves, I may dy before night & y^{n} ask seriously. if it sh^{d} be so; where will my soul lodge thrô out eternal ages—[20] and say every night w^{n} you go to bed, If I should dy before morning where shall I live forever, should I go down to eternal misery w^{re} there is nothing but weeping and wailing & blaspheming Gods name forever. or should I go to heaven to live with and to love & serve unto all eternity.

Be awakened then to set about your duty, and secure your own souls by geting an Interest in Jesus Christ: and once more I charge you in ye fear of God to think of these things seriously for know assuredly y^{t} God will call you to a strict account, not only for every sermon, but also for every such opportunity as this. and you be found despisers of Jesus Christ he will give y^{t} sentence [21] Depart ye cursed into everlasting fire prepared for ye Devil and his angells: but if ye be found [among] y^{ose} y^{t} fear him & serve him he will at that day own you openly before ye whole world, and will say to you: Come ye blessed of my father inherit a kingdome prepared for you, before ye foundation of ye world.

April. 25. 96: I was sick of ye tooth ake.

May 2^{d} 1696.

I come now to shew you y^{t} Jesus Christ ye only redeemer of Gods elect, did while on earth in his state of humiliation; and does also now in heaven

perform ye offices of a prophet of a preist & of a king in order to our conversion Justification sanctification and eternal glorification. [22]

As a prophet Christ reveals to us what God would have us beleive in order to our salvation. And it is Christ alone y^t teach us this ye way to everlasting salvation; and this he does by sending his ministers, by his word and by his spirit; hereby, he effectually calls home all his elect, and builds them unto salvation; As a preist Christ continually appears in ye presence of God and presents before him the infinite satisfaction of his perfect obedience in fulfilling ye law and in dying for sinners and he continual plead y^t ye benefits of his death may be applyed to beleivers; and indeed if it were not for this intercession of Jesus Christ ye best performances of the best men would be rejected by God.

And as a king Jesus Christ rules in ye hearts of his elect; his kingly power is exercised in their conversion, and in defending y^m from all thei[r] enemys and temptations y^t they meet with. [23] And althô there are very few y^t did beleive on Christ while he was on ye earth, or do now beleive Christ to be such a prophet preist and king, as he is, (I mean so as to obey him) yet All ye world shall know & be forced to own y^t he is God over all blessed forever, in y^t day w^n they shall call upon ye rocks and unto ye mountains to fall on y^m w^n Jesus Christ shall be revealed from heaven in flames of fire takeing vengeance on them y^t know not God and y^t obey not his Gospell. but of this day of Judgement I desire to discourse at large.

May. 9. 1696.

Among all ye truths y^t are revealed in ye scriptures, there is none y^t is more plainly & clearly asserted then this viz: y^t there will be a general day of Judgement There will certainly be a day when ye lord Jesus Christ himself will appear with all his holy Angels in the clouds of heaven to judge ye whole world, [24] And all ye dead shall rise out of their graves and appear before him; and then before ye whole world every one shall give an account for all things done here in ye flesh, and Christ himself will give sentence to every one according to what they have done in this life. Indeed when Jesus Christ humbled himself in his first appearance he shewed his power in working miracles, and his knowledge in looking into mens hearts, and he shewed his great wisedome in his Doctrine & his holyness in his exact walk and perfect obedience, and he wonderfully shewed his goodness and mercy In all ye infinite love and kindness he shewed to ye children of men and in all that he did for y^m: these excellencys shined at [25] his first appearance, tho it was but darkly as being vailed; and indeed these are abundantly shineing in him now especially his goodness and mercy, for he stands now and entreats sinners to be

reconciled to God by him, and he is really willing to save and accept of all y^{t} will forsake their sins and come to him for forgiveness and salvation.

But at his 2^{d} appearance, y^{ere} be no mercy to be obtained for them, who in this life have neglected to get an Interest in him He will then appear as a mercifull saviour to them y^{t} love him & fear him; but to them y^{t} do not keep all his commandments he will appear as an angry judge & his eyes will look as flames of fire, and then poor sinners will call to ye rocks and to ye mountains to fall on them & to hide y^{m} from ye wrath of the lamb but all will be in vain. [26]

Indeed to set forth ye power and Glory and splendour of Christ's 2^{d} comeing is beyond ye skill of men or angells; but yet we have something revealed to us in ye scriptures! *of y^{t} manner of it.*

1. He shall [have] power in heaven and earth given to him, there will y^{n} be no hideing from him; all things will y^{n} obey him, ye grave shall give up her dead, and he shall then have power over men and Devils, all good men y^{t} have served him faithfully he will receive to eternal Glory; But wicked men and Devils shall be bound in chains under darkness for ever. he will then send wicked men and angels into y^{t} lake of fire and brimstone, which shall burn thrôout eternal ages.

2. Christ Jesus will come in great Glory, he will then be cloathed with honour and Glory, and y^{re} shall be ten thousand times ten thousand holy angels waiting on him to do his will. [27]

Now ye angels are some in heaven and some on earth ministring to Gods servants, but y^{n} they will be all gathered together into one innumerable company, there to attend on our blessed Lord Jesus.

Then ye sun shall be darkened & ye moon shall vanish, and ye heaven and earth shall flee away before him, & his brightness shall exceed ye brightness of ye sun moon and stars; and Christ shall come with a Glorious and dreadfull noise which will make wicked men and Devils to quake & tremble but it will make ye hearts of good men to leap for Joy.

Then ye heavens shall roar and there will be terrible thunderings and lightnings, & ye earth shall be in flames of fire, and there shall be such a shout as shall awake ye dead out of y^{eir} graves, And all men shall hear that voice, Arise Ye Dead & come to Judgement, & then ye whole world shall ring & tremble, but especially wicked men and despisers of Christ shall tremble surely this will startle all such and fill y^{m} wth amazement. [28]

2. *the End of Christ's comeing.* & y^{t} will be to judge ye whole world then he will raise ye dead out of y^{eir} graves & ye sea shall give up her dead, and ye saints shall find their own bodys and he will cause those y^{t}

are in hell to come out, and they shall all be joined soul and body & so be prepared for ye last judgement.

Then all nations shall be gathered together, and there will be an innumerable number of saints but 1000 times as many wicked. the righteous shall stand at Christ's right hand, and ye wicked at his left hand, there will y^{n} be no mistake; those y^{t} are God's children & servants shall every one be secured forever. and then all nations being there gathered together and ye righteous being filled with unspeakable joy and ye wicked with irrepressible horrour greif and amazement; then ye books shall be opened, [29] and ye Judgement shall be set, Then it shall be openly de[c]lared what every ones name was and in what age & place they lived, and especially all mens actions shall openly be declared to ye whole world. It will then be told what their carriage was to God and towards one another, It will y^{n} be known who prayed in secret and read ye Scriptures & who were obedient to y^{eir} parents, and who were diligent to perform what they found to doe. It will y^{n} be known who loved to pray & read & keep holy the sabbath day, and who made conscience to keep a strict watch over their thoughts words & actions, &c.

And then all the sinfull actions of men will be made known, It will then be said such an one did never pray, or if he did it was but seldom and he did not take delight in praying and in reading ye scriptures, but it was a burden to them; such were disobedient to parents, and such played on the sabbath day. [30] And It shall be said such a one did not give serious attention to ye word preached, or were careless in family prayer, or in publick worship.

And then it will be known to ye world who were dishonest intemperate unclean; then all secret sins will be manifested, for Gods eyes are as a flame of fire and he perfectly sees all ye secret abominations which are unknown to men.

And these things will not only be declared by God himself, but then conscience shall be as a thousand witnesses, and althô men forget many sins which now they commit yet at that day they shall all be remembred, & then a good conscience will be worth ten thousand worlds: For then wicked men shall be judged by the law and shall be con[31]-demned bec: they did not perform perfect obedience to the law neither did they fly to Christ for salvation; but then ye righteous shall be accepted thrô the intercession of Jesus Christ and shall be judged by the Gospell, and Christ Jesus who will then be Judge will acquit them before the whole world and then none shall be able to object any thing against them.

O then be perswaded before it be too late. even now while ye day of

grace lasts to set about it with all Diligence and get your sins pardoned, and while Christ Jesus himself is intreating you to come to God by him. I say now give all diligence to get an Interest in him and in his righteousness and then it shall go well with you in y^{t} day and forever. [32]

May 16. 1696.

I desire now to proceed in discourseing more particularly of ye Judgement of ye righteous and of ye wicked, y^{t} so you may be awakened to improve all the advantages you are entrusted withall to get into Christ Jesus and not be found among Devils and damned spirits at ye left hand of Christ at that day; but at his right hand with holy saints and angels.

The righteous shall be raised up in Glory; those that now are (perhaps) despised in ye world and want many good thing as Lazarus did, shall then in a moment be raised out of their graves with inexpressible pleasure and y^{n} ye holy angels shall meet them and bid them welcome and then saints shall meet one with another and shall every one know one another [33] And then they shall all be caught up to meet the Lord in ye air, then all ye disciples and servants of Christ which never saw him in ye flesh shall meet him with inexpressible delight and rejoyceing. and he will rejoyce to see them and will place y^{m} at his right hand.

And Christ will take an account of y^{m}, althô I cannot say whether Christ will then mention the sins and infirmitys of his servants yet this I know y^{t} if he does it will only be as so many sins y^{t} are pardoned and so it will tend to ye exaltation of ye Glory of Christ's blood and to the rejoyceing of his redeemed. But doubtless he will take an account of their graces and vertues, and how they have improved all ye endowments and talents & opportunitys that he has priviledged them withall he will then take an account what they have done for their fellow creatures [34] In order to their eternal salvation; and he will then take an account of all ye Injurys and affronts y^{t} they have met with for his names sake, and all this shall be open before the whole world and every one shall see & hear it, and Christ Jesus himself will then proceed to Give sentence to them and they shall hear y^{t} blessed call, come ye blessed of my father inherit a kingdome prepared for you before the foundation of ye world.

Thus I have told you in short how it will fare with the righteous at that day: and I hope y^{t} you will every one of you be of y^{t} number at y^{t} day and surely y^{t} thought of their blessedness is enough to stir you up to a care to secure to yourselves an interest in Christ which alone will make you blessed. [35]

For then all y^{t} are out of him, shall arise out of their graves and their

miserable souls shall come out of hell and they shall be reunited, but o what an unhappy meeting will this be, o what sighs and groans and crys will then be uttered by poor miserable sinners at that their doleful meeting: o how will they be cast down to think y^{t} they are lost forever, and that they must lye in hell soul & body in extremity of pain unto all eternity; and then they shall meet with Devils, which will torment & spit their malice in their faces and will laugh them to scorn bec. they hearkened to them and suffered them to tempt them and lead them to eternal darkness. and then wicked men shall meet with one another, and shall look back upon their former sins with sorrow and shame but then it will be too-late. [36]

And they shall look forward, and shall see nothing but an angry God and an endless Eternity of misery & their company Devils and damnd spirits forever: and then the wicked y^{t} shall be alive at the second appearance of Christ shall see all this; and it will be a surprizal to them, for there shall not be more warning then now there is but ye world will be careless and unconcerned about it; It may be I shal be teaching & you be learning.

And suppose y^{t} now you should hear terrible thunderings and see great lightnings and sh^{d} see heaven and earth in a flame, and sh^{d} hear ye word, Come to Judgement would your heart leap with Joy within you [37] and could you with great comfort look back upon your past lives or could you claim an interest in Christ, or would y^{r} hearts sink within you for sorrow would you not then cry out for mercy and beg of Gods children to take you up with them; but alas then it will be too-late; now you are called to repent & beleive and love God and to make conscience of praying & keeping holy ye sabbath day and to keep a strict watch over your thoughts words and actions; and to make it your business to be religious, and now Christ Jesus is abundantly willing to save you but then all crys and tears will be too-late if now we neglect to get an interest in him; then he will look with an angry countenance on them that have despised him, [38] and they shall be filled with confusion and shame and in the mean while they see the righteous on the right hand of Christ and then y^{y} will be past all hopes of obtaining one smile from Christ or one Jot of mercy unto eternity: but there poor sinners must stand trembling in expectation of their last Judgment: (the particular discription whereof I shall leave until next time) thus I have shewn you w^{t} a blessed estate ye righteous will be in, and w^{t} a miserable condition the wicked will be in at that day; and we shall every one of us stand naked before Christ's judgement seat, and y^{ere}fore it highly concerns us to look to ourselves for unless we get out of our natural estate [39] and get an interest in Jesus Christ we shall be

miserable forever. These are no trifling things, but they are of eternal concernment to every one of us, and if we y^{t} have ye Gospell and ye way to heaven made known to us should miscarry, it would have been better for us that we had never been born; o then think much of this day and live every moment as if it were to be ye next and Do not allow yourselves in any sin, for all even the most secret sins shall be laid open before ye whole world & ye least sin deserves eternal wrath; and therefore break off all sin by a speedy & thorô repentance least God cut you of now in your younger days & never give you an opportunity to repent; or least God give over striveing with you and so you be found at ye left hand of Christ at the Great day. [40]

May 23. 1696.

At ye day of Judgement ye wicked shall be judged by ye Lord Jesus Christ who will appear in his Glory and power and he will perfectly know all things. and he who is holyness itself will be impartial and righteous and will strictly examine all ye wicked and will be implacably set against them.

And then if any of you which have ye way to heaven made known to you, be among the wicked your misery will be intollerable: for if so then Gods Goodness and mercy and patience will accuse you: and Gods ministers and your Godly freinds will accuse you and your own consciences will then fly in your faces, and tell you y^{t} you might have been saved and would not.

And then if you are found despisers of religion and are found to have lived and dyed in ye neglect of secret prayer. [41] Then shall you hear ye doleful and dreadfull sentence, *depart from* me ye cursed into everlasting fire prepared for ye Devil and his angells And when once this sentence is passed there will be no recalling of it forever; but away you shall go into everlasting burnings. And let me tell you that every one of us shall hear either y^{t} sentence come ye blessed &c or Go ye cursed &c and we shall live to Eternity either in heaven or in hell. and further remember y^{t} this short life is ye only time y^{t} we have to prepare for a long Eternity And therefore it highly concerns us all to improve this time in serving God y^{t} so we may enjoy him forever; and therefore now be perswaded to repent of sin and Get an interest in Christ. Confess all y^{r} sins to God and forsake y^{m} and God will forgive you.

And remember y^{t} repentance is [42] absolutely necessary unto eternal salvation, and you may yet repent and return to God, but remember y^{t} is a fruit of God's wonderfull patience y^{t} you are yet on this side hell: and let this quicken you to set about y^{s} work of saveing y^{r} souls to day while it is called to day. and to quicken you, consider That you must repent: for

if you do not repent now while you are in ye world, you will repent to all Eternity and your repentance y^{n} will be too-late If you repent now your sorrow will be mixed with some comfort and your repentings & mournings for sin will be well-pleasing to God.

And God will have mercy upon you and pardon you, and you shall escape everlasting punishment; and you shall also enjoy true comfort while in this world o y^{n} repent now, It is not too-soon for you while in your natural estate, every moment exposed to Eternal vengeance. [43] And remember y^{t} ye time when your particular Judgement shall be is very nigh, you must all dy and after y^{t} come to Judgement.

And moreover consider y^{t} if now you defer to repent and to seek God, it is a wonder if ever you do repent. for let me tell you y^{t} you cannot repent when you will; you cannot repent when on a sick bed so easily as some Imagine; and the longer you defer your repentance ye harder it will be to repent. will you then be perswaded to repent or will you go on in your sins and so go down into eternal misery? I hope you will now turn and live forever, and for your direction: Go to God by secret prayer and upon your knees do you confess all your sins with shame and sorrow; do not keep one sin but confess all, and be sure you resolve by the grace of Christ to forsake all sin; for you cannot think y^{t} God will accept of your confessions if they are not [44] with resolutions to forsake sin; you must not think to go to God and to Christ and say I have sinned I pray for pardon in Christ's blood, and then I will go sin again, no, no God will have you to confess and forsake & then you shall have mercy If you do speedily break off from all sin with full purpose and endeavours never to sin more, and if you live in ye constant practice of all ye dutys y^{t} are required of you then you may go to God freely for an interest in Christ and for eternal salvation and he will accept of you and love you and save you from all misery both here and forever hereafter.

Thus I have done with the handling this subject of ye day of judgement, and if I shall lay a few [45] Directions which if you observe you may by Gods grace appear at ye right hand of Christ in ye great day.

1. Dir: forsake all sin and fly unto God by Christ for salvation and Let it be your great care to be holy. keep a strict watch over yourselves and alwayes live as becomes the Gospell.

2. dir: Be much in secret meditation, go alone and remember y^{t} you have immortal souls and think much of Death and Eternity. think of Judgment and of ye damned in hell and remember y^{t} you are by nature heirs to ye portion of Devils and damned spirits, and consider with yourselves y^{t} you may yet get an Interest in Christ and so secure your souls.

3. Give serious attention to the word preached: and let this consideration quicken you to y^{t} viz: y^{t} you must give an account for every sermon you hear. [46]

4. Be much in reading ye bible and good books.

5. Be much in earnest secret prayer be constant in ye practice of this duty, beg of God to pardon your sins and to change your natures and to guide you to eternal salvation. and

6. forsake all known sins presently, do not live one hour longer in any one sin: and

7. avoid all occasions of sin. shun bad company; which is sometimes ye ruine of many a soul: and

8. Do not allow yourselves in Idleness, this is a thing y^{t} Exposes you all manner of temptations; you should never let ye Devil find you Idle; but be diligent, in what ever you find to do. I do not mean y^{t} you should never recreate yourselves but only I would have [47] you to improve your recreation to quicken you to your duty.

9. Be religious presently, do not put of your repentance 'til to morrow; but to day while ye day of grace lasts give all diligence to secure your souls; for you know not but you may be in hell before to morrow if you defer your repentance:

10: and Lastly: Resolve never to sin any more; do not allow yourselves in any known sin but resolve to persevere in religious courses; and if you do give over all sin and do in good Earnest set about religion, then ye ways of Godlyness will be pleasant unto [you] and ye longer you walk in them ye more Easy they will be to you. Thus I have laid down y^{ese} directions before you, and if not withstanding any of you shall dare to live in any sin and in ye neglect of any duty [48] and shall live and dye in sin; then these words which I have spoken shall rise up in judgment against [you] and y^{t} which I have desired for your good shall be a witness against you and prove to your destruction and Eternal damnation. But I hope y^{t} you will none of you be so foolish as yet to go on in sin; if you are then will be more tolerable for sodom and Gomorrha in y^{t} day then for you; but if now you are so wise as to forsake all sin and to give up your souls to Christ and to accept of him for to rule in your souls, and if you are resolved to love and serve him; then your work is done, and your souls shall be saved; then God and Christ are yours; and if you now chuse Christ [49] then heaven and happyness are yours and you shall be blessed throughout ye days of Eternity.

May 30. 96.

I have heretofore showed you how y^{t} all men by nature are heirs to

eternal damnation: but because it is not in my power to convince you of it althô it is truth it self. Therefore I exhort you to fly to God and humbly and earnestly ask of him his spirit to shew you ye evil of sin, and to Convince you y^t^ you are by reason of sin exposed to Gods Eternal wrath; and also I do advise you to pray to God y^t^ he would shew ye excellency of Jesus Christ and ye beauty of holyness. And entreat him to convert & turn you, and to make you holy. for let me tell you that if God ye holy Ghost does not undertake to convert you, and to guide you to eternal Glory you will certainly miscarry: therefore it concerns us to be very carefull least [50] we should provoke Gods spirit to depart from us: And the way to have him abide wth us is to entertain its notions and to be religious to day while ye offers of salvation are made known unto us; and Let me once more entreat you to look about you and to prepare for eternity; and least you should be discouraged from being religious now while you are young: I shall shew you ye pleasantness of being religious, and also ye benefits which converted sinners are made partakers of while in this world and also in eternal Glory.

There are many y^ngs^ wch make a religious life pleasant: as

1. The pardon of all sin; for althô a mans being religious cannot merit ye pardon of sin, yet when a man is throughly religious; when he respects all Gods commands; then he has a good evidence of his pardoned estate. [51]

For as a man y^t^ allows himself in any known sin, has no true evidence for heaven; so a man y^t^ hates all sin and loves all Gods commands, has good evidences for his pardon and salvation; and this cannot but yeild unspeakable joy and comfort to him, and make a religious life ye most pleasant life in ye world.

Think of this and consider and ask yourselves whether your lives would not be more pleasant if you were perswaded y^t^ your sins were pardoned; and I am perswaded and know y^t^ your consciences will say that they would: and therefore let this move you to be religious bec: then God will pardon your sins thô not for being religious; yet for his own names sake & for his promise sake.

2. A religious life is ye most pleasant life bec: such as are religious are ye sons of God, and this makes obedience to Gods commands pleasant bec: [52] those y^t^ obey are his own sons by Jesus Christ.

It may be you are apt to think y^t^ if you were sons to some king or great man y^t^ then you should live pleasantly: but let me tell you y^t^ there [is] a possibility of becoming ye sons of the King of Glory; and will not this yeild inexpressible pleasure to you to have God ye Creatour of all things to be your father and to smile upon you; and will not this be a comfort & make your life pleasant to you to think and say to y^r^selves y^t^ in a little

while I shall have my soull carryed to eternal Glory; to think y^{t} God and heaven & Christ are mine and I am heir to a kingdome which shall last to eternity this surely will perswade you all to choose to be religious, and to love God and Christ and to live in ye performance of all dutys. [53]

3. A holy life is ye most pleasant life bec: It is an honourable life. The Lord Jesus Christ himself who was the king of Glory, condescended to live an holy life to set us an example.

4. Those y^{t} are holy lead ye most pleasant life bec: they enjoy peace of conscience; their consciences do not condemn them as wicked mens consciences do.

5. Those y^{t} are religious lead ye most pleasant life bec: they are alwayes ready for death: this make a mans life comfortable: A good man is commonly so prepared for death y^{t} he desires to dy; for when a good man dyes as soon as ever his soul is seperated from his body he is by the holy angels conveyed into eternal Glory and shall spend an eternity in singing praises to God: but now a wicked man has no comfort of his life, bec: he is alwayes afraid of death. [54] a wicked man never thinks of death but it affrights him bec: he knows y^{t} when he dyes; ye devils will carry him down to hell and there he must abide under Gods wrath unto all Eternity: and the forethoughts of this makes his life miserable & uncomfortable, & hence it is y^{t} men run into company into ye world or to drinking or playing or any thing in ye world to divert the thoughts of death: y^{y} cannot endure to think on death and Eternity. but now a good man takes delight in thinking on death for then he knows he shall be perfectly freed from sin and from sorrow, and shall be possessed of eternal blessedness.

6. Another thing which makes religious lives pleasant is the thoughts of ye resurrection and of the day of Judgment. [55]

A good man knows y^{t} at ye resurrection he shall be acknowledged by God before ye whole world; and shall be made perfectly blessed forever; and this makes his life pleasant; but a wicked man w^{n} he thinks of this he trembles & knows y^{t} when he dyes he goes to hell and at ye resurrection he shall be condemned to eternal vengeance; and this makes his life unpleasant & uncomfortable. All y^{t} a wicked man does is sin; But a righteous man endeavours to serve & please God; and there is not one duty in all ye Christian religion, but the performance of it yeilds true pleasure and comfort to ye sincere Christian that performs it.

There might be multitudes of reasons given for ye pleasantness of a truely holy life, but this may serve to convince us of it if we will remove prejudice and Let me add one reason more to convince us. & y^{t} is

7. None ever repented them of their being truely religious. [56] There

never was any one man y^{t} was truely & throughly religious, y^{t} ever repented him; and this argues y^{t} religion is pleasant.

And if all this will not convince you, then look into y^{r} bibles and you shall find Jesus Christ himself saying y^{t} his yoke is easy; and wisedome says y^{t} her ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace, and by wisedome there is meant Christ. (as I think)

1. hence see ye folly of all those y^{t} lived an irreligious life: y^{t} neglect to pray in secret & to read ye scriptures and y^{t} allow y^{m}selves in any known sin whatsoever: they deprive themselves of ye comfort of their lives and make their lives unpleasant.

2. hence see the true wisedome of those y^{t} are religious: especially in their younger days. [57] They are truely wise; and I hope there are some among [you] y^{t} do make it your business to be religious; and those of you y^{t} do I do assuredly tell you y^{t} you are truely & certainly wise; and whatever ye world may call you; yet you will be found to be wise when Christ shall come to judge the world: therefore be perswaded to go on for these 2 reasons.

1. The longer you continue under Christ's yoke ye easier it will be.

2. If you do not persevere unto ye end you will loose y^{r} own souls: y^{ere}fore be not discouraged. 2. Ezk: Be all perswaded to make it your business to be religious a religious life is ye most pleasant life: and ye sooner you get into a course of serving God ye better it will be; and you are not too-young and y^{ere}fore do not delay [58] for consider seriously y^{s} one thing: and y^{t} is

Consider: you must be converted or damned: go alone and think seriously and say to yourselvs y^{t} I must either turn from all sin, and give myself up to Christ or else I must be damned: and Let not ye Devil perswade you to tarry any longer. be not put of 'til to-morrow for you are not sure of to-morrow:

Therefore be perswaded to work while ye day lasts: and do not make any objections against taking up Christ's yoke: for if you do you will endanger your own souls: and what is a man profited if he gain ye whole world and loose his own soul, truly he would be found an infinite looser y^{t} sh^{d} gain 10000 worlds & loose his own soul. [59]

June 6. 1696.

Before I proceed to answer any objections against being religious, I shall labour to convince you all y^{t} you are while out of Christ under ye condemning power of ye law and so under sentence to eternal misery.

All men are under ye law until they do come under ye second covenant ye covenant of grace, & willingly give up y^{m}selves to Christ.

And those y^{t} are under the law are obliged to keep ye whole law strictly: for cursed is every one y^{t} continueth not in all things y^{t} are written in ye book of ye law to do them: and all men by nature are under this law and so under the curse, for they have broken ye law in adam, and they are thereby exposed to eternal vengeance; and they are by no means capable giveing [60] God satisfaction unless by Christ. and therefore it highly concerns us all to get into Christ if it were only to satisfy God for y^{t} first offense of Adam which if it ly upon us will sink us into hell forever.

But this is not that which I aim at: for their are two other things of ye like nature which lay us under an absolute necessity of geting into Christ.

1. We have already broken the whole law (2: we are of ourselves unable to keep it for the future).

We have broken ye whole law already; The sum of ye law is y^{t} we love ye Lord our God with all our heart with all our soul and strength and mind and our neighbours as ourselves.

And now if we ask ourselves whether we have done this and do it stil: surely our own hearts will condemn us and God is greater y^{n} our consciences and knoweth all things. [61]

Man by his fall has not only broken Gods law, but has also deprived himself of all power to keep Gods law; of ourselves we have no power to perform any one duty acceptable to God and hence it is y^{t} we are guilty of breaking the whole law of God: and I shall shew this unto [you], by asking whether you have kept every command in particular and I shall leave it with y^{r} own consciences to judge whether you are guilty or not.

1. have you kept ye first com^{dt} This requires us to know God and to worship and glorify him; and now let me ask you, do you know God as you ought have you acquaintance with him so as to go boldly and humbly to him for pardon and for mercy: and have you glorifyed him as you ought to have done; have you been carefull to please God, and have you been carefull to abstain from sin, or is it not quite contrary. [62]

2. have you kept ye second commandment? This requires us to receive and observe all such ordinances as God hath appointed: now let me ask you have you alwayes been conscientious to pray to God, & have you been carefull to read ye scriptures as you ought have you kept your baptismal engagement to God: have you been carefull to meditate on ye word read and preached, and have you been carefull to abstain from all sinfull words. These are ordinances which ye Eternal God of heaven commands us in this command, & therefore if we are guilty of ye breaking

of this command and are stil out of Christ and are every moment exposed to eternal misery.

3. have you kept ye 3^{d} command. This requires us to make use of Gods name ordinances word and providences with all reverence; now let me ask every one of you, have [63] you always spoken reverently of Gods name ordinances word &c did you never take Gods name in vain; did you never speak or think slightly of Gods word, did you alwayes esteem Gods words so as to practice what was commanded in it: did you never despise your fellow creatures wch are ye work of Gods hands: surely your consciences condemn you; and I am sure y^{t} if they do not yet God does and will so long as you are out of Christ.

4. have you kept ye 4th command have you alwayes made conscience to keep holy ye sabbath day; were you alwayes carefull to abstain from speaking your own words & thinking y^{r} own thoughts; were you alwayes carefull to spend ye whole sabbath in reading and praying? or else did you never pray in y^{r} lives? I hope none of you are so desperately wicked as to live wholly prayerless; if you [64] are, I am sure you are every moment in danger of hell fire; there is nothing between you and hell but Gods wonderfull patience: by this you may certainly know y^{t} you are in your natural estate: if you content yourselves to live prayerless, I am sure you are out of Christ: are you thus diligent to keep strictly all days of fasting and thanksgiveing I beleive your consciences will condemn you; and truly if they do not, it is because they are corrupted and misled by satan.

5. are you carefull to give that honour to your parents which you should? I wish truly that some of you do not allow yourselves in disobedience to your parents. and I take this opportunity to charge you every one in ye fear of God, that you be obedient to your parents. [65]

If your father or mother bid you do any thing, I charge you to do it if you can without sin; and if they bid you to abstain from any thing y^{t} is evil, be sure you obey y^{m} O, have a care of telling your fathers or mothers y^{t} you *wont* least God strike you dead in the place: truly if you tell your mothers you will not; or if you do not what they bid you; you do provoke God wonderfully, and you have reason to fear that God will strike you dead in ye place: If your parents bid you do any thing that is lawfull you should go and do it; but if they pray you to do it (as some do) then you should run:—have you not heretofore neglected to obey your parents; if so then you are under the condemning power of the law while out of Christ. [66]

6. have you kept the 6th command: this forbids all anger without cause: let me then ask you, were you never angry with one another when you should not have been. did you never promise y^{r}selves to be revenged of

any when they have done you wrong. truly if you have this an high degree of murder; and were you never guilty of intemperance; if you have then you have broken this command; bec: thereby your own health is impared.

7. have you kept the 7th commandment; have you done what in you lay to preserve your own and your neighbours chastity in heart speech and behaviour, did you never willingly entertain unclean thoughts of sinfull objects: if so, remember yt every sinfull thought shall [67] be brought into judgment: & truly I wish some of you do not allow yourselves in unclean and unseemly discourse, & unclean actions, which if they should be told before the whole world would make you blush: yerefore have a care of all unchast thoughts words & actions: and be sure you never do any yng which you are ashamed shd be known to ye world.

8. Did you never break the 8th commt: this requires justice to our neighbours & toward ourselves; now did you never steal any thing from your neighbour, and did you never wrong yourselves: this command requires diligence, and those of you that can content yrselves to live some hours in Idleness are guilty of breaking this command: I do not mean by Idleness lawfull recreation but loytering & lazyness. [68]

9. were you alwayes carefull to keep ye 9th command. did you never tell a ly, and did you never say any ill of your neighbour without a cause.

10. did you never covet any yng which you ought not: did you never wish for this or that pleasure or profit or honour to your neighbour's damage? and were you always contented with your own condition & full of charity toward your neighbour.

I am perswaded that if you do seriously ask yourselves whether you have not broken these commands, your own consciences will condemn you: and if you are guilty of any the least of those sins, you are exposed to Gods eternal veangeance every moment yt you are out of Christ. thus I have shewn you the necessity of your [69] geting an interest in Jesus Christ. & that for 2 reasons. 1. because ye guilt of adams sin lys on you & there is a necessity of Gods justice being satisfyed; and of ourselves we are utterly unable to render any satisfaction to divine justice: 2: we are guilty of many actual transgressions which we have commited ourselves and therefore if we do not get into Christ we must suffer unto Eternity; because we can never satisfy God for yt wrong which we have done to his majesty in breaking his just & good law: but of this hereafter.

June 13. 1696.

I come now to show a 3d reason of ye necessity of your geting an Interest in Jesus Christ: and yt is bec: we cannot keep Gods law: We (in

adam) were once capable of keeping Gods law perfectly. [70] When God created our first parents, he gave them an holy and just law: and he gave them also power and facultys to obey this law and so he might justly require obedience from them: and now man has sinned and broken Gods law, and exposed himself to divine vengeance and also deprived himself of power to keep this law; yet this does not at all excuse man from yeilding obedience to ye law. For, it will not satisfy God, when he commands us to obey all his commands perfectly; for us to say we have no power, to do it, this is so far from excuseing our fault that it aggravates our crime and lays us under double guilt. for [he] may justly say to us that he gave us power, and if we have lost it, yet that will not satisfy his justice, but we must either obey, or if not suffer vengeance. [71]

June 13. 1696. conclusion.

Haveing shown how y^{t} God created man in an holy & upright estate & gave him power to keep his; but he being mutable did by ye temptation of ye Devil, break Gods holy law and did not only offend God by his commiting that one sin; but also deprived himself of y^{t} power to keep Gods law which at first God endowed him with; and so thereby laid himself and his posterity under an utter inability to keep Gods law; and hence we that are of Adams posterity are not only under the guilt of y^{t} first sin; which is enough to sink us into hell forever, but we haveing no power to keep Gods law, have and do necessarily brake it every day, & yet we are obliged to ye great God our law-giver to make him satisfaction for ye least offence, and of ourselves we can neither satisfy God for the offence done to him, [72] nor yet keep his law for ye future; and hence we are every moment while in our natural estate exposed to the eternal wrath of God.

All this being plain, and no creature being able to help us; this makes way for ye astonishing free & rich grace of God in Jesus Christ: and truly it [is] enough to fill ye world with admiration, to think y^{t} ye great God of heaven who needs nothing; should send his only well beloved son to live in ye miserable world & to dy a cruel death y^{t} so a company of poor rebellious sinners might be restored into his favour. this is y^{t} which ye angells in heaven wonder at. & it will be matter of wonderment to saints and angels unto all Eternity, and y^{t} which ever causes ye wonderment of ye invisible world is y^{t} [73] poor miserable sinners will not mind this grace of God so as to close with it: and not withstanding ye terms are so easy, yet sinners will not comply with them: the terms on which God would have sinners may be comprized under these 3 heads:

1. God requires us to beleive on Jesus Christ & to rest on his merits & intercession for salvation: we must give up ourselves to Christ to be saved

by him alone, we must reject sin satan & ye world & cleave close to Jesus Christ if we would be saved.

2. In order unto salvation God requires of us true & unfeigned repentance: this is absolutely necessary to salvation: and there are two things commonly go before this turning from sin unto God in Christ by repentance. [74]

1. We must see our own misery & lost estate.

2. We must see & beleive that God thrô Christ is willing to receive us into his favour: and when once we come to see these 2 things, then there needs not many motives to perswade us to repentance: and it is impossible for us to see this unless ye blessed spirit of God discover it unto us: for truly we cannot see our own misery when we will, for it is only ye spirit of God enlightens our dark minds; & shews us the sinfullness of sin; & when God ye spirit undertakes this work, then he also discovers ye mercy of God in Christ, & so perswades the soul to fly to Christ Jesus for salvation.

When once ye holy-Ghost begins to discover ye sinner to himself then he abhors himself for his sins & is sorry & ashamed that he has dishonoured God: and then he willingly flys unto God upon any terms rather than he will continue [75] in his estate & so perish forever, then he thinks ye terms of salvation easy & will readily resolve & endeavour to lead a life conformable to ye Gospell of Jesus Christ.

3. The 3^{d} thing required in order to our eternal salvation is universal holyness: If we will be saved, we must beleive in Christ & repent of & forsake all sin, & also labour to be conformed to ye image of Jesus Christ: now this desire of & endeavour after sanctification, shews itself especially in ye use of all these means whereby Christ is wont to sanctify his saints & servants. When once a sinner is convinced of his miserable condition, then he uses all endeavours whereby he may find Christ & his benefits: now these means which are ordinary, are 1. Gods word both written & preached When a sinner is awakened he will fly to Gods word & will be as constant as he can in reading ye word of God: and will give all preparation to hear the word preached. [76] he fears least he has outstood his time, and he gives all diligence to hear, he will not miss one sentence, least God never speak to him more: and if ye minister deliver any thing y^{t} may serve to quicken to awaken to encourage direct or comfort him, then he receives it gladly and presently resolves to practice it. & accordingly he zealously practices what he knows to be his duty notwithstanding the discouragements he meets with from ye Devil & ye scoffs he may meet with from ye world. thus whe[n] ye spirit of God has enlightened a sinner He makes ye word profitable for his furtherance in order to his sanctification.

2. The sacraments are means by which God uses to convey blesing to

repenting sinners; The Eternal King of heaven is pleased to confirm his covenant with an oath & to set to his seal [77] y^{t} he is willing to save sinners. and he has appointed 2 seals to his covenant: baptisme & ye Lords-supper. now one y^{t} is convinced of his lost condition, (if he be one y^{t} has been baptized) he looks back & reflects on his baptisme & remember[s] that he has been baptized into the name of father son & spirit and remembers y^{t} he or his parents for him then gave him up to God to be his & to serve him; & he also remembers y^{t} God did thereby promise to him all ye blessings of the covenant of grace: & he then looks back & sees whether he has not broken covenant with God, and if he finds y^{t} he has then he comes humbly to God for pardon & entreats grace to keep covenant for ye future and one that is truly enlightened endeavours to prepare himself for ye Lords-supper, for he knows y^{t} he [who] would be saved must obey every one of Christ's commands, & he knows y^{t} Christ has not only commanded this, but it is also of excellent use for to encrease grace in Christians. [78]

3. Prayer is a means whereby Christ communicates gracious blesings to returning sinners.

A sinner y^{t} is awakened out of natural security immediately betakes himself to prayer, & truly if men did but see their own misery & the danger they are in every moment while out of Christ, they would not dare to ly down or rise up without praying to God to keep them from sin & from hell fire which is the just reward of every sin unrepented of.

June.

I shall now speak more fully to this means whereby God conveys blessings on sinners, viz: prayer. and I shall consider it as haveing 3 parts.

1. confession, an awakened sinner flys to God and confesses all sins in particular & y^{t} with shame & sorrow & resolves never to sin more. [79]

2. he prays to God for mercy, he has nothing to trust unto but Gods free & infinite mercy by Christ: he confesses y^{t} he has forfeited all mercy & deserves to be cast into hell forever; but he crys out for pardon and for grace to live better for ye time to come. he prays y^{t} he may not be sunk down into hell forever.

3. he blesses God; thanksgiving to God is his dayly practice: he blesses God y^{t} he is out of hell and he blesses God for Christ Jesus who is ye only way to salvation, and he thanks him for all ye mercy which he enjoys: w^{n} a sinner is once thorôly enlightened by ye spirit of God then (& not before) he sees reason to admire Gods grace & mercy This is y^{t} which puts life into ye praises y^{t} are in heaven, viz: when ye saints look back & think how they were exposed to eternal vengeance; therefore be you now

perswaded to look into your own souls & pray to God to discover to you your own misery, & then you will see abundant reason to bless God forever. [80]

Thus I have glanced over ye whole Catechisme (thô confusedly); which is a thing not usual, yet It may prove beneficial to you if it be not your own fault; If it do prove any benefit to you then it will be a great rejoyceing to me; and as I have before told you, ye result of all is to practice; therefore if you would get any real good by this, then zealously practice what you know live soberly & serve God constantly & give all diligence to work out your own salvation with fear & trembling; for if you do stil resolve to allow yourselves in any sin, y^n it will be a discouragement to me, and I shall loose my labour, and if what I have said to you have no impression upon any of you; then shall I have just cause to fear y^t God in his judgment has given [81] you up to sin & if so; then you may bid Christ & heaven & happyness farewell forever, & take ye Devil for your companion to eternity & must ly down in everlasting burnings. O fear & tremble least you provoke God to withdraw his spirit from you; and now while you are alive and out of hell forsake all sin & live in ye performance of all duty and upon Christ for salvation; and then you may upon good grounds conclude y^t God & Christ and eternal blessedness are yours and you may expect y^t God will acquit you from all guilt, and will sanctify you & give you grace to serve him; & will own you in ye great day & will receive you into his favour & say to you before ye whole world Come ye blessed of my fathers Inherit a kingdome prepared for you before ye foundation of the world: amen. [82]

June 13. 1696.

I proceed no longer in this course for many reasons: on many accounts.

JOS: GREEN. 1696 [83]

June 24. 96. I haveing lately written several letters; and kept no copys by me, and fearing least w^n I have been prescribing to others ye way to salvation, sh^d myself be a cast-away; I shall endeavour to write ye substance of w^t I have written to others; That so w^n I read it I may be quickened to live up fully to those rules which I have prescribed to others;

The begining of *may. 96.* I wrote to my brother Edward G.[1] to y^s purpose.

LOVEING BROTH:

I have formerly given you an account of y^r business concerning ye Estate of Uncle Fox but least my letters sh^d miscarry I will repeat again.

A little before ye time was [84] expired, I went to brother Johnston[2] for y^e

[1] Edward Green, captain of the *Eagle*.

[2] Thomas Johnson of Cambridge, who married Green's sister Elizabeth.

Letter of Attorney (for he never minded it) and I carryed [it] to Mr Remington and he utterly refused to have any y^{ng} to do with it unless it were to give another Letter of Attorny under him; and there being none to take, & I being insufficient, ye Estate is forfeited forever: We have an account of your couragious fight; and ye whole county rings with your praise but I pray you not to be li[ft]ed up but grow humble and give all diligence to secure your own soul; for you must live to Eternity & if heaven and Eternity are not worth striveing for then I am sure nothing is;

Your freinds are all well; but my Father Chamny[1] is dead and has left our mother very well and well-provided for; so y^{t} if you are sick I advise you to come home & my mother & mary are in a capacity to nurse you; [85] I write thus to you because I expect these lines will find you very sick; for truly If you doe come home in health I should look upon it as a wonder and as nothing but an answer of prayers which are laid up in heaven for you every day.

I pray you to take some care of Benjamin, for he is on board of ye man of warr, ye unity. therefore if he be alive I pray you to let your brotherly affection be manifested to him in seeking for his freedome.

I have sent to you a catalogue of some books which I pray you if you can to help me unto; bec: If you send them they will be a great advantage to me in many respects, (wch I named): I know not how you are circumstanced, but I would not trouble you too much, but if you &c. [86]

The Catalogue

Dr Saundersons Sermons
Dr Stillingsfleets { sermons / origines sacræ / Irenicum
Dr Tillotsons sermons
Turrettines Divinity
Dr Scots Christian Life. 3 vollumn
Dr Towerson upon ye Chris^{n} Catechisme
Dr Bates { Harmony of ye Attr[ibutes] / final happyness / 4 last things
Pools annotations: and a Bible

It may be you may be so circumstanced as to help me to these; but I fear y^{t} you are in a sick case. and therefore I pray y^{t} you would prepare for [87] Eternity: you know y^{t} you have an immortal soul; you know y^{t} you can be saved by none but Christ. you know y^{t} sanctification is necessary unto Eternal salvation; you know y^{t} Gods mercys are infinite. And I pray have a care least your knowledge add to your condemnation; I Intreat you as a loveing brother to give all diligence to make sure of heaven y^{t} so you may spend an everlasting Eternity in Glory which is ye earnest prayer of y^{r} loveing Brother Jos. Green

Roxbury: May, 96

[1] Samuel Champney (*d* 1695), whom Green's mother married as her second husband.

Much more I wrote to him which now I forget. [88]

The begining of *June*. 96 I wrote to Broth: Z. H:[1]

L: BROTH:

There being in me a sinfull bashfullness and backwardness to perform my duty; I am forced to communicate my mind to you in writeing; and my End in writeing to you is to perswade you to join to ye Church at cambridge. I pray you to make no objection, because I know G. will take none.

If you are not fit you ought to be fit; and if you are not fit to come to y^e^ *Lords-table* then you are not fit to dye & so not fit for Eternity and if you sh^d^ dy while you are reading this where would your soul lodge throughout eternal ages; I pray you to think of it & prepare for it speedily: and for your direction [89]

1. forsake all sin; in heart and life.

2. Live in ye constant performance of every duty: pray constantly in secret, allow yourself a little time every day for secret meditation. think on death judgement & Eternity; keep strictly ye sabbath &c.

3. after all Rest upon Jesus Christ alone for salvation; thus if you do you may come with a holy boldness to ye Lords-table: and I Intreat you to give all diligence to make your calling & Election sure; and labour to be found among Christ's sanctifyed ones at ye great day; which y^t^ it may be so is ye constant prayer of your Loveing brother. Jos. GREEN

Roxb: J[une] 96

This is ye sum of w^t^ I writ to him. [90]

The begining of *June* I wrote to my broth: Jos: H:[2]

LOV: BROTH.

I being sensible y^t^ It is a great failing in Christians not to stir up their freinds to ye dutys of Christianity & especially to y^t^ of comeing to ye L: sup: I thought it my duty to tell you my mind plainly, and I pray you to join to ye church at cambridge; and for mat: consider: y^t^ if you lived allowedly in ye neglect of any duty your world was never right with God; and I pray you to make no objections for if heaven & Christ are not worth a striveing for nothing is: and Let me tell you nothing will excuse you in ye great day, if you live in ye neglect of y^t^ duty, and if you say you are not fit then let me tell you y^t^ you ought to be fit; [91] and so you live in a neglect; & if you are fit then you live in a neglect: therefore I pray you to live no longer without that ordinance and for your direction.

1. forsake all sin &c.

2. Live in ye constant conscientious discharge of every duty: pray in secret constantly: keep strictly ye sabbath: allow y^r^self a little time every day for secret seriou[s] meditation, & think often of death judgement Eternity heaven & hell; and consider y^t^ you must live forever, & w^t^ is a man profited if he gain ye whole world & lose his own soul: therefore close with Christ and save your soul & give

[1] Zechariah Hicks, who married Green's sister Ruth.

[2] Joseph Hicks, who married Green's sister Bethiah.

all diligence to work out y^{r} own salvation with fear & trembling & labour to live so here as that you may live forever in Glory wth [God] y^{t} it may be so is ye earnest prayer of your Loving Broth: Jos. Green

Roxb. J[une] 96 [92]

The begin: of *June* I wrote to my broth: Jonathan: to y^{s} pur[pose]

Lovei[ng] Brother

I have written to all my relations and haveing an opportunity I write to you; but I write very breifly to you bec: I have written very largely to my sisters; my desire in writeing to you is to thank you for all your kindness to me, & to begg an Interest in your prayers y^{t} I may live to serve God in my generation; and to intreat you to make religion your business; and for your direction let me propose a few things which I have found very beneficial.

1. If you can allow yourself a little time every day for secret, serious meditation; 4 things remember well death Judgement heaven & hell. [93]
2. Pray in secret constantly do not neglect y^{t} duty one day for a whole world.
3. Keep a strict watch over your thoughts words and actions.
4. Keep holy ye sabbath day.
5. Joine to some church, ye first opportunity.
6. Read ye scriptures dayly; and y^{y} will afford to you both quickening & comfort &c.
7. Do nothing rashly, but do all things with advice and consideration.
8. Be not discouraged but hope in God; & consider you how many prayers in heaven.

Thus if you do I hope we shall live to see good days on earth or however enjoy eternal blessedness in Glory thrô Jesus Christ wch is ye constant prayer of

your L: Broth:

Roxb: June. 96 [94] Jos: Green

June. 96. I wrote to my mother to this purpose.

Honoured Mother.

According to your desire I have written to all my relations and have told y^{m} my mind plainly; and I pray you to deliver ye letters unto y^{m} at some time when they are very serious: which I leave to your discretion & prudence:

I shall not need to write any thing to your self; but only I commend serious meditation to you as a thing of excellent advantage.

I pray you often to think of heaven & Eternal Glory & of ye Excellencys of Jesus Christ. & I pray you to be often looking ye Estate of y^{r} soul; we cannot tooo-ften examine our-selves, for all y^{t} we have to do is to save our own souls. [95]

I shall not need to say any thing more but only, ask your forgiveness for all my former disobedience; and ask an interest in your prayers, y^{t} I may live to serve God in my generation for truly this is all y^{t} I desire to live for, and I find in me a cold dead heart to any y^{ing} y^{t} is good; and therefore I humbly ask your prayers

y^{t} we may all meet in Glory which is ye constant prayer of your dutifull son.

Jos: GREEN

Roxb: J[une] 96

This is some thô not all that I wrote: but the rest has slipt my memory: [96]

May: 29. I wrote to my sister, B: H:[1] to y^{s} purp[ose].

L: Sis^{r} B:

My present thoughts concerning you are y^{t} you are under the striveings of Gods spirit: I beleive y^{t} you are under some outward afflictions and these have some influence upon your mind.

The Reasons of my writeing to you are, 3. 1. I do it as my duty, knowing y^{t} God will call me to an account for my relations next to myself & 2. I do it out of love to y^{r} immortal soul; and 3. because I cannot speak to you by reason of y^{t} sinfull bashfullness which is in my nature: these are the reasons cheifly; but there are many other things which move me to write unto you.

The End of my writeing to you is to perswade you to be riligious in good earnest, and to look about you for eternity; for is a man profited if he gain ye whole world [97] and lose his own soul: verily you would be an infinite looser: if you sh^{d} gain ten thousand worlds and loose your own soul: therefore I pray you to give all diligence to make sure of Christ & so secure your own soul.

And Give me leave (after I have begged pardon in ye blood of Christ) to lay down a few mottoes & directions.

1. mot: consi^{r} y^{t} you have an immortal soul which must live into Eternity, & therefore it concerns you to prepare for Eternity.

2. you are (as all men are) by nature an heir to Eternal misery, and if you dye in a state of nature you will be lost forever.

3. you have been baptized and God has visibly owned you; but if you do not live up to your baptismal engagem^{nt} then your baptism will rise up against you at ye great day.

4: mercy is to be obtained by Christ, there is mercy enough in Christ for you, his mercy is infinite. [98] and let me tell you y^{t} God and christ and ye holy saints and angells are more willing to receive you into their communion than you are to be received into it.

5. you have multitudes of holy prayers laid up in heaven for you Let those things awaken you to work out your own salvation with fear & trembling: & For Direct: 1. Think of Eternity think of heaven & hell; think w^{t} ye damned in hell would give for ye opportunitys which you now enjoy.

4 things remember well Death Judgment heaven & hell. allow yourself a little time every day for serious meditation; go alone think of your past mispent life, think of heaven of hell of ye excellencys of Jesus Christ, and of ye true & unspeakable happyness of ye saints above. [99]

2. Live in ye constant exercise of secret prayer; do not neglect it one day for a

[1] Bethiah Green Hicks.

world; be not ashamed to let y^r husband or y^r family know y^t you make conscience of praying in secret dayly: but let your conversation be such as may win many to be Christians; & remember y^t if you are ashamed of Christ now, he will be ashamed of you at ye great day; when he will appear in his Glory.

3. Read ye scriptures every day; and give me leave to set down a few places of Scripture which I pray you to turn unto and read at your leasure. 34. Exod: 6. 7. 1 Chron. 28. 9. 1 Isai. 16. 17. 18. 55 Isai: 6. 7 18 Ezek: c: 36 Ezek: 25. 26. 27. 15 & 16 chapters of Luke. 1 John 1–9: many others **[100]** these are some y^t come to my mind, and I would have you look over y^m & think upon y^m and also read some part of ye bible every day: and it will afford you many precious promises & quickenings & comforts.

4. Close with Christ in all his ordinances; be speedy in joining to ye church; do not put it of until tomorrow; least God give over striveing with you; which if he sh^d do you would as surely go to hell as if you were y^{ere} already.

It may be [you] will object and say you are not fit. for answer.

1. Then you are not fit to dye, and if you sh^d dye today where will your soul lodge unto Eternal ages.

2: your unfitness does not at all excuse your neglect of y^t duty it is your duty to prepare spedily for y^t ordinance of ye L. Supper.

3: Let me tell you for your comfort y^t never any was **[101]** so fit, as they would have been but [God] accepts of y^m y^t are humble & have mean thoughts of y^mselves & therefore be not discouraged; If your sins are many & great, God[s] mercy is infinite to returning repentant sinners, if your doubts & fears are many God has appointed this ordinance for ye solution of your doubts and for ye clearing up of his love & favour to your soul: and if you observe these directions you may come with an holy boldness to ye L-table.

1. forsake all sin; both in heart & in life & strive to mortify your corruptions & begg of God to search you & to help you &c.

2. presently resolve to live in ye performance of every duty.

3. after you have done all rest on Christ alone for righteousness and salvation; thus if you do you may come to Christ's table and ought to come; therefore let no bashfullness hinder you least [he] be ashamed of you at ye great day; and if ye Devil brings any temptations: answer them with this, I am acting for Eternity. **[102]**

Thus I have given you my mind plainly; and will assure you y^t I do it not only in a religious frame; but upon serious consideration & after many prayers put up to God for [you]; and this may let you know y^t I am in good earnest: and now if after all y^t I have said you continue in sin & neglect and dye in your sins it will be more tolerable for sodome and Gomorrha in ye day of judgment than for you, & this advice will rise up in judgment against you; but I hope you will now set about ye great work & save your soul: I hope you will not delay (for delays are dangerous) but fly to Christ today while salvation is offered unto you y^t you may be safe for ever in Glory which is ye hearty prayer of

your Lov: Broth:

Jos: Green **[103]**

At ye same time I wrote to my sister mary to ye like effect: and also to my sister Ruth: and also added y^{t} (if w^{t} I have said unto you have no influence upon you, then I shall greatly fear that God has judicially given you up to hardness and blindness & will never strive more with you; but God forbid &c:) with something more.

Now God grant it may not rise up in Judgment against me to condemn me.

July 10. 1696. I wrote to my mother to y^{s} effect:

HONOURED MOTHER

I am sorry y^{t} I have so sorrowfull a subject to write upon, but I pray you neither to despise ye chastening of ye Lord nor faint under y^{r} affliction & ye reason of my writeing is to help you least you faint &c. **[104]**

As for ye news it is certain &c. (in my pocket book page ult.) and now I pray remember that it is God ye soveraign Lord of the whole world y^{t} sets & steers the course of providence & he has infinitely wise ends for all y^{t} is brought about; and we sh^{d} labour to God wherefore God smites us, & to be sensible of his hand upon us; but this is not y^{t} which I fear will prevail in you; but I fear y^{t} I shall despise Gods chastizements, and y^{t} you will faint under your afflictions: but for y^{r} comfort Consider ye many instances in scripture, of Gods dear children who were under sore afflictions. I shall mention only two, 1. Job was as dear to God as ye apple of his eye when he was bereaved of all his children & all y^{t} he had: 2. Lazarus on ye dunghill was a dear child of God: **[105]** And there are many more instances which you are as able to turn unto as I: from which we may learn y^{t} God does not afflict willingly &c.

But more particularly concerning my br: Edwards death.

I know you are under fears and perplexitys concerning his soul and his eternal well-fare: and I hope ye thoughts of it will make you plain wth & more carefull to speak to ye rest of y^{r} children: but for y^{r} comfort consider.

1. Gods mercy is infinite, and there is more satisfaction in ye sacrifice of Jesus Christ than in ye eternal damnation of ye whole world; and it would be a sin in us to say y^{t} Ed. sins were too great for God to pardon; & yet keep his justice spotless, we do not know but God might chuse him for an object to magnify his mercy upon: & we know not how it was with him in his last sickness; God might at ye very last give him a sense of his misery; & faith to close savingly with Christ. **[106]**

2. Another thing which may add some comfort to you is; y^{t} w^{n} he came to have the command of ye ship he was carefull y^{t} ye sabbath sh^{d} be kept holy; and he spent ye time in reading ye scriptures &c. and he was a just dealer, and w^{n} out of this country he was temperate.

3. he had multitudes of prayers laid up in heaven for him; and God always hears ye prayers of his children, & I beleive my father has many a time prayed for him in particular &c. and althô prayers will not save a man yet we may hope y^{t} in answer to prayers God did give him true repentance & faith in Christ, so as to make sure of eternal Glory. amen.

These things considered there is some ground for comfort. [**107**] And now I pray be not discouraged under y^{r} afflictions and pray for me y^{t} I may not despise ye chastening of ye Lord: & I pray take all opportunitys to speak to y^{r} children y^{t} so we may all meet in Glory. which y^{t} it may be so is ye prayer of

your dutifull son

Roxb: July 10. 96 JOSEPH GREEN

LOVEING BR: BENJAMIN.

I have formerly written to you w^{n} you were on board ye Unity, & sent you mony but I fear y^{t} you neither received my L's nor mony, and I haveing now an opportunity to write to you shall write my mind as plainly as in [*sic*] can in a few words. [**108**]

Capt Ems is come in on ye 12 day of July, but as yet we have no account of my br. E estate but only ye will and m^{r} Scinner is ingenuous but he is loath to tell all ye business between cap^{n} Ems & you: & if you know of a bail of goods of E: on board E[ms] I pray you to write me as large an account as you can of w^{t} Ed. had & of ye difference between you & capt^{n} Ems. & do not put it of least you sh^{d} not get well home.

In ye next place I pray you & advise you to come home as soon as you can & y^{t} for 3 reasons. 1. Jonathan is about comeing [**109**] from ye village & geting out of debt & he is very desirous to see you. 2. mother is very desirous y^{t} you would come home. 3. I beleive y^{t} if you come home you may come and board at roxb. with me & here is one y^{t} has cured several of their sore heads, & furthermore I will learn you the mariners art & you may go to sea again in some good imploy & I hope you will be better both in soul and body. I pray you to think seriously of these things & let nothing hinder you from comeing home for I think Jon^{n} is not like to live long &c: y^{r} freinds are all well & remember their love to you espec: mother & Mary who live mighty well together. [**110**] Thus I have written breifly & I pray you read it deliberately & if you cannot write to me largly I pray you to write to me shortly, & I hope I shall shortly see you & communicate my mind to you.

Before I conclude give me leave to lay down a few directions for y^{r} imitation:

1. pray in secret consta^{ly}.

2. shun uncleaness and swearing & intemperance.

3. read ye bible & meditate on death judgment & eternity & give all diligence now y^{t} so you may dye in peace: 4. things remember well &c. [**111**]

4. shun all company unless it be sober & profitable. thus if you do I hope I shall see you in peace at ye great day. no more at present but remain

your Lov: brother

Roxb: July: 28. 96 JOS. GREEN

Y^{e} Letter I sent, & God prospered it, so y^{t} he was thereby perswaded to come home out of a privateer.[1]

[1] This sentence was inserted by Green at a later time.

To Mr Benjamin Green on board the Redemption: in falmouth in Antego:[1] Mr Grayer, commander: Q.D.C. [112]

To Mrs Barbary Weld in Salem

LOVEING COUSIN

When I call to mind that acquaintance which I once had with y^{r}self I cannot but think myself somewhat unhappy in y^{t} I am not only banished from your company but from so much as hearing of y^{r} Welfare.

But althô I am so far distant from you, yet I am not forgetfull of you, but am heartily desirous of your welfare both here & hereafter.

y^{r} freinds are all well &c. As for myself I am not so healthy as I used to be, but yet I hope to give you a visit about 2 months hence.

I pray remember my respects to my aunt & my love to ye D^{r} & to all my freinds & to Cous^{ns} Kitchins: I am sorry for y^{r} loss [113] I might have written much larger concerning Eternity ye happiness & misery of another world & of ye way y^{re}unto but I did not know w^{t} entertainment it would have and so I forbear & intreat you to commit these and also all ye other scrawls wch you have of mine unto ye flames, and if you will so far condescend as to send me a few lines you will thereby very much oblige him who is a welwisher to your health & wealth both in body and soul.

JOSEPH GREEN

Roxb: Sept: 8. 96

Bethyah has a brave Girl born Aug: 28. 1696. [114]

LOVEING BROTHER.[2]

I have formerly written to you &c: and I wrote a Letter dated Roxbury. July 28. 96. but least if you sh^{d} miss of these Letters I take all opportunitys to write unto you, and I pray you as soon as ever you receive y^{s} letter to write to me again concerning brother Ed^{s} things on board Cap^{n} Ems and of ye difference between Ems & you.

And I advise and perswade you to come home very speedily, for broth^{r} Jonath^{n} is not well & you may (I beleive) live at Roxb: with me and have y^{r} head cured & I will learn you *ye art* and so you may go to sea again; & it is now very healthy here & sickly in ye world. [115]

y^{ere}fore I account it y^{r} great wisdom to come for y^{ese} & many other reasons. But above all labour to avoid sin. do not put off conversion, pray in secret read ye scriptures, avoid uncleaness and drunkeness, & bad company labour to be a christian, think of Death judgment Eternity heaven hell; remem^{r} y^{r} baptism and ye vows & promises which you have doubtless made unto God when you were sick and in distress and think of ye many prayers y^{t} are in heaven laid up for you and be carefull y^{t} they do not rise up in judgment against you:

Mother & mary are well & live very well together, & remember y^{eir} love to you: I think fath: Chaunccy dyed before you went: Z. &. Jos Hicks are well & B has a girl. y^{r} freinds are all well & long to see you well come home: which y^{t} you may do in [*sic*] ye hearty prayer of y^{r} Loveing Brother

JOSEPH GREEN

Roxb: Sept: 4: 1696 [116]

[1] Antigua. [2] Green's memorandum: "Y^{s} letter I have not sent."

To m^{r} Sam^{ll} Vassall[1] in Jamaica

Honoured S^{r}

W^{n} I consider ye many kindnesses I have received from you, I cannot but condemn myself, for horrid ingratitude in y^{t} I never wrot above once unto you; and y^{t} is so long since y^{t} I have forgotten every word &c:

But w^{n} I call to mind y^{r} excelling wit, your comprehensive mind, y^{r} great Learning and Knowledge, your argumentative skill, y^{r} solid and discerning judgment, y^{r} affable pleasant and amiable conversation and other your incomparable endowments, then I account myself unhappy in y^{t} I cannot so much as receive one line from you concerning your welfare.

But althô heretofore I have been negligent in my duty to you, yet I considering your great ingenuity am notwithstanding encouraged to send my nonsensical **[117]** scrawls unto you, to render 10000nd thanks unto you for all y^{r} kindness & to entreat you to write unto me by some convenient opportunity, & I shall thereby be ye more engaged to do ye like to y^{r}self: I would enlarge upon these things and also in giveing you an account of forreign accademical & personal news, but I want y^{r} quick & witty Invention, good judgment, and skill in writeing, and since you know I am destitute of these I hope you will excuse me; and furthermore I suppose m^{r} Noyes is no way want[in]g unto you concerning such things.

As for ye things of another world (about which we ought to be mainly busied & concerned) you are better (it may be) instructed y^{n} I am; and so I shall say nothing concerning it, bec. I conclude you are so considerate as not to neglect communion with God by reading ye scriptures by praying in secret &c.

And considering y^{r} prudence I write nothing concerning ye place you live in, ye company you converse with ye temptations you meet with **[118]** in your particular calling or any other ways w^{t}soever. Therefore I conclude intreating you to remember in y^{r} retired thoughts him who is

your obliged freind & servant

Roxb: Sept: 7. 96 Joseph Green

Your freinds and my relations are all well without any great alteration B: Hicks has a girl born aug: 28. 90. As for myself I keep sch: at Roxb:

I also put in this in a loose peice of paper:

Sept. 7. 96. News: no forreign news:

Accademical news call it.

The fellows { m^{r} Leveret representative for cambridge.
m^{r} Br[attle] likely to be minis: y^{ere}[2]

Mr Wadsworth ordained to morrow at ye old church at boston.

Mr Pemberton: Willi^{ms} Flint Hunting Baxter[3] and ye rest are all well &c.

[1] Son of John Vassall of Jamaica, formerly of Scituate, Massachusetts. He stood at the head of the Class of 1695.

[2] William Brattle did become minister of Cambridge in 1696.

[3] Nathaniel Williams, Henry Flynt, Nathaniel Hunting, and Joseph Baxter of the Class of 1693.

o^r Class {
s^r vassall Lawyer as I hear by your letter to s^r noyes:
s^r price:[1] Idem: i.e: ye same man still. [119]
s^r saltonstall sen^r Idem:[2]
s^r Junr Idem. butler[3]
s^r Hubbard sch: mast. at hadly[4]
s^r W: simon[5] Idem:
s^r savage.[6] Idem:
s^r Noyes.[7] grave &c:
s^r Phyps.[8] sch: mast: at perscataqua.
s^r Lyndal:[9] phis. chirur: merchan[t] very solid &c.
s^r Law[10]
s^r Lewis[11] sch: mast: Long Island
s^r Blow:[12] sch: m: at cambridge
s^r Little sen^r.[13] D^r or R^r
s^r L. Jun:[14] sch: m: at plimoth
perkins:[15]——
Andrews.[16] Idem
Robinson:[17] sch: m: at dorchester
mors.[18] sch: m. at dedham:
Webster[19] I know not where:

In September 95. my brother Edwd Green as he was sailing into plimouth in ye ship Eagle wth 18 guns & 14 men met with a french privateer with many guns &

[1] Walter Price of Salem, a merchant in later life. He was captain in the fight with the Indians at Haverhill, August 29, 1708.

[2] Richard Saltonstall of Haverhill, later a representative and colonel of militia.

[3] Nathaniel Saltonstall, brother of Richard, college butler until 1697, subsequently librarian.

[4] John Hubbard of Ipswich, later minister at Jamaica, Long Island.

[5] Simon Willard, son of the Reverend Samuel Willard, vice-president of the college.

[6] Habijah Savage of Boston, apothecary and commander of the fort at Pemaquid.

[7] Alfred Noyes of Boston, physician, politician, promoter of Long Wharf, and owner of fishing vessels.

[8] Thomas Phipps of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

[9] Timothy Lindall of Salem, merchant and councillor.

[10] Jonathan Law, chief justice of Connecticut, 1725–1741, and governor, 1742–1750.

[11] Ezekiel Lewis, master at the Boston Latin School and merchant.

[12] Thomas Blowers, minister of Beverly.

[13] Thomas Little, physician and clerk of courts at Plymouth.

[14] Ephraim Little, minister of Plymouth.

[15] John Perkins, physician of Ipswich.

[16] Jedediah Andrews of Hingham, minister of a Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.

[17] John Robinson of Dorchester, minister of Duxbury.

[18] Joseph Mors of Medfield, minister of Dorchester Village (Canton).

[19] Nicholas Webster of Newbury, preacher and physician at Manchester and Gloucester.

multitudes of men [**120**] but they fought until they lost all their riging: and afterward they fought 3 privateers together ye least of which was of twice as much force as ye Eagle but my brother althô he had been sick a long time[1]

Sept: 27. 96. Sacram: day. Roxb:

I am at present horribly burdened wth y^e [ ]. In heart especially: I do therefore resolve thrô ye grace of Jesus Christ strengthening me, to be more moderate in my [ ]; which I think I am intemperate in ye use of.

O my soul give not way to sloth nor to Idleness.

And I resolve to be more [ ] my conversation; and to keep a more strict watch over my words & my thoughts &c. O Lord let me not return as ye dog to his vomit &c. [**121**]

I wrote a letter to Mr Ezekiel Lewis, *18 December*: and sent it & another inclosed in it which I wrote almost a year agoe: they were both pretty large, & I have forgotten a great part of y^m.

I wrote a Letter to brother Benjamin Green Dated *Jan. 1: 96/7*: I can not now stay to write ye contents of it.

Y^e substance of it was to urge him to pay his vows to God & to walk wholly with him; to give himself to God forever: and to labour to get his peace made with God; and ye most of it was to encourage him against fears & doubts of Gods willingness to accept of him.

I pray God to let his spirit accompany my poor endeavours for the good of my relations. amen. [**122**]

December. 1696. I wrote a paper for Bethyah: and a book for br: Zachariah Hicks and *November. 96.* I wrote a paper for Mary Green, which should have been in this book; but I had not time to write y^m over again.

I have written several Letters which are not in y^s book: *Mar. 4. 97/8.* I wrote to Mr Walter and to my mother. [**123**]

Roxbury. Nov: 27. 1696

I have now lived in the world above one & twenty years and have done but very little tending to Gods Glory or ye eternal welfare of my own soul.

But now I desire to return to God, as a poor prodigal; and to be humbled before God y^t I have so long served ye Devil, and the lusts of my own heart.

And y^t I may be humbled for the sinfullness of my life, I shall endeavour to call to mind my former life with all ye considerable passages

[1] Green's memorandum: "this I had thoughts of sending but afterwards repented me &c."

of it; that so when I look over it I may have my heart filled with shame and sorrow, for ye disorders of my mispent life.

And If I should dye before I have commited this book to the flames; I give leave to my nearest relation to look over it; but I give a strict charge to y^{m} not to expose it to ye view of any; And it is my will y^{t} this book be viewed by none unless by one person which is nearest related unto me; and now I pray God to help me to write sincerely humbly, & without any ostentation. [124]

I was born in Cambridge upon the 24 day of November 1675. My father was John Green, who had to his father Percivall Green, who dyed (a good man) when my father was about 4 years old, and to his mother he had Elliner Green who was afterwards marryed to Thomas fox, and lived and dyed a singular Christian; My father was their only son (and he had an only sister who is now wife to John Hall of Medf[ord]) When my father was young he was put out an apprentice to a taylour; and my Grandmother Ellin: Green was continually instructing him and giveing him good counsell so y^{t} he sought God when he was young; & he once s^{d} y^{t} he made conscience of praying in secret alwayes after he was 8 years old: and he lived & dyed a man esteemed sincerely holy by all y^{t} knew him.

My mother was Ruth Mitchelson, who was ye Eldest daughter of Edwd and Ruth Mitchelson; who were both of y^{m} Eminent for holiness, and lived and dyed esteemed so by all y^{t} ever knew y^{m}. [125]

My father was admitted to full communion with ye church at Cambridge w^{n} he was about 14 years of age (as I think) and my mother w^{n} about 15 or 16. My father and mother were marryed w^{n} my father was about 21 & my mother about 16. They had 10 sons & 4 daughters which were all alive at one time and went to meeting all together 2 sabbaths, which I can just remember.

My Eldest brother John Green was a sailor and was marryed in London and had one child and (I think) was killed in a fight with ye turks. My 2^{d} brother Nathanael was a tailor who lived at home, & marryed; but about 4 years agone went to sea & has not been heard of.

My 3 brother Percivall was a scholar and dyed of a consumption some years after he took his 2^{d} degree.[1] my Eldest sister Ruth (who was born next) is now liveing in Cambridge marryed to Z. Hicks.

My 4 br: Samuel was also a taylour he served his apprentiship with And. boordman he marryed in Cambridge to Eliz: Syll and had a son (Samuel) & daughter (Elizabeth) both now liveing [126] altho he dyed of a consumption about 4 or 5 years ago, and his wife a few months before

[1] Percival Green (A.B. 1680, A.M. 1683), minister of Wells, Maine. He died July 10, 1684.

him of a fever. My 2d sister Elizabeth was marryed to thomas Johnston and had 7 children (all of which are dead save one) and dyed I think soon after my father.

My 5th brother Edward was a taylour served his appren. with br: Samll but went to sea about 19 or 20 years of age, and became commander of a brave ship *ye Eagle* and in September 95 made a remarkable miraculous fight, going into England, and got in safe & dyed of a consumption in ye downs on board Capt Emms his ship ye 6 feb: 95/6.

My 6 br: Thomas was a blacksmith, and went to sea and being in Captn Woodberry bound home was never heard of for 4 years & my 7 br: Jonathan is a carpentr and joiner, who has met with bad success, but now lives pretty comfortably:

My 3d sister bethyah is marryd to Jos: Hicks and has 2 children. [127] I am ye 8th son: & my next to me is Benjamin 9th brother; who wrote to me from Antigua, 2 or 3 months since and I hope is well.

My 4th sister Mary who now lives with my mother at Cambridge.

My 10th brother was Mitchelson who dyed wn about 6 months old.

Thus I have breifly noted down an account of our family least I shd forget: and now wt reflection can I make but humbly bless God who has in his soveraign good pleasure suffered me to be born of those yt are his covenant servants, so yt If I look as far as I can, yet my predecessours have been those that have been the true fearer[s] of God and doubtless have laid up many prayer[s] in heaven for me in Jesus Christ, which I hope I am ye better for *thrô Christ above*. And also I would bless God yt our family (thô not great in ye world) yet by his grace have been so far kept from being scandalous, as yt ye greatest sins we are guilty of, I hope may not (as to ye world) hinder me from serveing God in my generation: I would also be carefull not to trust in ye prayers or goodness of my predecessours but renounce all but Christ Jesus his righteous ways. [128] and since I have such great encouragement I would press forward after perfection; and seeing I have ye counsells Examples & prayers of religious predecessours I would labour to be more humble holy heavenly fruitfull yn they were, which I beg of God yt I may be thrô Jesus Christ my redeemer.

Thus I have got down an account of my originall: but this is not my original for I am of ye seed of Apostate Adam and brought into the world with me ye guilt of that first sin whereby ye blessed Image of God instamped on men was defiled and Lost; and for yt guilt I justly deserve hell forever.

But further althô my parents were sanctifyed, yet I brought into ye world with me a corrupt nature which is ye fountain of all the wickedness

y^t ever I was guilty of in my whole life, I was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, and have to this day a fountain of all sin in my heart.

Insomuch y^t I know y^t notwithstanding I have been born & brought up under ye covenant yet unless I am born again I can never see ye Kingd. of God. [**129**] In my Infancy I can remember as soon as I came to use my reason ye corruptions of my own heart began to break forth into sinfull transgressions and my Enmity to God did plainly discover itself:

In my Infancy (it may be w^n I was about 4 or 5 years old at most) my father used to tell me I must be a good boy and must serve God, and used to ask me whether I went alone and prayed to God to bless me & to pardon my sins and save my soul from hell; and I sadly remember how my corrupt heart used to hate such motions; I loathed to hear of such things; this is y^t which sh^d humble me before God.

My parents were very carefull to instruct me in the principles of religion when I was young, and althô I was a very untoward corrupt child, yet God bles^d me with a good memory, and so my parents were urged to make me a scholar &c. I remember my perverse frowardness when I was (I beleive) about 3 years old; I then had ye small pox and I remember how to[u]chy & pevish I was &c: but God spared me and all ye family y^t had it. [**130**]

When I came to be big enough to go to school I went to ye Dames School, where I was bad enough, but I at length went to m^r Corlets[1] sch[ool] and he gave my parents encouragement to make me a scholar, and they kept me to sch[ool]: but I was Idle and lazy, and my master was very aged and althô he was excellent at Instructing me, yet he had almost lost his spirit of government, or else I might have gone to ye colledge some years before I did.

But after I had entred my gram^r and had begun to parse lat[in] my master dyed; and I think before that my br. percival dyed, and so it was concluded y^t I sh^d be a scholar; but the death of my mast.^r was a gr[eat] stop: but then I went to m^r Walter[2] at colledge until mr. Hasting[3] was setled a school master at camb[ridge], and y^n I went to School to him my freinds designeing to make me a scho^r but my father was low in ye world

[1] Elijah Corlett, a graduate of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and master of the Cambridge Grammar School from its foundation about 1641 to his death on February 25, 1686/7.

[2] Nehemiah Walter (A.B. 1684), at this time studying at the college, often served as a substitute for Corlett. John L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, III. 295.

[3] "The successors of Mr. Corlett were generally young men fresh from college." Lucius R. Paige, *History of Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Boston, 1877), 369. No Hastings is mentioned in his list, and the only college graduate of that name was John Hastings (A.B. 1681).

& began to think y^{t} he sh^{d} not be able to make me a sch[olar] and y^{n} m^{r} John Leveret [**131**] told my father y^{t} he would give me my schooling &c which I think he did until I went to Colledge; but the march before I was admitted to Colledge my father dyed ye 3rd day, 1691: but I stil went to school, and was almost ready to enter the Colledge, althô I was not so fit as I should be; [for Mr Hastings was carefull to make me mind my book, but was no price in instructing;][1] and about half a year before I went to Colledge m^{r} Jo^{n} Hancock[2] taught me &c: so y^{t} I was admitted into Harvard Colledge in June 1691: and I began to recite to my Tutour Mr. Willi^{m} Brattle in July; but before I had recited many times, I think not above 3 or 4 I was taken very sick of a fever, and was senseless some days, and comeing to myself I promised God y^{t} If he would spare me I would live more seriously & circumspectly y^{n} ever before I had done; and God did spare me, and restored me to health and saved me from going down to ye pit; althô I was very week all y^{t} summer, and had so lost ye strength of my memory, and my understanding was so weakened and I had so often missed my recitations y^{t} it was greatly to my damage, and I never did recover y^{t} which I lost in ye latine & greek tongues by that sickness. [**132**] But my Tutor when he perc^{d} it was very favourable to me and required of me to get but a little at ye beg[inn]ing of the recitation &c.

But I soon forgot my promise of amending my life &c: and I lived in ye neglect of known duty, and in the commission of known sin; I sought happyness in ye enjoyment of ye faiding vanitys & pleasures of this world: And as to my Colledge business I was as negligent as used to be: altho I made a shift to perform my Colledge task yet I studyed little else; but spent much of my time in fowling and in fishing: and in danceing & foolishness. I have forgotten many of ye sins of my youth, so y^{t} I have reason to pray as 19 ps. y^{t} God would cleanse me from secret fau[lts] but I can call to mind enough to amaze me; and I have cause to call my sins to mind with greater sorrow than others, bec: I was not only priviledged with many instructions in my Infancy; but after my father had been dead about half a year; & I had been some months at Colledge, God did Remarkably preserve me from going from Colledge; for my freinds being not able to bring me up to learning: were about to take me away & to put me to something else: but God stirred up the heart of my Freinds to hinder it: [**133**] And especially my Honoured Tutor Mr William Brattle who drew up two papers to this effect; and He and my mother got ye persons to sign y^{m}. Ita.

[1] The bracketed words are crossed out in the original manuscript.

[2] John Hancock (A.B. 1689), minister of Lexington, 1698–1752, grandfather of the patriot.

We whose names are underwritten do oblige ourselves by these Presents to pay annually for the term of 4 years next ensuing, begining July the first 1691 to Ruth Green of Camb. Widow ye Respective sums annexed to our names in mony it being for her help & encouragem^t^ in keep[in]g her son Jos. at Colledge & giveing him academick learning. Dated in Cambr. Janu: 19. 1691. Wm Brattle 40 shil: Jo^n^ Leveret 20 shil. James Oliver[1] 20. Henry Deering[2] 20 per an. Thomas Green[3] 20. Adam Winthrop[4] 10. Nehemiah Walter 30. shil per an. We whose Names are underwritten do oblige ourselves to pay to Ruth Green of Camb. Widow the sums annexed to our names in the month June 1691 it being for the defraying of charges which will arise by her son Joseph Green takeing his degree at Colledge; Dated in Camb. Jan 19. 91. Wm Brattle 30 shi. Jo^n^ Leveret 20. James Oliver 20. Richd Whitingham[5] 20. Will. Payne[6] 20. Edwd Brattle[7] 20. Benj. Lynde[8] 40. Jo^n^ Richards 40. Thomas Brattle 12. Henry Newman[9] 12. Hannah Mitchel[10] 20. B. Wadswo[rth][11] 5.

This was all paid & more too. [**134**]

This one would think should have engaged me [in] more than ordinary circumspection; but it did not. But God by his grace wonderfully preserved me from sin: If God had not restrained me, I sh^d^ have ran into all manner of sin; but God has pleased to keep me from all gross acts of uncleanness to this day; but [ ] to my own heart: The greatest sins y^t^ ever I was guilty of I shall not mention; althô I hope I shall never forget y^m^ while I live but remember [ ] shame me and to melt my heart with sorrow: In Gen[11] they are [ ] and [ ] and Intemperance and prophaneness & Sabbath breaking and disobedience to parents. And Generally: I once was a great player at Cards; but now I do by Gods Grace loathe ye very thoughts of y^m^, and recon my gaming to be of my great sins of youth: And my sin in y^t^ respect is ye greater in y^t^ I [ ] Satan after solemn promises made to God & to my father & my Tutor and after [many] warnings and disswasions to ye contrary. [**135**]

[1] A.B. 1680; a physician of Cambridge.

[2] He married a sister of Joseph Green's mother and lived in Boston. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, v. 414[7].

[3] Apparently Joseph's blacksmith brother. Paige states (*History of Cambridge*, 569) that he was living in 1691.

[4] A.B. 1668; a merchant of Boston and a member of the governor's council.

[5] A.B. 1689; a man of means who later lived in England.

[6] A.B. 1689; he was learning the mercantile business in 1691.

[7] A brother of Thomas and William Brattle.

[8] A.B. 1686; later chief justice of the province.

[9] A.B. 1687; later agent of the province and the college in London and secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

[10] The wife of Jonathan Mitchel (A.B. 1687).

[11] Benjamin Wadsworth, later president of the college.

But why do I wonder at it seeing I was under ye power of my natural corruptions: And In my natural estate I continued. I roistered[?] until I had my first degree; althô I cannot conclude when God began to work saveingly upon my heart: yet I can make some guesses about it, for I hope in his infinite mercy he hath begun a saveing work in my soul: Before I had my degree I was provided for as I mentioned before, and also I was helped to take my degree, but when ye Commencement was past I began to be in some want and especially I wanted a setled imploy: And this put me upon some serious thought of my fitness to doe God service, and did somewhat restrain me & make me a little studious & diligent; and I think made me to live constantly in the practice of secret prayer: which I think I had done before for some months but had broken it of: but I think I did not do much unless it were to make some good resolutions in case of my settlement.

I being thus desirous of setling because of want, God provided for me to keep sch[ool] here at Roxbury: But before I came hither, I was very likely to have gone to England; Captn Ems his chaplain; but my freinds could not advice me to it: and so I went not but came to Roxbury to keep school. [**136**]

Conversion. And when I came to keep school and to pray constantly to God every day, God soon discovered to me ye formality and rottenness of my heart, so y^t I was not a little concerned about an Interest in Jesus Christ: and God helped me to live in the constant Exercise of secret prayer: and I haveing the faithfull and powerfull ministry of Mr Walter, and also seeing the faithfull & powerfull administration of the Lords-supper was yet under greater concern to secure an Interest in Jesus Christ, and to prepare for Eternity.

And I began to be much affected with Gods goodness to me; and to be somewhat sensible of my lost Estate by nature, and of my own unworthyness to receive so much of common mercys.

And y^t which especially melted my heart was this—w^n I came to Roxbury I found ye school very much out of order [by reason of ye sloathfullness & unfaithfulness of my predecessour][1] and ye town were sensible of it as well as I insomuch y^t when I came they gave me a great character for a faithfull school-master: and [**137**] this affected my heart y^t God sh^d so smile upon me, and I was concerned to render praise to God; and was afraid of useing my self to a form of serveing God without ye power of Religion in my soul. And as I was looking over some old books

[1] The bracketed words are crossed out in the original manuscript. Green's predecessor was Thomas Barnard (A.B. 1679), whose description of the school in 1681 is given in Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, III. 174–175.

at my Land Lords, I found a paper entitl^{d} a preparation for ye Lords table, which I took & read from which I had much encouragement; and I read m^{r} Doolittle &c.[1] And as I was at m^{rs} Lambs I saw a book of Mr Cot: Mathers concerning ye Lords supper[2] which I borrowed, and read, and I think by Gods assistance it so moved me to come to ye Lords table y^{t} I began to think of closeing wholly with Jesus Christ: one rule which he gave was y^{t} if a person could not conclude y^{m}selves to be unconverted they ought to approach it: and as a mark of sincerity, he gave y^{t} if we were willing to come to ye light we had reason to think y^{t} we were upright. Now I know my life to have been spent in sin; yet I know also [**138**] that I had made resolutions to turn to God, and I know y^{t} it was my duty to partake in ye L. supper and y^{t} my unfitness was my sin And I hope y^{t} I then experienced ye saving motions of Gods spirit I think in a few weeks time my thoughts were sensibly changed about sin: my affections to it, and ye first thing y^{t} gave me encouragement to hope y^{t} the grace of God was in my heart was y^{t} I loved Gods servants and I thought bec: of their holyness: be sure my affections were turned from my sinfull companions to ye Children of God: And althô I had many sore temptations from ye Devil & my own heart; yet God helped me to resolve to give myself to him, and if I perished to perish at his feet: And I now resolved to go to M^{r} W[alter] and enquire of him ye way to Zion and desire him to try me; and I had much adoe to perswade myself to it, but God by his spirit did compel me to come into Jesus Christ I hope: [**139**]

In december 1695 I went to m^{r} W. in the Evening & as he was telling how the town were pleased with me and abundantly satisfyed in my faithfulness &c: I told him y^{t} I lived in ye neglect of a known duty i.e. ye L. supp. he made answer y^{t} he was glad to hear me concerned about it; but I told him I feared I was unfit; & so after some discourse, I told him I sh^{d} despair if it were not for Gods infinite mercy in Christ; and y^{t} I thought if I knew my own heart I desired a sincere conversion & valued it above ye whole world: he y^{n} asked me why I desired it: I told him y^{t} I might lead an holy conversation & do service for God in my generation: and we had considerable other discourse which I now forget: when I came away he asked me whether he sh^{d} propound me ye next sabbath; I told him I was almost afraid bec: it was so short a time sence I had allowed myself in sin especially gameing: he advised to read ye 15 Luke of ye returning prodigal; and advised me to observe ye moveing of ye waters

[1] Thomas Doolittle, *A Treatise concerning the Lord's Supper*. The earliest Boston edition, which is described as the nineteenth edition, was published in 1700.

[2] *A Companion for Communicants: Discourses upon the Nature, the Design and the Subject of the Lord's Supper* (Boston, 1690).

and not to sit stil while ye waters were troubled: and God helped me to encrease in my desires after ye ordinance & preparations for it: [140] and ye next Sabbath I was not propounded; but the next to it was sacrament: and ye day before ye sacram^t^ Deacon Williams[1] came to see me with a designe to urge me to y^t^ duty: and I asked him whether m^r^ Walter propounded me to their communion and he answered no; for I did not certainly know but he would propound me.

He told me he would speak to him and a sabbath day after ye sacr: at noon m^r^ Walter asked me and I desired it and he propounded me at night: and y^t^ day 14 after (as I take it) I was admitted to their communion: my Relation Deacon Williams read which was this, altho it was but mean compared with some sence, yet I hope it was every word in sincerity & humility: to y^s^ effect—

It haveing pleased ye Infinitely mercifull God (notwithstanding all my former sinfulness and unfruitfulness under the many and Great advantages & priviledges y^t^ I have enjoyed) to continue me yet alive in his world, and under the Enjoyment of his word and ordinances faithfully dispensed; And he haveing (as I hope by the Influences of his blessed Spirit) given me in some measure to see the evil of sin so [141] as to abhor my self for it, & fly to God thrô Christ for pardon and salvation; and he haveing (notwithstanding satans temptations and the Corruptions of my own heart) brought me to a hearty desire to close with ye Lord Jesus in all his ordinances, and to wait on him in the ways of his appointment not only for freedom from ye guilt, but also from the dominion and power of sin; and haveing enabled me to desire and resolve (by his grace strengthening me) never to sin any more and haveing Given me an opportunity to close with him in his ordinances; I shall declare as far as I know my deceitfull heart how the case stands between God & my immortal soul, and with w^t^ a frame of heart, I desire and endeavour to come to Christ. I might give a relation of my life as wicked as ever man lived in ye world; but I shall only say y^t^ ye sinful corruptions y^t^ are within me, and ye Enmity ag^t^ God wch is in my heart, and my transgressions of Gods Commandments, and my rejecting the offers of life & salvation made to me by Jesus Christ; and sins so Great and so circumstanced, that I sh^d^ utterly despair of ever obtaining pardon, if Gods free Grace and Mercy were not infinite; but thence it is y^t^ I have hope; and to y^s^ Infinitely merciful God It is y^t^ I desire to come. And I beleive y^t^ y^s^ God is the Infinite incomprehensible first being, who is infinitely happy in the Enjoyment of himself from all Eternity: and I beleive y^t^ y^s^ God subsists in 3 persons who are equal in power and Glory. [142] I beleive y^t^ y^s^ God did create ye world out of nothing, and create man upright and holy after his own Image; And this man being in upright estate, and haveing power given him to stand, yet being mutable he did horridly rebel against his maker, & we in him, and by his fall he did purchase to himself, and to all his posterity that darkness, and blindness which covers our understandings, and did expose us to

[1] Samuel Williams, ruling elder.

Gods Eternal wrath. And that averseness to all y^{t} is good, and y^{t} proness to all y^{t} is evil, wch is in us, is a just judgment of God on all his posterity for y^{t} rebellion of Adam, in which we are all partakers.

I beleive y^{t} fallen man being thus miserable and no created beeing, being able to pity him or help him, and he himself haveing attracted to himself an utter impotency of doeing any thing whereby he might be restored into the favour of God again and God owing him no pity or mercy, then the Eternal Son of God, ye 2^{d} person in the trinity did freely offer to undergoe the punishment due to man, & to perform what was requisite to be done in order to his salvation; and he did not only undertake this work, (which was too great for any creature to perform,) but he also fully perfected it by obeying ye whole law, and by his sufferings and death did infinitely satisfy divine justice for the sins of those y^{t} beleive on him; I beleive y^{t} there is no other name given whereby we can be saved, either from the guilt or from the dominion and power of sin. And [143] I beleive that this Lord Jesus is fully able and abundantly willing to save all y^{ose} who do truly repent of, and turn from all y^{eir} sins unto him, and do rely on him for all life and salvation.

I beleive y^{t} notwithstanding ye Efficacy of ye death and merits of Christ that yet he never intended to save one sinner with his sins, but ye main end of his Comeing into ye world was to save a certain Number, chosen by God in him from all Eternity, from their sins, i.e. from the power and dominion of sin here, & to fit for, and afterwards to bring y^{m} to his Eternal Glory; there to serve and praise him without sin and sorrow forever. I beleive y^{t} this God hath appointed many dutys to be attended by all those who expect to be saved by him, such as repentance of all sin; wherein he requires a thorô perswasion of the sinfulness of sin, and he requires a greif for and hatred of sin, bec. tis ag^{t} the Glory of God, He also requires faith in Jesus Christ whereby we apprehending y^{s} mercy in Christ do heartily rest on him as o^{r} prophet to guide and teach us; as our preist to Intercede with God for us, and our king to Reign and rule in our souls to overcome satans temptations & ye lusts of our own hearts; God also requires sincere and willing obedience to all his commands, which things I beleive y^{t} no man is able to perform by his own power and strength.

I beleive y^{t} a man must have Gods spirit to convince him of his sinfulness and misery, to make him sensible of the Corruptions y^{t} are within him; [144] and to enable him to repent of and mourn for sin, and to rest on ye free grace of God in Christ for pardon & salvation. Fallen man needs Gods spirit to convince him y^{t} God ow[e]s not the least favour to him, and that he would be just if he sh^{d} cast him out of his presence forever. and he needs this spirit to humble him under a sense of all this; And thus it has pleased God y^{t} it sh^{d} be y^{t} so his free grace might be magnified in the whole of mans salvation. I beleive y^{t} God justifys freely for his son Jesus Christ's sake all those y^{t} beleive on him, and therein absolves y^{m} from the guilt and condemnation of all y^{eir} sins, and accepts y^{m} as righteous to Eternal life.

And I beleive God accepts our obedience in Christ althô it be imperfect if it be performed willingly, and if we confess and lament our sins that attend us therein, and if we humbly desire to serve God better and crave acceptance in the

blood of Christ and beg of him for more grace and depend on him for strength, and give the praise to him for the least ability to do his will. I beleive y^{t} God for Jesus Christ his sake enables his children to dye unto sin more and more every day, and Enable y^{m} to lead holy conversations, to fight ag^{t} sin & satan and the corruptions of ye world and the lusts of their own hearts. [147][1]

In a word I beleive the Scriptures to be the word of the Eternal God, who is truth itself, and y^{t} Jesus Christ who is therein manifested is able to save all those who do thirst after him. I beleive y^{t} God delights not in the death of any sinner, but will frely bestow on all those y^{t} do with shame and sorrow turn from their sins to him an Interest in Jesus Christ & in ye benefits of his death. I beleive y^{t} God is wont peculiarly to bestow these benefits on his children in his ordinances & especially in y^{t} of the Lords supper. and I beleive it the duty of all those who expect to be saved by Christ to seek the enjoyment of this ordinance in some particular church, y^{t} so they may be under the special care and government of Christ in his church & of the officers y^{ere}of & may be in the way of Gods blessings, and in the way to have their graces increased. And as for myself I must confess my great sin and folly in liveing so long in the neglect of this Great duty, and I must confess y^{t} God would be just if he sh^{d} give me up to a blind mind and a hard heart, and if he sh^{d} never have put it into my heart to close with him; And I must confess myself unworthy to have any communion with so holy a God, but yet I beleive and know y^{t} y^{e} [148] Lord Jesus Christ is most worthy, & y^{ere}fore I desire to come in his Name, & to be found haveing his righteousness imputed unto me, and y^{n} I know I shall be welcome.

And althô my fears and doubts are many, and satans temptations and my corruptions are great, yet this I know y^{t} I have an Immortal soul which must continue to Eternity and if God does not freely for Jesus Christ's sake bestow pardon & mercy on me, I am undone to all Eternity, and since God delights to magnify his mercy in his son I am resolved (by Gods grace) that I will cast myself on ye Lord Jesus Christ and will humbly wait at the throne of his grace in the ways of his appointment for all the mercy y^{t} I need.

I hope God hath in his Infinite Mercy to me given me to see so much of the sinfulness of sin, as to be humbled for it, and to make me resolve to rest on him for grace and to preserve me from ever falling into sin any more; and I being sensible of my [149] own impotency to preserve myself from sin one moment do desire to come to Christ in this ordinance of ye L. sup. y^{t} so my blind mind may be enlightened, and my heart broken, and my sinfull corruptions may be subdued, and y^{t} I may hate sin, and love God more, & may receive some glimpses of his love and favour, and may have my faith increased, and may be quickened to new and chearful obedience, and may get power ag^{t} my sins, and may have my heart raised with everlasting thankfulness to God for his mercy in Jesus Christ unto me—to y^{s} end.

I beg your prayers for me that God will make me and keep me humble under a sense of my own unworthyness, under a sense of my former folly which is very

[1] Pages [145–146] are missing.

great and my present sinfull infirmitys and under a sense of all my wants, which none but merciful God can supply & under a sense of my utter impotency to do any service or duty acceptable to him and that he would [150] give me an heart to love him above all the world, and grace to serve him in sincerity and holyness here y^{t} so I may be fitted thrô Christ Jesus to praise him without sin and sorrow forever in another world.

J. GREEN

This being Read: Mr W. propounded to me the terms of the covenant; and I solemnly in the face of ye congregation consented to y^{m} and was admitted in ch. communion. And sence I was taken into ch. I hope I have found great good to my poor soul, and do not in the least repent me, but I have abundant reason to bless God who compel'd me to come in; and I hope God has accepted me a poor returning prodigal. and has I hope made me an Instrument of good to some others, and I hope will yet own me and improve me as an instrument in his hand of doing much [151] service in my generation, and will never leave me nor forsake me.

I have now been at Roxbury above a year, and I hope I have not been wholly unprofitable to my generation. I now want nothing but a thankfull heart & an heart humbled for my past life; and I desire an heart and an opportunity to serve God; I now renounce the Devil and his service and the lusts of my own heart and Give myself to God father son and holy Ghost to be his forever, and desire to go out of myself, and depend on Jesus Christ alone for pardon & Righteousness and grace, and I pray God to bless me and sanctify me and my freinds and acquaintance and relations and his whole Israel y^{t} we may all live in Glory forever. amen.

I made an end of writeing, January 1. 1696/7.

Sence y^{t} I have preached above 30 serm. (or times): thrô Gods g^{t} goodness all to acceptance. [152]

Novemb: 8. 97. 2 men came from salem village viz: Deacon Putnam & John Putnam: and by vertue of an order from the town (or village) desired me to come, ye next sab: & I promised that I would: 14. Novem. sab: I preached at salem village: and at night there came 20 men, and desired me to come again the next sabb: viz. 21. Nov: & so I did. 22. Nov: I went to salem—I rec^{d} an invitation from the Inhabitants of salem village to come & be their minister. 28 Nov: sab: I pr[eached] there, and the whole congregation voted & manifested their desire y^{t} I should come amongst y^{m} I rec^{d} an invitation from ye church.

Dec. 12 I preach. at Roxb:

Dec: 19 I pr[eached] at salem village: and 20 dec: Mr Brattle[1] advised me to go thither—and none discouraged me. 21 dec: There came 4 men

[1] William Brattle, his college tutor.

from the village representing ye whole and ye 22^{d} dec. I spake to ye fe[o]ffes to provide another school-master: and I promised y^{m} to come 5 Janu. wednesday (Deo volente)—upon these terms.

1. That they continue in love; and if once they begin to quarrel and contend; I sh^{d} look upon myself to be free from any obligation to tarry with y^{m}.

2. I was to have free liberty once a month or 2 to leave y^{m} and go to a sacrament. [153]

3. they were to fulfill their engagem^{t} which was: to give me ye ministry house and land so long as I continued amongst y^{m}: and for my salary the first year 60 pounds—& if I lived after y^{t} 70*li* in mony, besides strangers mony: and if I sh^{d} live to settle & take office, I sh^{d} expect something of my own. and th[e]y freely consented to it: and told me they expected to give me something for my own in case of settlem^{t} there.

28. Dec: I left the school: And seeing all things do so far concur I think it my duty to go: and Inasmuch as my comfort & the good of my people does depend on my haveing the presence & blessing of God & the light of his countenance: therefore I set apart ye 1 Jan. 97/8 to seek the face & favour of God and to remember my past sins and afflict & humble my soul before him, and cry for pardon & eternal life thrô a dear Redeemer.

And althô I know I can merit nothing—yet I have encouragement from divine promises. seek & ye shall find &c. I have not said to the house of Jacob seek ye my face in vain: 45 Isai: 29. [154]

1 January. 97/8. I have solemnly renewed my covenant with God; and laid myself under the most strict obligations to be his servant forever: and now I pray y^{t} he will hear me and answer me and give me grace to serve him here, y^{t} I may live with him in heaven forever thrô my dear Redeemer. amen.

January 4. there came several men from salem village to Roxbury I took my leave of my freinds; and January 5th I came from Roxb. Mr Walter came with me to M. River and Mr Walter & my L. Lord & Mr Lamb. I took my leave of Mr Brattle &c I came comfortably to s. village Mr Nath Saltonstal & Broth Z. hicks.

Jan 6. Mr Saltonst[all] & br. H. went to haveril—and I settled to my bus[iness]. [155]

Mar. 16—God has assisted me since I came to salem village so y^{t} my labours have been Generally to the good acceptance of all my hearers.

But I am so atheistical & formal in my approaches to God, y^{t} I often fear y^{t} either I am not converted—or y^{t} God has forsaken me. But yet I am afraid of charging God foolishly—or of denying w^{t} he has done for me.

My flesh trembleth for fear of thee and I am afraid of thy judgments.

I do accordingly fear and tremble least after I have preached to others I myself should be a cast-away.

O Lord pity me pardon me sanctify quicken comfort and save me & give me more of the knowledge of thyself & of thy son Jesus Christ whom to know is life eternal. [156]

June 7. 98. I was at church Meeting at Deacon Engersols[1] according to ye desire of ye church at salem village.

And they by a vote Manifested their approbation of my Ministry, and desired me to continue in the work &c.

And they set apart thorsday the 16 of June to be spent in prayer to God at Dea^n^ Putnams house, to seek the presence & direction of God in order to their present proceedings.

And in my own mind I set apart the same to pray to God for all Mercy.

June 16. y^s^ day my heart was much affected by [157] meditating upon that text 12 eccl: 5. man goeth to his long home &c. I had in the Morning some good frames—but O the wickedness, deceitfulness and vileness of my heart, that is soon out of frame. O Lord pity and help me.

June 16. 98. I have this day renewed my Covenant with God. And I doe Now renew it in the sight and presence of ye holy and Jealous God.

O Most Glorious Jehovah who art the God of my fathers, I doe this day with my whole heart, without any known reservation, renounce Satan ye sinfull vanitys of this world, & all my own hearts lusts & Give myself soul and body to be thine forever and ever amen. [158] O holy father of Jesus Christ I doe make choice of thee to be my God & father & portion forever. & humbly offer myself to thine acceptance, and submit myself to thy disposal.

O holy Jesus Thou Eternal son of God and saviour of the world, I make choice of thee to be my advocate and Intercessour to commend me to the acceptance of God—and to be my saviour and Redeemer to deliver me from Satan sin and wrath.

O holy spirit who art The Great sanctifyer of thine Elect, [159] I doe this day chuse thee to convince me of my sin and misery, & to awaken me to fly to christ for refuge—and to sanctify comfort quicken & guide me to Glory—humbly Intreating y^t^ thou wilt Now take ye everlasting possession of me for Jesus Christ, altho I am unworthy thou shouldest come into my heart.

This is the Covenant that I make with God this day—I do promise to be his forever, and Give myself to that God y^t^ made me, & humbly pray that he will be my God & exceeding Great reward. [160] And inasmuch as I am utterly unworthy to enter into covenant with God, I desire this day to renounce my own righteousness and cast myself upon Christ. and Inasmuch as I am of myself Insufficient for a good thought, I implore thy Grace O Dear Redeemer to enable me to keep y^s^ covenant, Thou art my Redeemer my surety, my advocate O be my

[1] Nathaniel Ingersoll, ordained deacon in 1691 and the first innholder of Salem Village.

all—and Let Me Never break this Covenant, but by thy Grace be enabled to keep it to my dying day—[**161**] that I may y^{n} be admitted into thy kingdome and dwell forever with thee O holy father, Dear Redeemer, and blessed sanctifyer —amen.

O Lord Thou that knowest my deceitfull heart, search me I pray thee, and see if y^{ere} be any wicked way within me, & lead me in ye way Everlasting.

and O let this coven^{t} Now be Confirmed in Heaven. amen, amen. [**162**]

When the church at sal[em] village applyed y^{m}selves unto me once & again to take office here—I advisd y^{m} to take the congregation wish—and upon the 31 day of July 98 ye whole congregation did manifest (that they were desirous y^{t} I sh^{d} be ordained among y^{m}) by lifting up their hands, and ye vote was Gen^{ll} if not universal.

After this the Inhabitants met to subscribe something for my encouragement and the church & some others subscribed almost 30 cord wood. and octob. 9 I gave y^{m} my answer In publick to y^{s} effect—

Whereas this church & congregation have applyed y^{m}selves unto me desiring me to take charge of this people and now expecting an answer from me. [**163**] The answer I give to y^{r} Invitation is this—If your love to me does continue and be duly manifested as hitherto It has been, And you do all study to be quiet and maintain peace among y^{r}selves—y^{n} I am willing to continue with you, and in ye fear of God, to Engage in the work of ye ministry among you. and I hope I shall (by the Grace of God helping me,) to my utmost endeavour to promote ye Interest of christ, and Religion here, and I humbly ask your constant humble and earnest prayers to God for me, that I may be faithfull, & successfull all my days.

On this day, I told y^{m} y^{t} the 13 octob. was appointed by the church for a day of humiliation, & y^{t} I Intended in their Name to ask the assistance of the Neighboring Elders. [**164**] and thursday 13 oct. Mr Hale and Mr Peirpoint were here and carryed on the work of the day.

After this the Church Met at our house—and I told y^{m} y^{t} If they left it to ye deacons and to me to appoint the day for ordination they should know the day on the sabbath.

And then I went down to sal[em] & saw Mr Hale and Mr Noyes &c. & they advised me to let the congregation understand that such a day the church thought convenient for ordination if No one had any thing of weight to object—and so we did—[**165**] Deacon Ingersol spake something—which he has in writeing—& told the Inhabitants y^{t} ye next day ye Church was to meet at his house & y^{t} they would be thankfull to any of their Neighbors y^{t} would come & joine with y^{m} about carrying on the ordination. and ye Next day I met at Mr Gerrishes and saw Mr Daniel Andrews[1]—& told him y^{t} If he had anything to say before ordination

[1] A Daniel Andrew was one of those who on July 21, 1697, as "Attornies for the people

Now was the time—and at night he came to D. Engersols & desir'd satisfaction from the church about a paper y^{t} was brought into ye counsell &c —& I drew up a confession in their Name—and they desired me to read it publickly the next sabbath—& Mr Andrews said y^{t} sh^{d} satisfy him—[166] and upon the sabbath I read it publikely—(see ye confession in a loose paper)—and told y^{m} y^{t} If those y^{t} were offended would now manifest that they were satisfyed, it would be very encourageing to me.

Whereupon Mr Andrews stood up & after some discourse I desired him to say whether he was satisfyed or not, and he said y^{t} he was satisfyed with y^{m} as a Church—and prayed God to bless y^{m}.

These things I Note down y^{t} there may be no objection made—either by my own conscience or by others—ag^{t} my being called of God to settle in this place. [167]

And The Letters being sent to ye churches to desire their Elders & Messengers to assist in ordination—I have determined to spend some time ye 8 Nov. in seeking to God for mercy & a blessing—and I haveing overlooked what is written in y^{s} book about the transactions between God, and my own soul—do with all my heart say amen, amen.

And humbly pray for pardon & grace—& pray y^{t} I may be sensible of the worth of every soul y^{t} I am about to take the charge of, and which I must be accountable for.

And y^{t} I may be sensible of my own Insufficiency for so great a work & y^{t} I may not engage in it in my own strength, [168] and I pray y^{t} I may depend on the allsufficiency mercy and faithfulness of Christ. and y^{t} I may enjoy his Grace spirit & presence—amen.

Nov. 8. 98—I haveing set apart this day to seek to God for a blessing upon me & upon this poor village—& upon ye land & upon our Nation, & on Gods whole church—& haveing spent some time in prayer (althô I have been diverted by company comeing in) yet I hope I have had some taste of the Goodness & mercy of God in Jesus Christ, and hope God will be with me in the Great work y^{t} I am about to Engage in,—& hope I shall enter upon it in the fear and in the strength of the Lord Jesus Christ. [169]

Nov. 10: 98. The Reverend Elders and Messengers of ye church of sal[em] & Beverly, & Whenham, & Redding & Roxbury[1] being conven'd

of the Village" addressed a remonstrance to the arbitrators appointed to settle the controversy between Parris and the Salem Village church that continued after his active ministry had ended. Samuel G. Drake, *The Witchcraft Delusion in New England* (Roxbury, 1866), II. 159.

[1] Nicholas Noyes, minister of Salem; John Hale, minister of Beverly; Joseph Gerrish, minister of Wenham; Jonathan Pierpont, minister of Reading; and Nehemiah Walter, minister of Roxbury.

at my Land Lord Putnams—I was called in, and Mr Walter gave me a dismission from Roxbury church—and Mr Noyes being Moderator,—I was admitted into the church at salem-village & promised to walk with y^{m} according to ye order of the Gospell.

And y^{n} The Elders &c desired to see the confession of the church which I had read publickly in the congreg. octob. 31 and I read it to y^{m} & Deacon Putnam acknowledged so much y^{t} ye Elders s^{d} y^{t} Mr Andrews ought to be satisfyed with him and with the church—and althô capt^{n} Putnam refused to acknowledge w^{t} they urgd him unto—yet they s^{d}—he was but one—& so his refuseing &c ought not to hinder our proceedings. [**170**]

In publick Mr Walter began with prayer, & y^{n} I preached, and y^{n} Mr Hale desired the church to renew their call to me, which they did. and y^{n} he proposed it to the Elders & Messengers of the churches—and y^{n} to the Inhabitants of this village, and y^{n} to the whole assembly that If any had any thing to object—they might speak. and there being no impedi-[me]nt he turned to me, & asked my consent to be ordained, & to take the charge of ye church—& I answerd thus, I desire to doe it in the fear and in the strength of God. Then Mr Hale prayed—and gave the charge —Mr Noyes, Mr Gerrish, Mr Walter, & Mr Peirpoint laying on of hands together with m^{r} Hale—[**171**] y^{n} m^{r} Hale told the church something of their duty—Then Mr Noyes in the Name of the Ministers, gave to me the right hand of fellowship, and In the Name of ye churches he gave to this church, by me the right hand of fellowship. Then Mr Peirpoint concluded with prayer, & we sung 133 ps. & I gave ye blessing.

O Lord help me to be humble & thankfull, and to fulfill my ministry, that when the Great shepherd shall appear I may receive a crown of Glory y^{t} fadeth not away.

Mr Hale ordained me a Minister of the Everlasting Gospell—a Pastour of ye church, and a Preacher to y^{s} congregation &c.[1] [**172**]

March 15. 99. God haveing Inclined the heart of my Dear consort, Eliz. Gerrish, to give her consent to be my wife, as I hope in answer to my poor prayers—and I expecting to be marryed to her tomorrow; I have determined to spend some time y^{s} day, in confesing my sins, and in imploreing pardon y^{t} so I may not enter into the Marriage coven^{t} with any old guilt upon my soul,—but may be washed pardond and sanctifyed,—

[1] Green characteristically fails to mention his first triumph for charity and peace following his ordination. On November 25, 1698, the church, at his instance, unanimously received back into full communion the three seceding members who had raised the faction against his predecessor. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, II (Boston, 1867), 506–507, where other extracts from the church records are given.

and y^{t} God will please to smile upon me in y^{s} affair as hitherto he has done—and y^{t} all the mercys of the coven^{t} may be confered upon my dear consort,—and y^{t} we may come together & live together in ye fear of God, —& may be blessings to each other, & to y^{s} village, and may rejoice together here & in heaven forever, amen. [173]

I hope God will answer my prayers and give returns in much mercy amen.

March 16. 1699 I was marryed to Eliz. Gerrish a virgin (by ye Rever^{d} Mr Wm Hubbard of Ipswich) at her fathers house in Wenham.

We lived at Wenham until the 12 day of April 1699—& y^{n} we came home to salem village & began to keep house,—and God has been very bountiful to us ever since.

On monday *Novem. 27. 1699* my Wife was safe Delivered of a Daughter which we named Anna, for the sake of my wifes mother. and God has continued her unto us several months for all which favours I desire to be very thankfull. And desire to Give up myself & my Dear Wife & little one & all y^{t} I have unto y^{t} God who is the Giver & bestower of every Good Gift. And desire to live more to the Glory of God from y^{s} time forward than ever yet I have done. amen feb. 15 1699/1700.[1] [174]

Janua. 11. 1700/1701. my wife was deliver'd of a stil born son, which we buryed in ye burying place Jan. 13. my wife continued ill several months after.

I desire to acknowledge ye hand of God in all, & quietly to submit unto him, and I think y^{t} I never did once murmur ag^{t} God for y^{s} stroke; but have cause to say y^{t} God has punished me far less y^{n} I deserve.

And I desire to bless God y^{t} he has taken me into y^{t} coven^{t} which Includes my seed also—& y^{t} he spared and restored my wife.

O y^{t} I could walk more humbly circumspectly & thankfully before God all my days.

Apr. 8. 1701. I went to ye ministers meeting at salem at m^{r} Noys's m^{r} Chever, & m^{r} Gerrish there,—we began & Ended with prayer. We spent much of ye day in discourseing of Beverly—and bec. I differ from my fathers in ye ministry about beverly,—I shall write y^{s} following account for my future satisfaction or vindication, &c. [175] upon more serious meditation I purpose not to write any thing about ye affairs of Beverly least I sh^{d} unavoidably reflect upon my betters.[2]

[1] Green's diary begins on March 4, 1699/1700, with a characteristic entry: "Quiet & rainy. Heard small phebe and other birds sing. I was at home partly reading & pruning my orchard."

[2] "On the death of Mr. Hale, some difficulty appears to have arisen in the church, the nature of which is not defined." Edwin M. Stone, *History of Beverly* (Boston, 1843), 221.

Only I acknowledge ye Goodness of God in giveing y^{m} so comfortable a settlement—which is (for ought I know) to universall satisfaction.

And abundantly to my satisfaction bec. I account y^{t} it is ye Lords doings and He knows y^{t} I alwayes left it with him as his work to settle a faithfull labourer there. And althô I desire as I have reason to be humbled for my heat of spirit & hot talk in managing ye affair.

Yet as to ye substance of w^{t} I have said about it I have great peace in it, and I trust ever shall, and y^{t} my heart shall not reproach me (for ye matter) so long as I live.

I pray y^{t} God will teach us to be more wise & humble for the future, and guide us into all truth & lead us all in very plain paths at all times amen. [**176**]

1701. 1702. December 22. about 12 at night my wife was safe Delivered of a son which we named John for ye sake of my father John Green.

The Lord bless it & own it as one of his children, & let it be born again of ye spirit of God.

And O y^{t} we might be thankfull & learn to trust God for ye future and live more to his praise for the time to come.

Decemb^{r} 12. 1703/4 [*sic*]. while ye moon was In ye Eclypse my wife was taken ill, about 4 a clock, & was safe delivered of a son about 9 a clock being sabb. day.—& after noon it was baptized & called Joseph, being my father Gerrishes name as well as my own—& also ye name of my wifes eldest brother who dyed last spring. Hitherto we have had wonderfull experience of the Goodness of God to us O y^{t} God would help us to be thankfull, & to devote ourselves & our children a thankoffering to him who is ye authour of all our mercys—& to trust in Him so long as we live. amen. [**177**]

December. 1. 1705. My wife was Deliverd of our 5th child: about 11 of ye clock at night The next day being ye sab. it was baptiz^{d} & named Edward for ye sake of my Grandfather Mitchelson, & also my Broth^{r} Edwd Green, who dyed about 10 years ago & gave me a legacy wherewith I procured my Lybrary.

God has been very favourable to us far beyond our expectations—every thing has been turned for us—O y^{t} all might do us good according to y^{t} prom. 8. rom. 28.

Decem. my wife was very ill but God was pleased to bless ye means used by Dr Hale so as to restore her & raise her up for which I desire to be always thankfull.

Many a time God has appeared for us in the mount of difficulty, and we may set up our Ebenezer and say hitherto the Lord has helped us. O

y^t we might obtain Grace to be more carefull to do our duty, and to bring up our children for that Gracious God to whose service they are devoted—and O y^t God would betimes put his fear into all their hearts that they may never forsake him. [178]

In y^s winter *1705/6* our son Edwd has been so bad with a cough that we thought several times he had been quite dead. But God has been pleased to pity us in our distress and to spare his life.

Mar. 1707. our son Edward has been very ill; but God has directed to and blessed means used for his recovery to some measure of health—for which we desire to be thankfull to that God who deals not with us as our sins deserve.

O that we might by the Goodness of God be led nearer to him in the way of our duty.

1708. We have this winter lived mostly without any boy or maid because we could not procure any and yet God hath carried us along from day to day with great comfort and when things have seemed to go ag^t us, we have often seen reason to say that all was for the best.

May 8. 1708. my wife was Delivered of our 6th child Elizabeth God was very Good to her—ye next day being ye sab. it was baptiz^d.

my mother champny was very ill may 9, but God appeared in the mount. [179]

May 12. 1708. my wife was very ill at night—but God appeared for us & removed her pain & illness.

And now what shall I render to ye Lord for all his benefits? 1. I desire to be more diligent in my calling and ministerial work. 2. to be more faithfull as to relative dutys. 3. I would more carefully honour ye Lord with my substance. And it is in my thoughts to publish a serm^n to encourage liberality—if the Lord will assist me, & in his providence make way for it—and if he does so I shall still be the more indebted to him.

May 15. 1710. I took a Journey to East-Hampton on Long-Island and brought my mother chamny down with me: I was carryed thrô many difficultys and dangers—& had much experience of ye Goodness of God to me in all my Journy & to my family in my absence.

Augu: 11. 1710. My wife Delivered of a son William—God appeared in ye mount of difficulty. when ye life of ye child was in danger and very often when we or our children or servant have been ill, our God hath heard our prayers & appeared for us. [180]

In *1712* I met with Great temptations from some of ye chief of my people contending with me for teaching y^m from the 3 Prov: 10 y^t Men sh^d ordinarily honour God with one tenth of y^eir Increase or clear gain.

But I desire to wait upon God for wisdom & grace to doe my Duty & to teach my people theirs.

Octob^{r} *1712*. My wife & some of our children have had very ill fitts, but our God hath pityed & spared us, as he hath often before when Jo^{n} & Jos: were sick. O that we could live more unto his praise & Glory.

1712. Our son Edward hath been very ill: & our Daught^{r} Eliz^{a}: But our God hath had pity upon us &c. [**181**]

January 16. 1712/13. This Day We have had wonderfull experience of ye Compassion of God unto us In spareing the life of our son Edward whom we have (as it were) received from the Dead.—He was following his two Brothers & as we suppose fell backward as he was going over a gap in ye wall about 40 poles from ye house, and after some time his Brothers looking behind saw him lyeing upon ye snow, & runing to him found him Dead as they thought & so John stay'd with him & Jose. came in & told us Nedde was dead & we all ran crying, & when I came I perceived life in him but no sense, & so I brought him home, & after he had vomited, & we had put him to bed and he had lain awhile he revived & after his fall it was almost an hour before he could take any thing—O That we & ours may never forget y^{s} Providence! [**182**] I doe not remember y^{t} I ever was in greater distress than at this time. But I found my heart justifying God as holy & righteous, & crying to him for mercy, & for grace to be more holy & carefull to discharge my Duty—ye sins which In y^{s} distress I cheifly was checked for, & repented of were *heart*-sins, & neglecting to pray so particularly and earnestly for my children as I should doe.

O y^{t} I could amend more & more.

1713. June 30. soon after one a clock in ye morning my wife was Delivered of a son Benjamin—I had so often experienced Gods Goodness that I told my wife I was ashamed to distrust & to be fearfull. God was pleased to overule all circumstances beyond expectation for our comfort. Blessed be his name. [**183**]

July 5 being sacrament day, our son Benjamin was baptized after a sermon which I preached from 2 Sam: 23. 50.

1714. May & June our son Benj^{a} was very sick of a fever, and near unto death—& others of our children have been ill—But we have had experience of ye Power & Goodness of our God in spareing & recovering of them. oh y^{t} we could Give Glory to his name.

February Meeting, 1939

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS, at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 23, 1939, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on December 15, 1938, of WILLIAM MACDONALD, a Corresponding Member.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Mr. WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON, the Hon. MARCUS MORTON, Mr. WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER, and Mr. AUSTIN WARREN, accepting Resident Membership in the Society; and from Mr. FULMER MOOD, accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON read a paper entitled "The Log Cabin Myth," prepared in collaboration with our late associate, Mr. HAROLD R. SHURTLEFF.[1]

[1] Printed, in substance, in Harold R. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth* (Cambridge, 1939).

April Meeting, 1939

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. PHILIP P. CHASE, at the Signet Club, No. 46 Dunster Street, Cambridge, on Thursday, April 20, 1939, at half after eight o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on March 20, 1939, of the Hon. MARCUS MORTON, a Resident Member.

The Reverend PALFREY PERKINS of Boston, Mr. MORTON PEABODY PRINCE of Boston, Mr. FREDERICK MORTON SMITH of Hingham, and Mr. ROBERT WALCOTT, Jr., of Cambridge were elected Resident Members of the Society; Dr. ERNEST CAULFIELD of Hartford, Connecticut, was elected a Corresponding Member; and the Reverend ARTHUR JOSEPH RILEY of Brighton was elected an Associate Member.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—the Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT and Messrs. PHILIP PUTNAM CHASE and ALLEN FRENCH.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. MATT BUSHNELL JONES and STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS.

Mr. ROBERT E. MOODY read a paper entitled:

The Proposed Colony of Georgia
in New England, 1713–1733

THE problems which faced the English nation both at home and abroad after the Treaty of Utrecht were many. At home, unemployment resulting from the return of soldiers from the war and the presence of refugees, crime, the product of unemployment, poverty, and overcrowding of the industrial areas were outstanding evils. In America, the end of the war left still unsolved the problem of colonial defense.

Most of the solutions offered involved colonization both as a remedy for unemployment and as a means of defending colonial lands.

Naturally, in all colonial projects available lands and the utilization of their resources by England were prime considerations. British possessions in the New World stretched in a great crescent from Newfoundland to the West Indies. In the North the French still held the St. Lawrence Valley and Cape Breton, and in the South the Spanish were still the masters of Florida. Along the borderlands of these two foreign possessions were two areas which were still destitute of population and which were also weak points in matters of defense. One was the region between the Carolinas and Florida, presently to be granted to Oglethorpe and his fellow trustees. The other was Nova Scotia and the lands as far west as the Kennebec River. After the fall of Port Royal in 1710, Nova Scotia became a military colony, but the remaining lands in this region were unsettled. Due to their location in the heart of the naval stores region it required no stretch of the imagination to fit them into mercantilist schemes for the exploitation of the New World to England's advantage.

Profoundly interested in both the social and economic problems of the day was Thomas Coram, best known as the founder of the Foundling Hospital in London. But he had other concerns, and much of his lifetime was devoted to other projects. In his young manhood he had been a resident of Taunton, Massachusetts, building ships, and later in Boston he had acted as factor for a group of English merchants. During his years in America, 1693–1703, he had gained not merely considerable knowledge of natural resources, particularly naval stores, but also much practical insight into New England ways. This experience enabled him to speak with some authority on American affairs. As a merchant Coram had become pretty thoroughly imbued with mercantilist ideas and shared the general conviction that naval stores must be obtained in the colonies[1] so as to render England less dependent upon the Baltic states, a vital question in time of war, and also to aid in creating a favorable balance of trade. He shared, too, the idea that any portion of the population at home which was not usefully employed might well be transported to a colony where they would produce things important to the nation's economy and also be a potential market for English goods. Nor should it be forgotten that Coram was instinctively and energetically interested in the welfare of the unfortunate.

Many jobless were to be found among the soldiers returned from the wars and among the refugees, some in England already, and still others in

[1] Coram claimed credit for the passage of the Act of 1704 to encourage the making of tar and pitch in the colonies. *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, VI. 172.

the Palatinate, clamoring for a chance to emigrate. So great a need for man power in America! So great a waste in Europe! Coram's humane sympathies were aroused, and with creditable zeal he set about making practical plans for colonization.

The plan developed jointly by Coram and a group of officers and disbanded soldiers began as a rather ambitious and optimistic project: ambitious because the territory asked for was so extensive (the bounds were the St. Croix and the Kennebec, the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean);[1] optimistic because the petitioners actually proposed that the Crown should back them to the extent of nearly £15,000 in addition to a loan to be paid back in naval stores.[2] When this possibility seemed remote, one of the ingenious officers suggested that he had "invented" a way in which a colony of five companies, to be called Nova-Anna, could be settled at no cost to the Crown. This should have appealed to a frugal English monarch. But Sir Isaac Newton, something of an inventor himself, then at the mint office, turned down the proposal, which was, in fact, a suggestion for a type of inflation: the coining of 1,500 tons of copper at an estimated profit of £97,000.[3]

The Board of Trade can hardly be blamed for having insisted that a practical plan be presented before giving its backing to any scheme. Its insistence that the plan involve no expense to the Crown may seem less wise, but in view of the government's financial situation it was necessary. But here the Board faced a dilemma. It could not embark on an expensive program of colonization, yet it was reluctant to recommend any more proprietary or charter colonies, the latter of which, particularly, had long been recognized as a dangerous tendency in government. The problem of setting up a new model for the plantations and of altering those already in existence had for some time been a major one, but the Board had not come to any decision on the matter since the defeat by Parliament in 1706 of its bill "for the better Regulation of the Charter and Proprietary Governments in America and for the encouragement of the Trade of the Kingdome and of her Majesty's Plantations."[4] The subject, however, was not dead, and the necessity of creating a type of government which would answer all requirements made this period a difficult time for peti-

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies* (1712–1714), §§357, 364, 460 (June and August, 1713); Nova Scotia Papers (Gay Transcripts, Massachusetts Historical Society), I. 117–121.

[2] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1712–1714), §§385, 390, 448, 459.

[3] *Id.*, §§629, 633, 634, 635, 640.

[4] Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, IV (New Haven, 1938), 385–390.

tioners for new governments to get the consent of the Crown for their proposals.

Coram,[1] in spite of these obstacles, set himself to the task of evolving a colony with a government which would meet the objections to which the proprietary and charter colonies had been exposed. The expenses of his proposed colony would be met by voluntary contributions from "persons of character." Such persons, of whom he submitted a list of fifty who had promised their support, would constitute a board of trustees with full power to settle the lands.[2] The province itself, to be called Georgia in honor of the King, was to be a royal province, its governor to be the First Commissioner of the Admiralty, then the Earl of Berkeley, who had promised to be one of the trustees. Coram asserted that there were twelve hundred families ready to go in 1717. According to his plans, the trustees were to allot one hundred acres of land to each settler, who after the first seven years was to pay an annual quitrent of twenty-eight pounds of hemp fit for the use of the navy. The active government of the colony was to be in charge of a lieutenant governor appointed from among the trustees by the governor. The trustees were to be the upper house or council; the lower house was to be composed of freeholders chosen annually by the freeholders and other inhabitants. The fishery and mines were to be wholly free. The colony was to be open to foreign Protestants, who, on taking the oath, were to have the same liberties and immunities as other English subjects.[3]

In furtherance of their ideas the group printed a four-page document[4] in the form of a legal brief entitled *An Abstract of the Scheme of Government so far as it Relates to the Grantees in Trust for Settling the Land lying between Nova-Scotia and the Province of Maine in New-England, in America.* This very rare document deals especially with the "scheme of Profit" in settling the land, though it unfortunately is not very clear in its designation of the beneficiaries of the profits. It seems less philanthropic than Coram's first draft of the idea. The grantees—that is, the trustees—could strip the land of timber and minerals before granting it to settlers and before any quitrents to the Crown became due. After granting the lands the trustees could collect quitrents over and above those which

[1] Proposals of Coram not discussed here may be found in *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1712–1714), §§629, 633, 634, 635, 640; *Documentary History of Maine*, IX. 342–348.

[2] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1712–1714), §460; Nova Scotia Papers, I. 117–121 (August 19, 1713).

[3] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1716–1717), §577; see also §§412, 528, 567, 582; *Journal of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations* (hereafter cited as *Board of Trade*) (1715–1718), 235.

[4] The date is probably 1718. A copy is in the Boston Public Library.

were due to the Crown. They could also engage in shipbuilding and could erect sawmills for their own profit. In addition, a scheme was proposed for providing the inhabitants with livestock, half the increase going to the trustees, the principal to be made good before a division was made.

The fact that Coram was later a trustee of the southern Georgia brings up the question whether there was any connection between this earlier proposal and the later accomplishment. The general similarity of ideas must not be overstressed in this connection, while the fact that the name Georgia was used in both projects has no significance whatever. But there is evidence of a common origin of the two projects. Coram was a parishioner of Dr. Thomas Bray of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, London, and often talked his scheme over with him. Bray had spent the year 1700 in Maryland and thought that a colony in the South had better prospects than one so far north in New England. He did not, however, lose interest in Coram's scheme. Bray was similarly interested in colonizing indigent families and in 1730, shortly before his death, called together a group of men, including Coram and Oglethorpe, to discuss such a plan with them.[1] Present-day writers have tended to minimize, if not ignore, Coram's share in the colonization of Georgia, a position justified by the evidence in the Earl of Egmont's diary and by Oglethorpe's outstanding endeavor. But there is reason to credit Coram with a part in the evolution of the idea in its earlier stages.

Coram's proposals to colonize between the St. Croix and the Kennebec did not go unnoticed. Probably no portion of America was more involved in claims and counterclaims to the title to the land. Signs of plans for its development from England constituted a signal for all the claimants to register their protests and prior claims. At this time the principal protests came from the heirs of Captain Thomas Lake and Major Thomas Clarke, who had piled up an impressive collection of Indian deeds to lands in this region. The heirs were Sir Bibye Lake, Anne, the wife of Increase Mather, Edward Hutchinson, and Josiah Walcott. A claimant under another title was the Reverend Christopher Toppan, who in 1708 had bought some Indian deeds for a song. His claim was prosecuted by Richard Partridge, whose father, William, had in 1716 been given a half interest apparently just for the purpose of getting his help in maintaining the title. Still other claimants were the Duke of Hamilton under a New England Council division and the heirs of Thomas Leverett under a New England Council patent.[2]

[1] *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LVI. 29.

[2] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1712–1714), §§643, 656, 672, 673, 677; (1716–1717), §§249, 291, 303, 305, 315, 340.

These claims were bitterly protested by Coram, especially those which were based on Indian deeds which, he said with more than a little truth, had been obtained from the Indians after they had been debauched with drink, this being the cause of hostility and war. "The Cobweb Pretensions," he insisted, should be brushed aside, since settlement would "occasion the imploying & maintaining many of his Majestys Subjects, the supplying his Majesty with Naval Stores from his own Dominions & the Consumption of Great Quantities of the Manufactures of Great Britain."[1] He pointed out that Massachusetts herself had long before recognized the dangers of reliance on Indian deeds by outlawing them within her own bounds. But Massachusetts had never balked at the use of Indian deeds to bolster her own claims and those of her citizens to lands not included in her original charter limits.

The question whether jurisdiction lay with the Crown or with Massachusetts was even more important. In 1691 the Crown, for lack of a better solution, and at the suggestion of Increase Mather, had included Nova Scotia as well as the region between the St. Croix and the Kennebec in the second Massachusetts charter, with the important reservation that grants of land made by Massachusetts between the two rivers must be confirmed by the Crown. Nova Scotia was at that time in the hands of the French, and in 1696, with the fall of the fort at Pemaquid, the remaining territory was practically abandoned by both contending parties. The Board of Trade made frequent efforts to remedy this by instructing the royal governors of Massachusetts to get the General Court to appropriate money for the rebuilding of the leveled fort, but every effort resulted in failure. The cry of the lower house was that the country was waste and desolate and the fort of no importance in defense. The Crown showed no desire to reassume jurisdiction at any time during the wars, being more interested in getting Massachusetts to pay the costs than in taking the responsibility on itself. It is significant, however, that Nova Scotia was detached from Massachusetts in 1713 and made a separate government without protest from that province though the commissions to Massachusetts governors continued to list Nova Scotia as within their jurisdiction right down to the Revolution. As to Massachusetts' charter claims to the "derelict" lands, Coram insisted that possession had reverted to the Crown because of Massachusetts' failure to defend the territory during the wars. But as the law officers of the government pointed out later, only a writ of *scire facias* against the charter and court proceedings could make forfeiture complete in the legal sense.

[1] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1716–1717), §599; *Documentary History of Maine*, IX. 357–361; Nova Scotia Papers, I. 749.

The leisurely proceedings of the attorney general and the solicitor general, to whom the question of the Crown's rights was referred, delayed matters for many months. In the end those officers left things up in the air by stating that although the Massachusetts charter gave that government jurisdiction, there was some doubt as to whether the grant to Massachusetts in 1691 was legal since at that time the question of English jurisdiction there had not been settled.[1] This hesitant opinion should have encouraged Massachusetts, but apparently that colony did not view the possible confirmation of its right to the whole region between the St. Croix and the Kennebec as an unmixed blessing. The interests of her citizens were wholly west of the Penobscot. What if the English government should insist that Massachusetts undertake the defense of the whole region? Many times the General Court's struggle against the Crown's direct orders to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid put Massachusetts in the uneasy position of not being willing to let anyone else have the lands and yet being unwilling to use them herself. This dilemma impelled the offer of Jeremiah Dummer, the Massachusetts agent, to give up all claims east of the Penobscot if the Crown would give Massachusetts the right of granting lands between the Kennebec and the Penobscot without the necessity of seeking the confirmation of the Crown.[2] Had this offer been accepted, the eastern boundary of the United States might today be the Penobscot River.

This chance to compromise did not much please the Board of Trade, which, still avoiding the issue as to jurisdiction in the disputed area, reported:

> But how far it might be adviseable for your Majty. to enter into any contracts of this nature with the Massachusetts Company, or to do anything that may further confirm their claims, we shall not pretend to say, being daily more and more convinced that great inconveniences do arise from the erecting of Proprietary Governmts., who generally are not able to defend their own lands, and thô there be less to object upon this head to the Massachusetts Bay, then to some other Proprietary Governments, yet we cannot but observe that the people of New England do in many occasions interfere with the trade and benefit that should only accrue to the Mother Kingdom. But if the Petrs. could be induced to settle in any part of Nova Scotia not already granted to any other persons, they might be made very usefull to your Majesty.[3]

It was now five years since the soldiers had joined in their first petition.

[1] *Board of Trade* (1715–1718), 321–322, 323, 351; *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1717–1718), §§308, 383.

[2] *Board of Trade* (1715–1718), 352–354; *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1717–1718), §458.

[3] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1717–1718), §543.

What had happened to them in the meantime is not clear. In any event, the complex situation which confronted them was not encouraging. Apparently they were not interested in going to Nova Scotia. Meanwhile, Dummer had been working on a scheme of his own, or, to use the words of Governor Hutchinson, had "raised a bubble from the eastern lands." All that is known of it is to be found in a letter which Dummer wrote to the Massachusetts General Court in 1720, reporting that he had proposed a scheme to raise hemp and flax on the lands between the St. Croix and the Penobscot.[1] The lands were to be granted by charter to a group of undertakers, who included Lord Barrington, Colonel Martin Bladen of the Board of Trade, and several other notable figures.

> Being thus strong [he reports] I had no reason to take notice of Coram and friends or to have any apprehensions of what they were doing or capable of doing against me, yet, for quietness sake, I sent them word that, if they would withdraw their petition and give me no more trouble, they should find an account of profit from this undertaking beyond what they could ever expect if it were to be under their own conduct.

Coram acquiesced until he found that the country between the Kennebec and Penobscot was left out, and, angry at the trick, withdrew. The capital of the group was to be £100,000 sterling, £20,000 of which Dummer reserved for Massachusetts with the idea of having trustees manage it for the province. The managers decided to go slowly, however, since the great number of current speculative schemes was so offensive to the government that all had a bad reputation. And no wonder, for while some of them may have been useful and practical, others, such as raising wrecks off the Irish coast, making a wheel for perpetual motion, making salt water fresh, and obtaining oil from sunflower seeds, were not. One of the most amazing was for "an undertaking in due time to be revealed." It is no wonder that Dummer's proposed enterprise collapsed when the wreckage of the South Sea Company and John Law's Mississippi Company stood revealed.

The original petitioners optimistically tried to bolster their position by getting Dr. Charles Pinfold of Doctors' Commons to prepare a review of the case for them,[2] and in this they had the backing of Viscount Townshend. But though Pinfold interpreted a decision of a committee of the Privy Council of December 20, 1720, as giving the Crown a clear-cut

[1] Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, II (Boston, 1767), 244–245.

[2] *Doctor Pinfold's State of the Case of the Petitioners, for Settling His Majesties Waste Land, Lying between Nova Scotia, and the Province of Main in New-England, in America.* It is dated March 17, 1721. A copy is owned by the Boston Public Library.

right to the lands in question, there was no further action, and the whole matter dropped out of sight in 1724.[1]

The matter of colonizing New England came up again in 1728. By this time the problem of the King's woods and the navy's mast supply had become more acute. The reports of John Bridger, surveyor general, had formed a constant stream of indignant accusations against the wanton waste and willful destruction of these great resources of New England. Aside from the inevitable difficulties inherent in the situation, it may be noted that Charles Burniston, Bridger's successor as surveyor general, had not been in America during his entire incumbency[2] and had no training for the task. The admiralty's increasing awareness of the commercial and naval disadvantages of England's dependence on the Baltic countries for masts and naval stores forced attention again upon the mast trees of New England and the lands on which they grew.

The successor to Burniston as surveyor general was David Dunbar, who was commissioned on December 12, 1727.[3] He probably owed his appointment to George II himself since he had attracted the latter's favorable attention. He enjoyed the title of colonel because of a long period of service in the army, during which he was finally commissioned lieutenant colonel. As a member of the Irish Parliament during the reign of Queen Anne he had been useful in defending her policies, and at the succession of the Hanoverians he had attached himself faithfully to their interests, serving them in the Leeward Islands and in Spain.[4]

While the Board of Trade was considering the subject of instructions for Dunbar, Thomas Coram revived his earlier proposals in a strong memorial dated June 18, 1728. He reviewed the circumstances under which the territory east of the Kennebec had been added to Massachusetts, basing his story upon information gained from Urian Oakes, one of the agents of Massachusetts in 1691, whom he had known personally in Boston. Some of his earlier group were still willing to emigrate, he asserted, and he added:

> There are also many Others, able persons of both Sexes, who live in Continual Danger of being apprehended for Criminal practices which by the faults of their Parents or otherwise, They are Constantly repeating Which renders them a Nuisance and a Pest to the publick Especially In & about the Cittys of London and Westminster And they could Gladly be Rescued from their Necessity of Com-

[1] *Board of Trade* (1722–1728), 90, 93, 114, 119, 124.

[2] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1728–1729), §501.

[3] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1726–1727), §§820, 841.

[4] Dunbar to Lord Wilmington, February 5, 1738/9. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part IV*, 282–283.

miting those Crimes, and the Evil Consequences thereof, By volentary engaiging themselves to serve His Majesty a Term of Years in the said Tract of Country now laying wast & Derelict. . . .[1]

Ten days later Dunbar brought before the Board a proposal to settle in the waste lands of New England a colony devoted to the purpose of providing naval stores.[2] Another proposal for settlement at this time came from Daniel Hintze, a Palatine who desired to collect and bring over a group of his fellows. Dunbar followed up his first suggestion with more concrete propositions dealing particularly with some six hundred Irish families who were, he said, destitute in Massachusetts. He also mentioned five hundred Palatine families who were eager for lands.[3] These papers were duly considered by the Board of Trade in three reports, the discussion of which extended over the whole of the year 1729.[4]

During these deliberations the various suggestions were molded into a joint project sponsored by Coram and Dunbar in a memorial dated May 6, 1729. They emphasized that in order to hold the territory between the St. Croix and the Kennebec it was necessary to colonize it. A military colony was not enough. They proposed that a royal colony be erected with a civil government, "not a military charter nor proprietary Government." The objective stressed was the raising of hemp, a commodity in which all quitrents were to be paid.[5]

The response of the Board of Trade was favorable, and on May 14, 1729, it recommended to the Privy Council that a new province by the name of Georgia should be created and that Dunbar should be its governor. Though Dunbar learned from Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, that the King's departure for Hanover on May 17 had deferred consideration of the proposed settlement,[6] he seems never to have doubted the ultimate outcome of the matter and apparently left England for Boston in the summer of 1729 under the impression that the new province was assured and that he had been given sufficient authority to go ahead with its settlement. He arrived in Boston on September 23.[7] His brother Jeremiah had preceded him as his deputy the year before and had

[1] Nova Scotia Papers, IV. 88. The complete text of Coram's memorial is given in *id.*, 76–91.

[2] *Board of Trade* (1722–1728), 418.

[3] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1728–1729), §628i; Nova Scotia Papers, IV. 99–101.

[4] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1728–1729), §§630, 631, 665; Nova Scotia Papers, IV. 101–115.

[5] C.O. 217/5:108–109.

[6] *Report on Canadian Archives* (1894), 68.

[7] *Documentary History of Maine*, X. 440–441.

sent out agents to investigate conditions in the woods of New Hampshire and Maine.[1]

When David Dunbar arrived in Massachusetts, all the documentary evidence of his authority which he possessed was his commission as surveyor general and the instructions that were to govern him in that office.[2] But so confident was he that he was to be the governor of a province that he began to talk loudly and not too wisely. He became very active in promoting the settlement of his projected colony, and, taking advantage of the fact that there were Irishmen in Boston anxious for lands on the frontier, took about one hundred of them, a number later doubled, to Pemaquid to start work in clearing the lands and erecting houses. Through the good offices of Captain Gyles of Fort Richmond on the Kennebec he took care to cultivate friendly relations with the Penobscot chiefs, giving them presents and assuring them that it was not his intention at the time to extend settlements above the trading post at St. George's.

During the year and a half, 1730–1731, that he was active in Maine he laid the foundations of what might have become, in different circumstances, a settlement of considerable size. At Pemaquid, which he made the center of his operations, he partially rebuilt the fort on its old foundations. He changed the name of the place first to Fredericksburg, in honor of the Prince of Wales, and later to Frederick's Fort when the Board of Trade objected to the foreign character of the previous name. The fort itself as reërected consisted of a dry stone wall 4½ feet thick at the base, 9 feet high, and 132 feet square, with two bastions extending beyond. The whole was reinforced with strong palisades. Inside were built barracks which at one time housed two hundred persons. At the outset the fort had only ships' guns, but Dunbar proposed to substitute for them heavier ones from the north and south batteries in Boston, which he said were lying in rubbish, and others from Annapolis whither the original guns of Fort Pemaquid were carried after its demolition.[3]

For the first lodging of his men Dunbar had the group build "Hutts of Spruce trees." Later, frames for between thirty and forty houses were erected, two or three of which were roofed when a committee of the General Court took a view of the place in November, 1730.[4] Lots thirty feet wide and one hundred feet deep were laid out adjacent to the fort, and convenient streets were made. A road was cleared across the peninsula

[1] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1728–1729), §483.

[2] *Id.*, §§133, 234i, 365iii.

[3] *Documentary History of Maine*, x. 455, 459, 465; xi. 31; *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1731), §353; (1730), §402.

[4] *Documentary History of Maine*, xi. 79.

to New Harbor. As a crowning achievement, Dunbar started to build and may have finished an L-shaped wharf 170 feet long and 40 feet broad, designed to have 15 feet of water at high tide. J. Henry Cartland, in his *Twenty Years at Pemaquid*, describes the remains of an old wharf there and states that one of its foundations was a log frame twenty-two feet square filled with rocks, located eighty-five feet from the banks of the river. Eighty-five feet is just half the reported length of Dunbar's wharf, so this foundation could very well have been a halfway support. Evidences of this wharf may still be seen. Cartland further states that the wharf which he described was in just the right position to connect with the paved street which was dug up at Pemaquid in 1855. All in all, the layout given in Thomas Wells's manuscript maps of 1730[1] conforms closely to the cellars and pavements at Pemaquid which have excited so much archaeological interest. While Dunbar may have built his houses upon the site of earlier habitations, as he did in the case of the fort, he does not mention any features of this sort, and it is probable that the Pemaquid cellars and pavements were constructed by Dunbar and his men in 1729 and 1730.[2] Dunbar mentions the fact that his men burned lime from the shell heaps. He also mentions the availability of clay for bricks.

Besides Pemaquid, Dunbar laid out six other towns in the year 1731 between the Sheepscot and St. George's rivers, which he named for members of the English ministry. He reported results on June 4, 1731, as follows: in Harrington, seventy-six families on forty-acre lots, housed in poor wigwams or cottages; in Walpole, ninety-four families; in Townshend, twenty-five families and many men gone home for their wives and cattle; in Newcastle, nearly one hundred families; in Torrington, some beginnings made from Massachusetts; in Westmoreland, lots in the process of being laid out.[3] It must be remembered, of course, that Dunbar had no legal right to give deeds. He gave, however, deeds which involved the payment of a quitrent of one peppercorn if demanded.[4] In 1810 William Jones of Bristol, then eighty-six years old, testified that in 1730, when he was six years old, there were at least 150 settlers under Dunbar.[5]

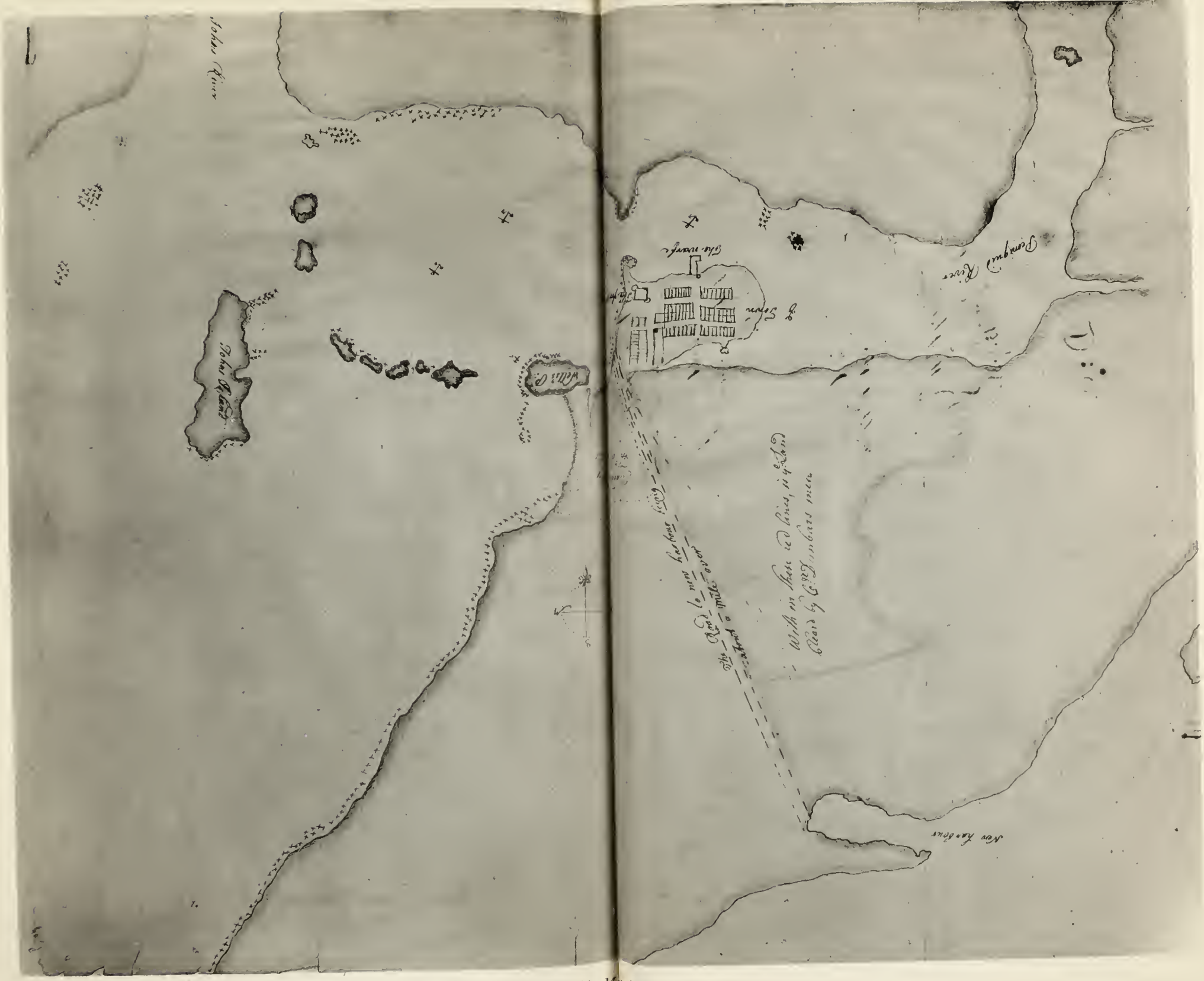
[1] Colonial Office, Maps and Plans, 180, 181 (Public Record Office).

[2] For the discoveries at Pemaquid, see Warren K. Moorehead, "The Ancient Remains at Pemaquid, Maine," *Old-Time New England*, XIV (January, 1924), 133–141.

[3] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1731), §217.

[4] *Order of Both Branches of the Legislature of Massachusetts to Appoint Commissioners to Investigate the Causes of the Difficulties in the County of Lincoln; and the Report of the Commissioners Thereon* (Boston, 1811), 145. Waldo took over the peppercorn idea in his deeds subsequent to Dunbar's leaving Pemaquid. Some of the deeds are to be found in Knox Papers, L. 21f. (Massachusetts Historical Society), and in the Maine Historical Society's manuscripts.

[5] *Commissioners' Report*, 144.



Thomas Wells's Map of Pemaquid, 1730

Such evidence is only vaguely confirmatory, but that Dunbar prosecuted his design with energy there is no doubt.

Such an effort at settlement in this disputed part of New England was bound to excite opposition. Dunbar was faced with a doubly hard problem. In the first place, he was surveyor general of the King's woods, than which no job in America was more hopeless or more unpopular. On this account alone he was faced with day-by-day opposition, not merely of the lumbermen, a class only exceeded in numbers in New England by the fishermen, but also of certain of the political leaders who, like Elisha Cooke, owned sawmills whose profits depended upon the illegal cutting of trees. But as prospective governor of a colony he was faced with the most bitter opposition of the politicians in general and of the land profiteers. "Any man that behaves anything different from the Crowd, Stinks of the prerogative, this expression is Common with them," reported Dunbar. The landed interests of some of these men were affected, and, to cap the climax, Dunbar had from the beginning the enmity of Jonathan Belcher, Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, who arrived in the summer of 1730—a man so jealous of his own position as to be quite unwilling to see his jurisdiction pared down by the erection of a new government east of the Kennebec.

This is not the place to detail Dunbar's many perplexities and annoyances as surveyor general. But some attention must be given to the efforts of the Massachusetts speculators to maintain their land titles, and to Governor Belcher's efforts to maintain the full extent of his power.

The claimants to land east of the Kennebec allowed their interests to be represented by a test case, one not based primarily on Indian deeds—the case of the holders of the Beauchamp and Leverett claim under a New England Council patent of March 12, 1629/30. In 1719 John Leverett, the heir to the claim, came to an agreement with Spencer Phips, who held Indian deeds inherited from his adoptive father, Sir William Phips, joining their conflicting interests. Two companies, the Ten Proprietors and the Twenty Associates, were formed, known collectively as the Muscongus Company. In the group were seven members of the Massachusetts General Court, including Elisha Cooke, Adam Winthrop, Oliver Noyes, Stephen Minot, Thomas Westbrook, and Joseph Appleton. The Indian wars had put an end to their plans, but news of Dunbar's enterprise revived them. Agreeing with their most aggressive member, Samuel Waldo, to give him half their claim of almost 600,000 acres if he could obtain its confirmation from England, they confided their problem into his hands. He sailed for England early in January, 1730, and by April had started the machinery moving against Dunbar. Besides his personal work in in-

fluencing the judgment of the authorities, Waldo's principal task was to prove that the claimants whom he represented had made reasonable efforts to settle the lands granted. His evidence of the reality of such efforts was finally accepted by the authorities.

Waldo's first arguments were sufficient almost immediately to cause the Board of Trade to order Dunbar to confine his activities to the territory east of the Penobscot. These instructions of April 27, 1730,[1] reached him on August 9 by the same ship which brought Governor Belcher. Luckily no letters from Waldo arrived by this conveyance, and Dunbar was accordingly given a breathing space in which to shift his plans. The final decision as to the rights to lands between the Kennebec and the St. Croix was, of course, still pending.

Dunbar and Belcher had some characteristics in common. They were both ambitious—with this difference: Belcher *was* a royal governor, while Dunbar wished to be one; both were jealous of their prerogatives; both had unusual ability at name-calling, though Belcher's name for Dunbar—the "Bull-frog from the Hibernian fens"—gave the Governor a slight advantage. Of the two, Dunbar was less of an intriguer, though both studied the art of cultivating the favor of persons of power and influence. Both were overbearing and indiscreet. But in this, too, Belcher had the advantage in that every threat which he made against Dunbar tended to increase his popularity, while Dunbar's remarks about the disloyalty of the people and what ought to be done about it made his path even more difficult.

The use or even creation of "incidents" as bases of action is familiar in history. An "incident" played into Belcher's hands immediately on his arrival in Massachusetts. In August, 1730, one Josiah Grover and one John Brown, claiming lands under the famous (and probably forged) deed of 1625 to John Brown of Pemaquid, went down to Maine, ostensibly to build a house. Their story on their return was that they were "exceedingly Insulted & evilly entreated by a number of Irish Men," and that finally they, with their little schooner and its crew, had been captured by "five or six Irish men Armed with Guns and Clubbs . . . in a hostile Violent Manner." The "incident" was concluded by the escape of Grover and his company over the side of the vessel into a "canno" while the Irishmen were asleep in the schooner's cabin.[2]

[1] Nova Scotia Papers, IV. 125–130. Dunbar's advertisement for settlers in the *Boston Gazette*, August 17, 1730, gives no hint of a change of plans. He felt that it was necessary to broach the matter to the prospective settlers by degrees. *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1730), §402.

[2] *Documentary History of Maine*, XI. 44–47; *Massachusetts House Journals*, IX. 272; *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1731), §§6i, 12, 12iii.

There is, however, another version of the story. Captain Woodside of the fort at Winter Harbor said that the whole affair was planned in order to get a pretense for quarreling. Grover's and Brown's schooner was ordered to bring away some staves and timber cut by the Irishmen at Frederick's Fort. Then if anyone claiming the staves should go on board, the persons there were to quit the vessel. Thus it could be made to appear that an illegal seizure of a vessel had been made.[1] In this way there would be ground for legal action in a court in which the Irishmen could hope for no aid or sympathy. The ease with which Grover and Brown escaped makes one suspect that the Irishmen were not so belligerent as Grover represented.[2]

Here was a chance for Governor Belcher to ingratiate himself with the people by defending a popular cause. Maintaining to the attorney general of the province that the incident was an act of piracy, he proposed to make a good thing out of the situation, calling it a "Notorious Assault and Riott." On order from the Governor, the sheriff of York County, with a force of over thirty armed men, went to Frederick's Fort, seized some of the inhabitants, apparently with no regard for their particular guilt, and carried them to York where they were jailed. The first trial resulted in a disagreement, but on January 5, 1730/1, four men were convicted and sentenced to fines of from £15 to £20 each and three months' imprisonment, with costs amounting to £233 14*s* 6*d*.[3]

The manner of this seizure alarmed Dunbar to such an extent that when the General Court decided to send a committee to view the province fortifications, he took this action as a threat to dispossess him. In fact, he had heard reports from high sources, which he interpreted in the light of some remarks of a threatening nature which the Governor had made to him, that the Governor designed to take possession of the fort by force and imprison him if he should be there. There was no reason why the Governor should not make a survey of the fortifications. In fact, his instructions commanded him to do so. But when three of the six active members of the committee in charge of the investigation, Elisha Cooke, Samuel Thaxter, and Spencer Phips, were members of the Muscongus Company as well, is it any wonder that Dunbar expected the expedition to be a military move?[4]

[1] *Documentary History of Maine*, XI. 63–65. It should be mentioned that Woodside had been in difficulties with the Massachusetts House. Executive Records of the Council (MS., Mass. Archives), XV. 54–55; *Massachusetts House Journals*, X. 100–101.

[2] Cf. Robert G. Albion, *Forests and Sea-Power* (Cambridge, 1926), 262.

[3] *Cal. State Paps., Col.* (1731), §§73, 300, 301.

[4] *Documentary History of Maine*, XI. 67–70; *Massachusetts House Journals*, IX. 282, 289.

When the committee arrived, the men in the fort were ready. They refused to allow the committee to land, and the latter had to be contented with a general view of the place from the harbor.[1] Dunbar's frantic appeal to England for help resulted in the immediate issuance of an order in council, November 12, 1730, addressed to Belcher, in which he was commanded not to make any attack on the fort.[2]

The final blow to Dunbar came in the celebrated opinion of Yorke and Talbot, the law officers of the Crown, August 11, 1731, supporting the Massachusetts claim and stating that upon reconquest in 1710 all ancient rights were restored and those in possession ought not to be disturbed.[3] The Privy Council, in accordance with this opinion, on August 10, 1732, ordered Dunbar to quit the lands. The document containing this order, as well as the opinion upon which it was based, was recorded by the Massachusetts House of Representatives.[4]

When Dunbar finally withdrew, Massachusetts, in spite of Belcher's pleadings, made no move to send troops to take possession of the fort. The House argued that the fort was a useless burden since the province was already in times of peace supporting three forts and two truckhouses in that country, "some eastward and some westward" of Pemaquid.[5] The "some eastward" consisted only of the St. George's truckhouse.

At last, in November, 1733, the House authorized the Governor, "if he sees cause," to demolish Fort Mary at Winter Harbor and to move its garrison to Pemaquid.[6] In his victory, at least, Belcher showed some magnanimity toward Dunbar's settlers. "Let other people think as they please," he wrote to Dunbar, "I shou'd be very sorry to have these inhabitants draw off, for I shou'd look upon it as weakening of the King's government, a damage to this Province, & to the private proprietors. I am therefore for giving 'em all reasonable encouragement to stay, and I wish the Assembly & the proprietors were of my mind."[7]

As to the settlers, some stayed on as squatters, some took out deeds from Waldo and other proprietors, and some moved away. A number of them

[1] The committee's report is in *Documentary History of Maine*, XI. 70–85. Two original manuscript copies, signed by the members, are in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Miscellaneous Papers, III. 16–18.

[2] *Documentary History of Maine*, XI. 66–67.

[3] *Id.*, 112–128.

[4] *Massachusetts House Journals*, X. 387–403; XI. 117.

[5] *Documentary History of Maine*, XI. 134–135; 6 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 422–425; *Massachusetts House Journals*, XI. 174, 257–258, 281.

[6] *Massachusetts House Journals*, XI. 322, 329; *Acts and Resolves*, XI. 759; 6 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 396.

[7] 6 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 327; see also 318–321, 324–328, 331–338.

fought at Louisbourg in 1745. In company with the German settlers brought later by Waldo, these English and Scotch-Irish settlers were the bulk of the inhabitants of Maine beyond the Kennebec before the close of the French and Indian War. As to the land titles, the same fundamental difficulties continued to plague Massachusetts all during the colonial period, and it was not until the nineteenth century that the land disputes around Pemaquid were finally settled.

The province of Georgia in the South was born shortly after the Board of Trade upset Dunbar's plan, and New England's Georgia vanished among the might-have-beens of history.

Appendix

Memorial from Colonel Dunbar and Mr. Coram Relating to the Making Some Settlements in Nova Scotia

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS

Pursuant to your Commands, We have read several reports made by your Lordships upon proposels laid before you, for makeing Settlements upon Nova Scotia, as well as on other His Majestys lands laying vast and unpeopl'd to the Eastward of New England. And we haveing maturely and particularly considered with attention the several matters on which your Lordships required our opinion with respect to some proper Settlements necessary to be made in Nova Scotia, and on the large tract of Crowne lands between Nova Scotia, Ending westward at the River St. Croix, and the Massachusets government ending eastward at the river Sagadahock alias Kenebeck, for the better security, advantage and defence of those large territorys, we are humbly of opinion to your Lordships.

That whereas Nova Scotia still remaining under a Military Government, as it has don ever since the Conquest thereof anno 1710, no good or profitable Subjects can hardly ever be prevail'd on to settle themselves on any part thereof, before a Civil Government be erected there, Which we are the more confirm'd in, from the length of time in which the Crowne has been at great expence for maintaing a Regiment of Soldiers there, since the reduction of it; besides the considerable saleries for the Governors thereof, under whose government and Direction we have not heard any Settlements or Improvements have been made; Nor can we judge any will ever be made, until His Majesty shall be most graciously pleas'd to erect a Civil government there.

That as Nova Scotia and the other large tract of Crowne lands adjoyning to it, now laying vast and unpeopl'd between that and the Massachusets, are both together of such great Extent as 450 miles and more in length, We humbly conceive it absolutly necessary for the Service of the King, and the future Security and advantage of His Majestys Northern plantations, that the said tract of Crowne lands, the land and Islands in and between the river Sagadahock, alias Kenebeck, and the river St. Croix, be erected into a Royall Province under His Majestys civil Government (not Military Charter nor propriety Government) with all proper powers and Instructions, separate and distinct from that of Nova Scotia or New England; it being at too great distance from both for any protection or assistance from them or either of them, on any emergency.

That as to the frame of the propos'd Civil Government, and the necessary instructions thereupon, it is most humbly submited to your Lordships better Judgment.

That it will be greatly for the Service of the King, and the advantage of the propos'd Province to begin the settling therof with a good number of Inhabitants together, for their better assisting and comforting each other in their new undertakeing, and to give all possible favour and due Encouragment to all those whether

Britains or Foreigners, who shall come to settle there under His Majestys Civil Government, and that a suitable and proper portion of the land be granted and laid out to each of them without fee or reward; They paying such quitrent as herein after proposed; And that no other person or persons whatsoever shall be suffered to inhabit there, nor to have, occupy or enjoy any part of the said land or Islands without paying the like quitrent. And as the Expence of sending a number of familys from England with necessary tools and utencils, armes &c, and subsisting them one year there, will be inconsiderable in proportion to the advantages the Crowne will reap by such Settlement, & would also save the occation of a much greater Expense for maintaining a Military force there for their security and defence, We hope your Lordships will duely consider the same.

We do not finde by any of the reports made by your Lordships upon the proposels laid before you for makeing settlements on any of the said land, That there was intended any greater reserve or advantage to the Crowne than 14-pound weight of water rotted Hemp per annum for every hundred acres, and that to commence at the end of the fourth year, to be doubled the twelveth year, and trebled the twentyeth year, and so to continue for ever at forty two pounds of water rotted Hemp, which at the highest cannot be computed at more than one penny sterling per annum, per acre.

Whatever your Lordships may judge sufficient and reasonable to be reserved to the Crowne as a quitrent, We are humbly of opinion should be received there in good Merchantable Hemp fitte for the use of His Majesty's Navy; Particularly for to encourage the raising, well ordering, and cureing that Commodity there, after the best manner, for an ample Supply thereof in due time from thence for the use of His Majesty's Navy and Kingdoms, all which is most humbly submited by

Right Honourable

Your Lordships most obedient servants

David Dunbar

Thomas Coram

London

Y^e 6th May, 1729

To the Right Honourable, The Lords Commissioners

For Trade and Plantations[1]

[*Endorsed:*] Recd. / Read } May 6th 1729.

Mr. William G. Roelker read extracts from a group of letters in his possession written by Benjamin Franklin to Catherine Ray both before and after her marriage to William Greene.

[1] C.O. 217/5: 108–109.

Annual Meeting

November, 1939

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Tuesday, November 21, 1939, at a quarter after seven o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on September 24, 1939, of WILLIAM OTIS SAWTELLE, a Corresponding Member.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from the Reverend PALFREY PERKINS, Mr. MORTON PEABODY PRINCE, Mr. FREDERICK MORTON SMITH, and Mr. ROBERT WALCOTT, Jr., accepting Resident Membership in the Society; from Dr. ERNEST CAULFIELD, accepting Corresponding Membership; and from the Reverend ARTHUR JOSEPH RILEY, accepting Associate Membership.

Dr. JAMES L. HUNTINGTON read the Annual Report of the Council.

Report of the Council

DURING the past year the Society has held, as usual, three stated meetings: on December 15, 1938, at the house of Mr. Augustus P. Loring, Jr.; on February 23, 1939, through the hospitality of Mr. Stephen W. Phillips, at the Club of Odd Volumes; and on April 20, 1939, at the Signet Club, Cambridge, where Mr. Philip P. Chase was our host. The attendance has, perhaps, not been quite up to the average of the past decade and certainly has never approached the rich outpouring that heralds the Annual Feast. We must remember that, unlike the army, the Colonial Society should not travel on its stomach.

The Society has, during the past twelve months, elected the following members:

Resident:

WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER
Hon. MARCUS MORTON

Austin Warren
William Alexander Jackson
Rev. Palfrey Perkins
Morton Peabody Prince
Frederick Morton Smith
Robert Walcott, Jr.

Corresponding:

Dr. Ernest Caulfield

Associate:

Rev. Arthur Joseph Riley

Since the last Annual Meeting we have lost by death from our membership four members:

Harold Robert Shurtleff, Resident, 1937, died December 6, 1938. Through his connection with the project for the reconstruction of Williamsburg, Virginia, his early interest in American colonial history received a new stimulus, and he spent the last years of his life in systematic study in that field. His book on the "log cabin myth," which was finished after his death by our fellow member Samuel E. Morison, is shortly to be published.

Marcus Morton, Resident, 1938, died March 20, 1939. This quiet, kindly gentleman and eminent judge came from a distinguished judicial line. His grandfather was a Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts and later Governor of the Commonwealth. His father was a Justice of the same court from 1869 to 1891, being Chief Justice during the last nine of these years. Our Marcus Morton was a graduate of Yale and of the Harvard Law School. He practised law in Boston until his appointment to the Superior Court of Massachusetts, of which he had been the senior Justice for several years before his death.

William MacDonald, Corresponding, 1907, died December 15, 1938. A graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1892, he was successively professor of history at the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Bowdoin College, and Brown University. After a period of lecturing at the University of California and at Yale he devoted his energies to writing and reviewing from 1926 until his death.

William Otis Sawtelle, Corresponding, 1924, died September 24, 1939. A physicist by profession, he gave unsparingly of his energies to his historical avocation: the establishment of a museum which should perpetuate the life, history, industries, and customs of the people on the Maine Coast. This he accomplished on Cranberry Isle, and the results of his efforts will prove an enduring monument to his devoted effort.

The editor has in progress a new volume of the Society's publications, which will contain the first printed text of Charles Morton's *Compendium Physicae*, a textbook used in manuscript form at Harvard College in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

As has been our custom in recent years, the Society has generously supported the *New England Quarterly* and has this past year made an added donation to make possible an index for the first ten volumes of this valuable publication.

The Treasurer presented his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 14, 1939.

Statement of Assets and Funds, November 14, 1939

ASSETS

Cash:		
Income	$13,481.79	
Loan to Principal	*6,049.71*	$7,432.08
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $89,792.50)	$83,170.42	
Stocks (Market Value $52,819.37)	49,557.94	
Mortgages	7,500.00	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,226.33	143,454.69
Total Assets		$150,886.77

FUNDS

Funds		$137,178.65
Income:		
General Income	$13,481.79	
Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund Income	226.33	13,708.12
Total Funds		$150,886.77

Investments as of November 14, 1939

BONDS	*Book Value*
$5,000 Bell Telephone Company of Canada First 5's, Series B, 1957	$4,062.50
5,000 Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 5's, 1944	3,872.50
5,000 Chester Water Service Company First 4½'s, 1958	3,375.00

$5,000 Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company Mortgage and Collateral Trust Refunding 5's, 1940	$3,762.50	
5,000 Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952	4,763.28	
5,000 Community Public Service Company First 4's, 1964	5,137.50	
5,000 Consolidated Oil Company Convertible Debenture 3½'s, 1951	5,169.62	
5,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie Railway Company First Refunding 6's, Series A, 1946	250.00	
5,000 New York State Electric and Gas Corporation First 4½'s, 1980	4,795.78	
5,000 Pacific Gas and Electric Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, Series H, 1961	5,382.12	
5,000 Public Service Company of New Hampshire First 3¼'s, Series F, 1966	5,148.75	
5,000 Scranton Gas and Water Company First 4½'s, 1958	5,068.75	
5,000 Southern California Edison Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, Series B, 1960	5,075.00	
5,000 Texas Electric Service Company First 5's, 1960	4,437.50	
2,500 United States Cold Storage Corporation First 6's, Series A, 1946	2,500.00	
4,000 United States Cold Storage Corporation First 6's, 1945	4,000.00	
8,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, October 1, 1949	6,000.00	
5,000 United States Steel Corporation Debenture 3¼'s, 1948	5,232.12	
5,000 Western Union Telegraph Company 5's, 1960	5,137.50	
Total Bonds		$83,170.42

STOCKS

50 shares American Telephone and Telegraph Company	$8,593.63	
50 shares Consolidated Edison Company of New York Common	3,077.50	
100 shares Electric Bond and Share Company $6.00 Preferred	10,600.00	
50 shares E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company	2,683.75	
50 shares First National Bank of Boston	1,750.00	

1 share	First National Bank of the City of New York	$1,544.81	
240 shares	General Electric Company Common	5,719.50	
50 shares	Insurance Company of North America	1,963.75	
40 shares	Radio Corporation of America Common	0.	
50 shares	State Street Investment Corporation	4,150.00	
5 shares	Travelers Insurance Company	2,225.00	
50 shares	United States Cold Storage Corporation 7% Preferred "A"	6,750.00	
50 shares	United States Cold Storage Corporation Common		
105 shares	Wickwire Spencer Steel Company Common V. T. C.	500.00	
Total Stocks			$49,557.94
First Mortgages on improved property in Greater Boston		$7,500.00	
Deposit in Warren Institution for Savings		3,226.33	10,726.33
Total Investments			$143,454.69

Composition of Funds, November 14, 1939

Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications	$10,000.00
General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees and Commutations added to Principal, Gains on Sales of Securities, etc. Income only to be used for Current Expense	24,612.93
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. Income only to be used	10,000.00
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restriction as to use	20,000.00
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under the will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	2,000.00
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00

George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	$30,000.00
Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund, established in 1923 under the will of Henry H. Edes as the "Henry H. Edes Bequest" to accumulate until it reached the sum of $3,000 when it would become a permanent fund to be known as the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	3,000.00
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, established by sundry subscriptions from 1923 to 1925. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $10,000. Income only to be used for Publications	6,565.72
George Nixon Black Fund, established in 1929 under his will without restriction as to use	10,000.00
Total Funds	$137,178.65

Changes in Principal of Funds

Total Funds, November 14, 1938		$142,398.26
Add—Additions to General Fund:		
Admission Fees	$80.00	
Proceeds from partial sale of Henry H. Edes stamp collection	146.24	
Profit from Sale of Securities:		
$5,000 American Telephone and Telegraph Company Debenture 3¼'s, 1961	89.89	
5,000 Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company General 4's, 1995	519.01	
5,000 Commercial Credit Company Debenture 3¼'s, 1951	211.72	
5,000 Ohio Public Service Company First 4's, 1962	178.27	1,225.13
Add—Additions to Special Funds:		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund		276.72
		$143,900.11
Deduct—Charges to General Fund:		
Loss on Sale of Securities:		
$5,000 Central New England Railway Company First 4's, 1961	$2,127.54	
5,000 Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company Refunding and Improvement 4½'s, Series E, 1977	891.92	
5,000 New York, Philadelphia and Norfolk Railroad 4% Stock Trust Certificates, 1948	702.00	
Heid Alum Mortgage charged off as uncollectible as per vote of the Council	3,000.00	6,721.46
Total Funds, November 14, 1939		$137,178.65

Income Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Balance, November 14, 1938		$12,034.15
RECEIPTS:		
Interest	$4,267.20	
Dividends	2,253.50	
Annual Assessments	720.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	35.00	
Total Receipts of Income		7,276.20
		$19,310.35
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Editor's Salary	$1,000.00	
Secretarial Expense	350.00	
New England Quarterly	2,500.00	
New England Quarterly Index	300.00	
Annual Dinner	490.10	
Storage on Stock	300.76	
Notices and Other Expenses of Meetings	101.50	
Expense of Dr. Morison's Farewell Message	185.52	
Auditing Services	125.00	
Contribution to Writings on American History	50.00	
Rent of Safe Deposit Box	22.00	
Postage, Office Supplies, and Miscellaneous	33.57	
Accrued Interest on Securities Purchased	93.39	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund added to Principal	276.72	
Total Disbursements of Income		5,828.56
Balance of Income, November 14, 1939		$13,481.79

Principal Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Loan to Principal, November 14, 1938		*$11,224.49*
RECEIPTS:		
$5,000 American Telephone and Telegraph Company Debenture 3¼'s, 1961	$5,347.01	
5,000 Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company General 4's, 1995	5,247.02	
5,000 Central New England Railway Company First 4's, 1961	1,384.96	
5,000 Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company Refunding and Improvement 4½'s, Series E, 1977	2,834.84	

$5,000 Commercial Credit Company Debenture 3¼'s, 1951	$5,175.00	
5,000 New York, Philadelphia and Norfolk Railroad 4% Stock Trust Certificates, 1948	4,473.00	
5,000 Ohio Public Service Company First 4's, 1962	5,409.52	
Admission Fees	80.00	
Proceeds from partial sale of Henry H. Edes stamp collection	146.24	
Transferred from Income to Principal:		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund Income	276.72	
Total Receipts of Principal		30,374.31
		$19,149.82
DISBURSEMENTS:		
$5,000 Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952	$4,763.28	
5,000 Community Public Service Company First 4's, 1964	5,137.50	
5,000 Public Service Company of New Hampshire First 3¼'s, Series F, 1966	5,148.75	
8,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, October 1, 1949	6,000.00	
50 shares State Street Investment Corporation	4,150.00	
Total Disbursements of Principal		25,199.53
Loan to Principal, November 14, 1939		*$6,049.71*

James M. Hunnewell
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended November 14, 1939, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the vaults of the New England Trust Company.

We herewith submit their report which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

Stephen W. Phillips
Hermann F. Clarke
Auditing Committee

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK
Vice-Presidents Hon. FRED TARBELL FIELD
MATT BUSHNELL JONES
Recording Secretary AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.
Corresponding Secretary Dr. JAMES LINCOLN HUNTINGTON
Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL
Registrar ROBERT DICKSON WESTON
Member of the Council for Three Years Dr. HAROLD BOWDITCH

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Mr. William R. Carlton, Mr. Robert Frost, Mr. Kenneth H. Jackson, Mr. John Lydenberg, Mr. Charles Miller, Mr. Peter Oliver, Mr. Waldo E. Palmer, Professor George Sherburn, Mr. Fred Sallish, Professor Theodore Spencer, and Mr. Harry A. Wright.

After the dinner Mr. Frost read several of his poems,[1] and Professor Sherburn addressed the Society and its guests.

[1] The Society has, with Mr. Frost's permission, issued and distributed amongst the members a broadside containing *A Considerable Speck*, one of the poems, hitherto unpublished, which Mr. Frost read on this occasion. The broadside was printed from the first font of type cut and cast by Mr. Dard Hunter, Jr., and on paper made by Mr. Dard Hunter, Sr.

December Meeting, 1939

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 21, 1939, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

Mr. THEODORE HORNBERGER of Austin, Texas, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Dr. HAROLD BOWDITCH read a paper entitled "Fireside Chats of a Federalist—Timothy Pickering."

The Editor communicated by title, on behalf of Mr. FULMER MOOD, the following paper:[1]

The Development of Frederick Jackson Turner as a Historical Thinker

I

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER was born at Portage, Columbia County, Wisconsin, on November 14, 1861. His parents were Andrew Jackson Turner and Mary Hanford. Turner's father came from the Lake Champlain country of upper New York state, and his ancestry, through the Allens of Vermont and various Connecticut families, traced back to seventeenth-century English immigrants.[2]

Two generations before Turner's birth Portage had been a stopping place for the Indian traders who traveled by way of the Fox and Wisconsin route between Green Bay and the Mississippi. Marquette and Joliet had

[1] On December 17, 1936, Mr. Mood spoke before the Society on "The Genesis of Frederick Jackson Turner's Historical Ideas." Some of the material dealt with was afterward used in his essay, "Turner's Formative Period," printed (pages 5–39) in *The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner* (Madison, 1938). Though based in part on the essay of 1938, the present paper is essentially a new piece of work.

[2] *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XV (September, 1931), 93; XIX (September, 1935), 101–103. I have also consulted the data on the population of Wisconsin in the Census of 1870.

passed by the site on their memorable voyage. Not till the close of the eighteenth century did a wandering trader camp there for a winter and thus win for himself the renown of a "first settler." The portage was a likely spot at which to settle, and as population poured into Wisconsin in later decades, the trader's camp evolved into a village and then into a small town.

At the time of the Census of 1870 Portage contained almost four thousand people, more than half of them native-born Americans, the rest immigrants drawn from England and Ireland, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, and still other lands. The townspeople represented a variety of religious opinions. Methodists were most numerous; Congregationalists and Presbyterians trailed them by a good distance. Roman Catholics, Baptists, and Lutherans made up the remainder. Since the Atlantic Coast was far off, neither Unitarians nor Episcopalians then had churches in Portage.

In its mixture of North European stocks and American pioneers Portage was a representative community of the upper Middle West. Among its residents were some migrating Vermonters, many New Yorkers, and a smaller increment of Ohioans and Pennsylvanians. They came seeking the farm sites and opportunities for trade and professional activity that a forming society beyond the Alleghanies then offered to the discontented and the ambitious. Portage itself at this time was not squarely on the actual frontier. The Wisconsin counties on the lake surpassed Columbia County in density of population, but beyond it and to the north, stretching east and west, there ran a sparsely settled area fronting on the wilderness that then formed the northernmost third of Wisconsin. Thus Portage was not on the frontier, but near it. It was spiritually close to the fur-trade era, too. In 1867 the town fathers ordered the removal of certain ancient graves of the first French residents. As Turner wrote in 1883, recalling one of the experiences of his childhood in Portage:

> Conant street was ordered graded June 3, 1867, and the work commenced that season. It was some time during the summer of that year that the grading brought to light the remains previously interred in that old cemetery. I remember seeing them carried away from the place described as being the grave of Lecuyer, and doubtless among those mouldering relics were those of the pioneer himself.[1]

Turner was fortunate in the circumstances of his youth and upbringing. His native community was already established. The back-breaking tasks

[1] "History of the 'Grignon Tract' on the Portage of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers," *State Register* (Portage, Wisconsin), June 23, 1883. My thanks are due the late Joseph Schafer, who kindly supplied me with a photostat copy of this, the earliest writing by Turner.

of the pioneer era were done. His father was a newspaper man, his mother a former schoolteacher. Their home was thus one in which some concern was felt for the things of the spirit, a place where limited and cramped views did not prevail. Andrew Jackson Turner showed something of an interest in the history of his adopted state and now and then dug into the roots of its past. He even published an account of old Fort Winnebago of which afterwards his professor son thought well enough to allow students in his classes to read it.[1] The Turners took their place in the town's life with no thought of inferiority, for they naturally "belonged."

All this was different from the experience that the Norwegian boy, Thorstein Veblen, was having at the same time farther north in the wilds of Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, where "Norske" children had to put up with ridicule for their foreign ways, and where pioneering labors made bone and muscle ache.[2] Young Veblen was not adjusted to a hostile environment, while Turner fitted perfectly into a friendly, harmonious one. The future economist was to point out the more corrupt elements in American life; the future historian was to emphasize the more idealistic. Both, however, were realists in their studies, and both, toward the end of their careers, were filled with a brooding pessimism over the future of their country.

After completing his course in the Portage elementary schools, Turner, in the autumn of 1877, entered the Greek Class, a preparatory department of the University of Wisconsin. Andrew Jackson Turner fortunately did not worship at the altar of vocational education and "practical" subjects. He wished his son to enjoy a solid classical foundation for his subsequent studies.

The university catalog, which lists the new student's name as "Fred Jackson Turner, Portage," gives much information concerning a course of study that has now become outmoded in all but a few resistant centers of tradition. The school year, which was broken up into fall, winter, and spring terms, saw Turner cover much ground as he fitted himself for entering college. In the first term he had Goodwin's Greek grammar and Greek composition—an intensive discipline it must have been. During the second term he began reading Xenophon's Anabasis and wrote more Greek sentences. With the spring came composition, the remainder of Xenophon, and an introduction to the Iliad. Latin, Turner had commenced at Portage, so that now he was reading Cicero's orations and

[1] "The History of Fort Winnebago," *Collections*, Wisconsin State Historical Society, XIV (Madison, 1898), 65–102.

[2] On Veblen's beginnings, see the earlier chapters in Joseph Dorfman, *Thorstein Veblen and His America* (New York, 1934).

Virgil's poetry, although at the same time there were the inevitable Latin sentences to be done.[1]

This thorough grounding in the classics, the study of which he continued during his first and second years in the university, left an impress on Turner's scholarly personality. It taught him the value of the just epithet, it habituated him to the niceties of literary expression, and it inculcated a feeling for vigorous, artistically fashioned prose. His readings in the ancients afforded an opportunity to widen his intellectual horizon in other ways, too, for as part of his work he went through Fyffe's *History of Greece* and Creighton's *History of Rome*.

In September, 1878, Turner entered the University of Wisconsin as a freshman, registering in the Ancient Classical Course. In college halls came more Greek and more Latin, some mathematics (algebra, solid geometry, and trigonometry), and "rhetoricals," in the last of which he won a first place, prophetic sign of honors yet to come. He also specially distinguished himself in general botany, in which his final grade was 97. In this class he surely heard, if he had not already learned it, that then bright, shining word "evolution." It was only twenty years since Darwin had convulsed the intellectuals of two continents with his novel doctrine, but the younger men in many departments of thought had made haste to apply his general proposition to their specialities. Soon G. Stanley Hall was talking of evolution of mind, Thomas Chrowder Chamberlin was tracing the evolution of Wisconsin rocks, and the half-fabulous Thorstein Veblen was applying the concept to the growth of the capitalist order of society. The magic potency of the word captured Turner's young brain, and in good time he was to look on research in American history as a field in which the penetrating student could find "topics for the evolutionist."[2]

His freshman year over, Turner went back to Portage and for two years made it his headquarters. The reasons for this withdrawal from college remain obscure. They may have been pecuniary. At Portage he probably busied himself with helping his father on the newspaper while watching the life of the town swirl about him. When the first train steamed through the pineries of the northern part of the state, Turner was on it. When old trappers smoked their pipes and talked musingly of an earlier and simpler day, Turner listened. He made fishing trips to distant

[1] Official transcript of the record of Fred Jackson Turner at the University of Wisconsin.

[2] Frederick J. Turner, "Problems in American History," *The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner* (Madison, 1938), 76. This volume also contains a chronological list of all Turner's works, compiled by Everett E. Edwards, and an introduction by Fulmer Mood.

lakes with delicious French names, where he could pick his way through forests redolent with the warm, resin-laden air of summer, the palest of blue skies arching overhead. Through these woods and along these streams the French of two centuries ago had threaded their way.

Turner's father was a man of consequence in Portage. Proprietor of the local newspaper, he kept a finger in the political pie and maintained contacts with party managers at Madison and Milwaukee. He was also chairman of the Board of Supervisors of Columbia County, harmonizing the difficulties of Catholics and Protestants, of rival nationalities, and of the competing towns in the county.[1] The Turner household, with its talk of political management, political influence, and the ambitions of political candidacy, powerfully supplemented the student's knowledge of Greek and Roman politics and gave a practical application to the whole matter. It was good for the future historian of American political parties to know that one's prestige in the legislature depended upon the importance of this or that committee assignment, and to understand that the observable motions of political combinations were often, if not always, due to the plans and will of party managers hidden well in the background.

The world of Portage, which he had a chance to study thoroughly, taught him things not learned in books. Portage was plain, a homespun community, democratic in spirit, neighborly. Turner was of it, genuine, unassuming. In after years he was to walk in stately academic processions, wearing the cap and gown, singled out for special distinction, for honorary degrees. But he took these honors with the humility of spirit of one who knew that thereby American democracy complimented not the man Turner but Turner the scholar, the servant of a nation's best ideals.

In the autumn of 1881 the student appeared in Madison once more.[2] The university of those days was small. In what was afterward to be a leading center of research and investigation there was at this time but one advanced student, and the undergraduates numbered but little more than four hundred. The college life of the time was of an almost Arcadian simplicity. Tuition was free. The faculty estimated that ten dollars for general expenses would see a student through an entire college year. If you were flush, you boarded at a private home, paying from two to four dollars a week; but if you had to count your pennies, you found some fellows and clubbed together, cutting expenses in half. The laundryman collected seventy-five cents for a dozen pieces of washing.

President Bascom's institution was but a university in name. He was transforming it from a good high school into a respectable college, but

[1] *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XIX (September, 1935), 101–103.

[2] Official transcript of the record of Fred Jackson Turner at the University of Wisconsin.

doing it meant a stubborn fight, and before he had quite won his battle he was practically forced out of office. During his incumbency the college grew slowly and gave signs of promise of great things to come. He lived long enough to witness its later prosperity, no doubt happy in seeing that it had not disappointed those who made sacrifices for it in the time of its weakness.

The faculty included some teachers of exceptional ability. No staff which included the names of Edward S. Holden in astronomy, Roland D. Irving in geology, Edward A. Birge in zoölogy, or William F. Allen in history could be counted negligible. The dreary advocates of utilitarian schemes made no headway with Bascom, who shaped the plastic institution in his charge to fit the pattern of a liberal education. He took a hand himself in the teaching, giving instruction in American constitutional law, philosophy, psychology, and aesthetics. On matters of current public interest he was abreast of the enlightened social thinking of the day as is evidenced by his favorable views on federal regulation of interstate commerce. Throughout, his mind favored an evolutionary approach to the study of phenomena, thus working in harmony with the temper of the times. Undoubtedly he exerted a constructive influence on young Turner's mind, although it is not easy to specify the precise nature of his contribution.

Of all his teachers at the university, Turner was most indebted to William Francis Allen (1830–1889), the professor of Latin and history. Allen was a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Harvard in the Class of 1851, where he enjoyed friendships with William W. Goodwin, the future Greek scholar, Charles F. Dunbar, the future economist, and Samuel Abbott Green, the future antiquarian. The Harvard of that day was intellectually at a low ebb, but if it was a poor place, it at least inspired its graduates to remedy the deficiencies which of itself it had done nothing to repair. "I want to understand Greece and Rome—their history and incidentally their language—feeling sure that, if I get a good knowledge of these, I can turn it to account in some way. My great fault has always been in being superficial."[1] Thus wrote Allen to one of his friends in 1854. The ambitious young man sailed for Europe where he studied and traveled for two years in Germany, Italy, and Greece. He heard the learned professors at Berlin and at Göttingen in courses on the art, philology, history, and literature of his chosen subject. This dose of German specialization cured American superficiality, and Allen returned home

[1] William F. Allen, *Essays and Monographs* (Boston, 1890), 8. D. B. Frankenburger's memoir in this volume gives the fullest account of Allen's life. The *Dictionary of American Biography* has a sketch.

with a solid and disciplined knowledge of the ancient cultures that he enlarged with every passing year. But the America of 1856 was not overmuch in need of scholars trained to the pitch of Allen's excellence, and it was ten years before he found a permanent and satisfactory post as professor of ancient languages and history at the then struggling college in Madison. By degrees he won a following among the students.

Fortunate indeed were the regents of the university in the coming of this man. He was, at his début, in the prime of life, a man of culture, well-traveled at home and abroad, ripe in scholarship, the possessor of a ready pen. Politically he was allied to the circle which used Godkin's *Nation* as their forum, and in the yellowed pages of that weekly one may still read dozens of his contributions—essays on current topics and leading reviews.

Overworked and probably underpaid, Allen still found time to carry on historical research, publishing many papers on Roman history and the institutional aspects of medieval history. His one book was *A Short History of the Roman People*, completed just before his death and posthumously published. The methods of his scholarship were sound and exacting. He interested himself in tracing the development of society and institutions, on the whole deprecating that stringing together of facts in narrative form which so often passed and still passes muster as history. He too had come under the influence of the fertilizing concept of evolution. But to the genetic approach he added the comparative, and he sought to throw further light on those questions which interested him by contrasting them with similar topics and movements in other times or in other places.

Allen was the true father of higher studies in history at the University of Wisconsin. Through his pupils his influence radiated outward from Madison, and in Turner it reached its finest flowering. For his college students he developed a series of courses which introduced them to the study of history in an effective way. He lectured on ancient institutions, Greek and Roman, on the Roman constitution, on mythology and art. He also taught courses on medieval institutions, the English constitution, and, for seniors, the history of civilization. He considered map work an essential part of historical instruction, a requirement that Turner as teacher adopted from him; and he stressed a sound knowledge of chronology.

Rote learning had long been the bane of history teaching. Allen jettisoned this and substituted something novel, the topical method.

> The method of instruction, wherever possible, is by the assignment of special topics, to be looked up by the student in books of reference, and presented orally to the class; in some departments of work, by lectures. In most cases a text book is made the basis of instruction; and sometimes written essays are required of the

members of the class; and courses of historical reading are laid out for the several members. Historical charts and maps are constantly used.[1]

The clearest notion of Allen's power as an organizer of historical facts for teaching purposes may be derived from a reading of his syllabus, *History Topics for the Use of High Schools and Colleges* (Boston, 1883).[2] It covered European and American history, providing an outline of lectures, a series of topics, and a splendid working bibliography of the best books on the two principal fields. It was a pioneer work and may be taken as the American literary precursor not only of Turner's productions of the sort but also of the *Guide* published by Channing and Hart in 1896.

In Turner, Allen was to find a pupil well worthy of his exceptional powers of stimulating and original instruction. It was in September, 1881, that Turner came down to Madison once more after his two-year absence. He now enrolled as a special student, perhaps indicating uncertainty whether he would remain long enough to take a degree. His sophomore year saw him study smatterings of Chaucer and Anglo-Saxon, two courses in rhetoric and declamation, and more Greek and Latin. The program for the third-year course was quite varied: English literature, physics, chemistry, zoölogy, constitutional law, rhetoric, and two courses with Allen in history: ancient institutions and American history. What with work on a college newspaper, victory in a prize contest in oratory, and the writing of an essay on history for Allen—an essay published in the Portage newspaper soon after he returned from college—Turner had a busy year of it.

As a senior he heard Bascom talk on ethics, which that wise and just man treated as the rational conduct of man in society, and on aesthetics, logic, and political economy. He exercised himself again in rhetoricals and allowed the spell of Allen's personality to play over him in courses dealing with medieval institutions, the English constitution, and the history of civilization.

Fred Jackson Turner—some years were to pass before the catalog gave him the more dignified style of Frederick Jackson Turner—was graduated from the university at Commencement, 1884, with honors of the second class.[3] In the eyes of his classmates he was already a marked man, as these verses taken from the class prophecy witness:

[1] *Catalogue of the University of Wisconsin*, 1881–1882 (Madison, 1882), 49.

[2] The syllabus was reprinted to form a part of *Methods of Teaching History*, G. Stanley Hall, Editor (Boston, 1886), 323–336.

[3] *Catalogue of the University of Wisconsin*, 1884–1885 (Madison, 1884), 8, 10. Hereafter specific references will not be given to the University of Wisconsin catalogues when the context supplies sufficient information to run down the source.

Turner, in cloisters immured and to painful study devoting
Day and night, his patient innocent life exhausting—
Turner, than whom no senior with loftier intellect gifted,
Nor with a finer soul, nor in virtue more absolute ever.[1]

In student eyes Turner was looked up to as a successful orator, the polished and perfected product of David Frankenburger's instruction in oratorical and declamatory studies. Two of Turner's orations, probably his principal efforts, were published while he was still in college, and these are worth a glance or two for the light they shed on his general outlook and social attitudes.

"The Poet of the Future" was delivered in May, 1883, at the close of Turner's junior year and won the Burrows prize.[2] In this the orator tells us that a great poet stands as an epitome of his era. It has been so from the Iliad of Homer to the Faust of Goethe. But the present age has no such poet: the Longfellows, the Tennysons, the school of William Morris "all play the lute, and we wait for the master who shall sweep the organ keys." Our age is magnificent. It is the poets who are lacking. Why do they not see that the epic actions of the century await poetic utterance?

> The two great features of the present are science and democracy. . . . Science has given to things a new beauty and a poetry. . . . If the Venus of Milo, chiseled in cold marble, endures as an expression of the genius of the Greek, the locomotive, binding the east and west in bonds of steel, thundering over the prairies and climbing mountains higher than the clouds, an embodiment of power and action—a being whose breath is fire, and whose brain is a man—the locomotive is a type of our grand civilization.

Science has found a poetry, too, and the orator exemplifies it by a reference to that "grand epic written by the finger of God upon the strata of the earth." Nature waits for her poet!

The partner of science is democracy. Earlier civilizations were narrow, but a new spirit has entered mankind. The American republic arose, and the French Revolution gave a signal to humanity. Hence today

> Over all the world we hear mankind proclaiming its existence, demanding its rights. Kings begin to be but names, and the sons of genius, springing from the people, grasp the real scepters. The reign of aristocracy is passing; that of humanity begins. Democracy is waiting for its poet.

Where, the orator asks, is he who shall sing of doers like Darwin, Spencer, Watt, and Lincoln?

[1] *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XV (September, 1930), 89.

[2] Printed in the *University Press* (Madison), 14(35): 4(May 26, 1883).

The age will demand a mouthpiece, and at its bidding will arise the poet of the future. . . . He will unite the logic of the present and the dream of the past, and his words will ring in the ears of generations yet unborn, telling them the grandeur of today which boils and surges with awakening life. He will reflect all the past and prophesy the future. As surely as our age transcends all others, so surely will his song rise above all the singers of the past.

After the lapse of half a century the rhetoric has faded somewhat, and our own generation does not share, at least in equal degree, the young orator's touching faith in the idea of progress: "As surely as our age transcends all others, so surely will [the modern poet's] song rise above all the singers of the past." On the whole, however, the substance of the oration has suffered little loss. Truly does the speaker recognize the twin forces of his age: scientific investigation of nature's secrets and popular control of the social order by means of democratic procedures. In unequivocal terms Turner proclaims himself in sympathy with these forces. He avows a faith in the doctrine of progress—the lay religion of his century. He exults in the hopefulness, the vitality, the optimism of the era. Already this promising undergraduate is in sympathetic communication with the deeper movements of his generation.

In the Commencement oration of 1884[1] Turner's adherence to the principle of democracy was given fresh restatement. His theme was "Architecture through Oppression." The oration begins with a reminder that the civilizations of the Old World have created many temples and cathedrals, works of architectural genius. These were the achievements of the common people's toils.

Art is a glorious gift to man; these works of architecture are a splendid contribution from those who were actors in life's romance, but how ill they suit with the state of the common men in the times in which they rose! When we think of the countless masses who wore the fetters of oppression how dark a shadow their anguish casts about these miracles of stone and marble that their sorrows helped to build.

And what of the present age? Does it display a more enlightened attitude?

Art is too divine a thing to live by the woes of the people. The civilization of the past, which was the condition of art's existence, left it sadly marred by the incompleteness, the distortion of that civilization. But now the world begins to see that true progress, true enlightenment, means the progress, the enlightenment of all. In this wave of democratic utilitarianism that is sweeping over the earth, art may seem engulfed, refinement destroyed, and men may shudder as the wave seems

[1] *University Press*, 15(39): 12 (June 21, 1884). This oration was awarded the Lewis prize.

about to hide forever all that remains of the ancient idea of the Beautiful. But the fear is groundless! In the very breadth and depth of the inundation lie the possibilities of a grander future. . . . The Nineteenth century is striving to build humanity into a glorious temple to its God,—his only fitting temple. When the greatest happiness of the greatest number shall have become something like a reality, when life's tragedy shall cease to clash with life's romance, and the squalor of the hovel shall no longer mar the cathedral's beauty,—then again may "music freeze into marble," and forests blossom into stone.

The value of these forgotten undergraduate pieces lies in the circumstance that they demonstrate young Turner's early adherence to the principles of democracy. The contemporary fame of the man as a professional historian is so great that it is in danger of hiding another of his rôles, possibly a superior rôle: American democracy's scholar. These student orations display his initial devotion to the idea of progress and to the spirit of democracy. His future scholarly work, critical in the mode of scientific investigation, had as its purpose the deeply ethical and patriotic aim of demonstrating to the citizens of a free state the nature of their past in order that today they might the better chart their course into the future. To be a historian was, therefore, not to be a closet scholar, selfishly intent on the minutiae of research for their own sake or calmly indifferent to the welfare of humanity beyond the university's walls. To be a historian, as Turner came to understand it, was to take part in a socially useful calling of the highest importance. With other leaders of the community the historian should endeavor to impress on the minds of the pupils "the principles of morality, truth, justice and patriotism . . . to instruct them in the principles of a free government, and to train them up to a true comprehension of the rights, duties, and dignity of American citizenship."[1]

The social ideas of this young man, early acquired, never disintegrated. To the last he retained his loyalty to democracy. This devotion continued to fertilize and to enrich his scholarship. This outlook of a convinced democrat colored all his work as teacher. It moved him to participate in schemes of university extension work so that the findings of the study should be made available to the public beyond the gates of the university. It prompted him to accept the burden of making Commencement speeches the length and breadth of the republic. It helped dictate his attitude toward his courses on general American history. In the autumn of 1891, for example, when ideas of Populism and Free Silver were much in the air, Turner inserted this observation into the college catalog: "In view of the needs of those who will take no other work in American history, partic-

[1] "An Act to Provide for a System of Common Schools," *Statutes of California Passed at the Sixteenth Session* (Sacramento, 1866), 400–401.

ular attention will be paid to those political and financial topics best suited to promote intelligent performance of the duties of citizenship." This remark, pointed at his elementary course on American history, illuminates his approach to the problem of teaching students in a democratic republic.

Diploma in hand, the new graduate faced the world. It was the summer of 1884. What to do? Should he go west, as so many others were doing at the time, and seek his fortune in a newer community? For a time, indeed, he entertained this notion. Turner's friend, Reuben Gold Thwaites, eight years older than he and restless in his job as managing editor of the Madison *Wisconsin State Journal*, urged this on him. Thwaites dreamed of moving to Colorado or New Mexico, setting up a newspaper there, and making a great deal of money. He wished Turner to go with him and form a partnership. Twice Thwaites went out to the Rocky Mountain country to look over the ground, and his enthusiasm for the proposed venture was great. Years afterward Turner recalled the invitation: " . . . he painted the life of the cattle region and the profit of advertising cattle brands in such terms as have always left a doubt whether it was not a golden opportunity lost!"[1]

The plan fell through. Thwaites stayed on as editor in Madison, and Turner found a place on his staff, reporting political news and serving as handy man around the office. The experience was a rich and valuable one. What he wrote afterwards of Thwaites may be taken to apply to himself during his own year of journalism: "He learned how to think quickly and to act, how to condense, to select the essential, to watch with discriminating eye the play of political forces about him, to study human nature intimately, and to report what he saw."[2]

But not for long did the *State Journal* retain the services of the two friends. The attractive personality and energetic habit of Thwaites won the regard of patriarchal Lyman Copeland Draper, the collector of manuscript materials on Western history. That elderly antiquarian looked about him for a successor to his post of Superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society, picked on Thwaites, and began training him for the future work of editor. In 1885 Thwaites took up his duties as Assistant Corresponding Secretary of the Society, and when Draper retired the following year, the younger man took over.

Turner, too, ended his journalistic experience. Of a reflective and philosophical cast of mind—Bascom and Bascom's faculty had done their work well—he doubtless wearied of the concrete, the practical, the repetitious routine. The idealism of his nature must have been tried by the pettiness

[1] *Reuben Gold Thwaites. A Memorial Address* (Madison, 1914), 38. [2] *Id.*, 18.

and blindness of much with which he came into contact. Wisconsin was still ruled by the lumber barons and the stalwarts; La Follette's cleansing broom had not yet begun to sweep. He returned to the college, where Professor Allen welcomed him. The institution had no fellowships to confer for advanced study, but Turner's reputation as an undergraduate orator was still green, and the President found him a post as tutor in rhetoric and oratory, where he assisted his former teacher, Professor Frankenburger. The tutorship provided Turner experience in classroom teaching and maintained him while he carried on his own advanced studies. He held the place for three years.

Madison in those days did not have facilities for advanced work in ancient or in medieval history, but it did possess, in the collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society, a good library of material relating to American history, both printed and manuscript. In addition, there were the manuscripts on Western history that Draper had collected, a treasure which it was hoped he would bequeath to the Society. Allen pointed out that American history was a promising field for research, that college teaching held a future, and Turner agreed. He registered as a candidate for the master's degree in American history and put himself under Allen's direction.

II

WHEN in the seventies William F. Allen first began to teach American history in the University of Wisconsin, the subject was inchoate and without organization. Plenty of old-fashioned books on special figures and particular periods existed, but there was no general view of the subject to be had. The first reliable textbook from the pen of an American did not issue till 1879, when Alexander Johnston published his *History of American Politics*.[1] Cultivation of the field by careful and trained scholars had barely begun. Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History* was unwritten; Henry Adams did not bring out his first volume till 1889; McMaster produced his first book in 1881, Schouler his first in 1880. Thus nearly everything was still to be done, and in the interest of an enlightened patriotism Allen set out to accomplish what he could by himself. Allen, belonging to the Godkin circle, keenly felt the degradation to which the democratic idea had been brought as a result of the scandals and corruption of the seventies.

He brought order into the mass of American historical materials,

[1] This textbook by Alexander Johnston (1849–1889) was the first really successful, scholarly work of the kind. Editions, revised from time to time, were published in 1879, 1880, 1882, 1890, 1892, 1898, 1907, and 1910.

divided the subject into periods, picked out leading themes as guides through each of these, compiled lists of useful books of value to readers, and, for the *Nation*, reviewed the new works of Von Holst, McMaster, and Schouler as one by one they issued from the press. Finally he published a *Syllabus of American History* (1883) and in this, the summation of his organization of the subject, supplied his pupil, Turner, with a point of departure for his own studies.[1]

The first grand division of American history, as Allen conceived of it in his *Syllabus*, was the period of Discoveries. This era was, for him, characterized by enterprises which were the outgrowth of the social and political life of the nations which entered into them. Leading topics here were the discovery of America, Spanish explorations and colonies within the limits of the United States, and French settlements in North America. The point of view was that of expansion from Europe into America, an interpretation advanced as early as 1809 by the German historian, Arnold H. L. Heeren, in his *History of the Political System of Europe and Its Colonies*, a work of which Allen was quite fond. Heeren studied the European nations in relation to their American dependencies and took careful note of the countereffects of the colonies on the mother lands. Allen naturally inserted as a topic in his *Syllabus* "The Relation of American to European History."

The second of Allen's major divisions was the Colonial Period, broken up into one subperiod running to 1688 and another terminating in 1763. His third chief division extended from 1763 to 1789, the Revolutionary Period; the fourth was the Period of the Republic or the National Period. Here the first subdivision was the era extending from 1789 to 1820, characterized, Allen thought, by the struggle for American diplomatic independence. The study of American foreign relations thus became the dominant interest. The subperiod from 1825 to 1845 was the time when economic questions were uppermost in politics and formed the leading themes: banks, the tariff, public lands. Of internal improvements, however, later a favorite theme with Turner, nothing was said. The final portion of the National Period, extending to 1876, was the Slavery Controversy. A review of this period, as Allen sketches it in his *Syllabus*, runs as follows: "the tariff question—the slavery controversy—the public lands—the Indian policy—the civil service—the Pacific railroad—the fisheries."[2]

Such was the *Syllabus* that Turner used as an undergraduate. A reading of its pages shows that Allen found time to discuss historical geography, economic and social subjects, the growth of democracy, the significance

[1] This forms part of his *History Topics*. See Hall, *Methods of Teaching History*, 330–336.
[2] *Syllabus of American History*, 61.

of territorial expansion, the rôle of sections, and racial relations with Negroes and with Indians. He well understood the importance of the West and of territorial expansion, for in his *Syllabus* he listed as subtopics such episodes as Pontiac's rebellion, the cession of the public lands at the close of the Revolution, the settlement of Kentucky, the formation of Tennessee, the purchase of Louisiana, and the organization of the Northwest Territory.

In a review of McMaster's second volume Allen took opportunity to characterize the period covered (1790–1803) as one

> . . . in many respects unsurpassed in importance by any other portion of American history of similar length. Within these years was settled the question of the future tendencies of the American people; and they hold much the same relation to the history of subsequent years that the aim of a gun holds to the direction of the bullet's flight. . . . The solid and substantial character which the Federalism of Hamilton, during the years 1789–97, gave to the national edifice secured by the Constitution; the sudden list to individualism, equally unexpected and undesired by the "fathers of the republic," which was given by the Democracy of Jefferson during the years 1793–1800; the territorial expansion of 1803, with its inevitable and far-reaching consequences—here were three fundamental and discordant forces, whose reduction to harmony would alone make this a period of vital importance in American history. As the ship, sliding from the ways, lurching first to one side then to the other, settles down into her natural position, American history, not only then but thereafter, was *made* during these fourteen years.[1]

Elsewhere in the same review Allen criticized McMaster for not allowing more space to a discussion of the Louisiana Purchase, for, to the Wisconsin professor, expansion was one of the three leading themes of our history. In a review of a volume by Von Holst dealing with American history from the annexation of Texas to the Compromise of 1850, Allen wrote:

> From that time [1844], although the fact was not at once clearly apparent and acknowledged, slavery formed the paramount issue in our politics. But it must be noticed that it was the *extension* of slavery that thus became the leading issue. The *existence* of slavery in the States was wholly a different question, and one which under our political system could never be more than a moral issue.[2]

Allen's emphasis on expansion into the West is suggestive enough to follow it further. The question of slavery in the territories was at bottom, he declared, a question of the power of the national government. What were the doctrines of the Democratic party, of the Whig party, and of the Republican party on this vexed question of the general government's

[1] *Nation*, XLI (1885), 54. [2] *Id.*, XXXII (1881), 280.

power? The Democratic party stood, Allen answered, on the doctrine that the national government possessed only those powers that were explicitly granted by the Constitution. The Democracy would therefore oppose the exercise of power over slavery in the territories. The Whig party concerned itself with tariffs and the bank, being the party of the commercial and moneyed interests of the Northern cities. The Whig party was incapable of espousing the Free-Soil cause, for that issue was too far removed from its primary economic interests, and furthermore the party wished to retain its hold on its own Southern wing. Under Calhoun, Allen wrote, the Democrats of the South had a leader and they had a program, but the Whig party had neither. The natural result followed. The Southern Whigs passed over into the Democratic party, which became an essentially Southern affair; the majority of the Northern Whigs gathered about new leaders, with a new party name and a positive policy—Republicanism, a doctrine affirming that extension of slavery in the territories must halt and that the national government did have the power to prohibit such extension. This whole phenomenon, as today can be seen, was an illustration of the dictum later announced by Turner when he wrote in 1893: "Loose construction increased as the nation marched westward."[1] Not from Lucius Q. C. Lamar in 1888, then, but from his own teacher did Turner derive the inspiration which set him on the track of one of his epoch-making generalizations.[2]

Where and how did Allen derive his views of the importance of western expansion in American history? History exhibits many examples and many varieties of the movement of peoples. The phenomena of expansion are not unknown to the student of Roman history, nor again to the reader of medieval history; with both these fields Allen had close familiarity. It was in 1883 that Sir John R. Seeley published a popular and influential work with the title *The Expansion of England.*

But one can draw the net tighter and point to a particular book, one known to Allen, and one bearing on American history, in which the theme of expansion is well handled. In 1875 a young Oxford graduate published as one of the volumes in Edward A. Freeman's "Historical Course for Schools" a little work with the innocent title *History of America.* The book is now quite forgotten, for if any read John A. Doyle today, they turn to his large-scale work on American colonial history. But Doyle's youthful publication is far from negligible. From undisturbed shelves lift the small handbook and weigh well the following:

[1] *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 25.

[2] For a contrary view, see Wirt A. Cate, "Lamar and the Frontier Hypothesis," *Journal of Southern History*, 1 (February, 1935), 497–501.

> I have already said that the history of the United States is, in great measure, the history of the process by which a small body of colonies on the Atlantic seaboard have spread towards the west. When that process is ended, it is possible that many of the peculiar features which distinguish America from the Old World will disappear. Hitherto land has been so abundant that the position of a tenant renting from a landlord has been almost unknown. But when the time comes that the unoccupied districts in the west have all been taken into cultivation, land may perhaps come to have the same value which it has in the Old World. So too men may be driven by want of land into manufactures. Hitherto men in the United States have always had before them the possibility of bettering themselves by a change of abode. Moreover the great demand for labour has given them a free choice of occupation, and thus led to rapid changes. The ease too with which money can be made has led men to concentrate their energies on business, and thus the luxuries and refinements of life have been to a great extent neglected. When the power of extension towards the west is at an end, all this will change, and we may reasonably suppose that the United States will become far more like the great nations of Europe.[1]

This penetrating observation is not the only one of that character in the book.

The twin themes of westward extension and sectional differences are to be found in Doyle's pages, and they give unity and form to his book. For those who would understand Allen's approach to American history, a close reading of it is suggested. But can one be certain that Allen knew of its existence? Proof of this is speedily forthcoming. An American edition of the work was brought out by Henry Holt of New York early in 1876, the text touched up here and there by Francis A. Walker, who enriched it further by four maps of his own construction. Three of these maps show the distribution of the population of the country in 1790, 1830, and 1870, respectively, and the fourth displays the acquisition of territory by the United States from 1776 to 1868. In Allen's list of books bearing on the history of the United States the Holt edition of Doyle's book is included with the comment: "An excellent English work."[2] Thwaites published his textbook, *The Colonies, 1492–1750*, early in 1891. In the short list of good books for readers and teachers with which he prefaced his narrative he cites the Holt edition of Doyle and commends it as "a good brief narrative."[3] Hence it is clear that the reputation of the book

[1] *History of America*, 386–387.

[2] Hall, *Methods of Teaching History*, 282. The London edition of Doyle's work was reviewed by Allen in the *Nation*, XXII (May, 1876), 296.

[3] *The Colonies, 1492–1750*, ix.

persisted in Madison. Turner, indeed, referred his class to it in 1892–1893.[1]

In so far as historical synthesis was concerned, Allen's ideas were definite. He urged that the "lost art of historical narration" be recovered, and he praised John Richard Green's *Short History of the English People* because Green had effected its recovery.[2] When the German historian of ancient Rome, Ihne, published his book in 1878, Allen, reviewing it for the *Nation*, deprecated Ihne's purely political explanation of Roman development. Historians are now beginning, Allen wrote, to look more and more to social and economic causes for the explanation of political phenomena.[3] This was another of his lessons not lost on his pupil, Turner. In sum, Allen stands out as a creative, fertilizing mind, replete with knowledge, alert in suggestion, and firm in insisting on scholarly discipline. The application of the topical method required in the pupil the exercise of the critical faculties and afforded from the beginning of his course abundant practice in the discovering of texts, the weighing and comparing of them, and their utilization in the form of a finished account.

It early occurred to Allen that the students in his university classes could perhaps be roused to interest in historical study by having their attention directed to local history. Accordingly he included in his reading list of 1883 a fair number of books relating to the West: works like John G. Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* ("indispensable to the student of western history"), R. Blanchard's *Discovery and Conquest of the Northwest*, and C. W. Butterfield's *The Washington-Irvine Correspondence* ("an important work for the history of the Northwest"). Thus Allen began quietly to exert an influence toward the cultivation of research in the history of the region west of the Alleghany Mountains. Close at hand the Wisconsin Historical Society had brought together a good collection of books relating to that region, and old Dr. Draper had accumulated a rich trove of manuscripts. Allen set to work to see to it that this important material was used, and used according to the most approved methods of critical scholarship. The historical library, according to his way of thinking, was Clio's laboratory, and he wished to see experimenters at work therein.

[1] Dr. Edward L. Hardy graduated from the University of Wisconsin with the degree of B.L. in 1893. During his last two years he elected courses in American history with Turner and accumulated an extensive file of notes recording the opinions of the lecturer. In April, 1940, Dr. Hardy, with marked generosity, presented these to me. On going through them again lately, I noted a reference by Turner to the maps in Doyle's *History of America* in Dr. Hardy's notes on the course on American Economic and Social History which he had in 1892–1893.

[2] *Nation*, XX (1875), 226. [3] *Id.*, XXXII (1881), 151.

He had first set Turner at work in the scholar's laboratory when, in his junior year, Turner had taken Allen's course in American history. The results of the undergraduate's delvings were published in the Portage *State Register* for June 23, 1883, under the title "History of the 'Grignon Tract' on the Portage of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers." The Grignon tract lay within the city limits of Portage, and Turner's paper traced the history of this plat of land from 1793, when an Indian trader wintered at the portage between the rivers, down to the middle of the nineteenth century, when a town had risen on the site of the trader's camp. For materials Turner used such sources as the *Annals of Congress*, the *American State Papers—Public Lands*, the recollections of an old pioneer published in the Wisconsin Historical Society's volumes, and manuscript deeds and other documents of the clerk of Columbia County, Wisconsin, on file in the courthouse. The work gave Turner no opportunity for polite literary composition, but it showed that he had learned from Allen how a piece of historical investigation is carried on, and it taught him, on the way, the pregnant truth that history is the tracing of social growth. In the brief history of Portage he saw, neatly isolated, an instance of the evolution of a community from a camp site in less than two generations. In turn the Indians, the French, and the Americans had possessed the place. Some of the documents he had used were in French. What were the deepest implications of that fact? And some of the deeds he pored over were to be had, in the original, only in Brown County, Michigan. Why so? The topic Allen had given him was trivial enough, but an honest and inquiring mind could learn much from it, provided that mind possessed the quality of receptivity. Turner read omnivorously: receptive his mind most emphatically was. Five years from the time he published this early effort, he had taken his master's degree with a well-constructed and well-written thesis on the development of the Indian trade in Wisconsin. The logical connection between the essay of 1883 and that of 1888 is clear.

It was the fur trade which drew the first white men to Wisconsin, men of French stock. The primitive period of Wisconsin history was the period of the French fur trade, and this Turner set himself to study as a part of his advanced work for his degree. In these studies Parkman's *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* was of help as a point of departure. The copious store of documents in the collections of the Historical Society added much more. Most of all, the critical guidance and counsel of Allen were of avail to him, pointing out the proper divisions of the subject, the connections between the periods, and the significance of the developments recorded. When the study was done, Turner was able to stand on one side and see that he had traced the evolution of a commonwealth from its rude

beginnings as a field for barter with savages down to the time when the general government opened land offices to sell farms to the incoming white settlers of American nationality. During this period the fur trade had waxed and waned, and the Indian trader had fulfilled his mission as the pathfinder of civilization.

In the preparation of his thesis Turner spent three years. He began graduate study, as we should now term it, in 1885, and he received his master's degree at Commencement, 1888. As a graduate student he had the undivided attention of his teacher, and under such fortunate conditions, given the particular pupil, his growth in learning and historical insight was quite what might have been expected.

While carrying on his advanced studies, Turner had also been gaining experience in classroom teaching. During the college session of 1885–1886 he taught rhetoric and oratory. In the year that followed he taught rhetoric for part of the time and for the rest offered a course of his own on American history, a branch of the field which Allen had taught. Informing is the announcement in the catalog for 1886–1887: "American History (Mr. Turner). Allen's *History Topics* with any good United States history of the higher grade; Johnston, Leeds and Higginson's *Larger History* are especially recommended. Outline maps are used for marking territorial changes."

Allen offered Turner sufficient opportunity for growth and encouraged him to take part in the life of the department. In the college year of 1887–1888, the last in which Turner was registered as a candidate for the master's degree, he presented two courses in American history. He gave the elementary course twice a week in the fall and winter terms. And he offered a new, more advanced course in which the subject was treated "more largely from the genetic standpoint than the preceding; developed by topics. Twice a week for one year." The final offering in the field was a seminar in English and American history, probably controlled by Allen himself.

The first stage of his period of apprenticeship ended for Turner at Commencement, 1888, when he took his degree of master of arts, submitting the thesis already referred to, "The Influence of the Fur Trade in the Development of Wisconsin."[1] The key word in the title is "development." It was soon printed with the altered title *The Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin*.[2] In this essay Turner centered his effort on making plain the evolutionary stages in the history of the Wisconsin fur trade. Though it was an exercise in local history, he did

[1] *Catalogue of the University of Wisconsin*, 1888–1889 (Madison, 1889), 14.

[2] *Proceedings*, Wisconsin State Historical Society, XXXVI (Madison, 1889), 52–98

not conceive of the subject in any cramped way. He saw truly that this vanished form of economic activity in Wisconsin was of continental importance. The final paragraph of the study shows that the young author understood the place of the fur trade in the genetic series of Wisconsin's economic activities:

> The Indian village became the trading post, the trading post became the city. The trails became our early roads. . . . In a word, the fur trade closed its mission by becoming the path finder for agriculture and manufacturing civilization.[1]

Turner's first historical publication was his *Outline Studies in the History of the Northwest*, published by Charles H. Kerr and Company of Chicago in 1888. This syllabus, Turner's earliest, bears a family resemblance to that of Allen. It is made up of topical outlines and references to pertinent books and materials, and furnishes directions for study by reading-circle groups. The booklet supplied readings not only on the history of the Old Northwest but also on the regions of the Missouri Valley, the basin of the Columbia, and our outpost, Alaska. Thus by indirection there is manifested the theme of expansion; and so, too, that of social development or evolution. The list of topics starts with the following: the land and the aborigines, French exploration, French occupation, French and Indian wars, English and Spanish dominance, the Northwest in the Revolution, the Ordinance of 1787, the Northwest Territory, the Louisiana Purchase, slavery in the Northwest. These topics afford a rapid survey of the region between the Rockies and the Alleghanies and sum up centuries of growth. Then follow such other topics as the exploration and occupation of the Northwest Coast, the struggle for Oregon, the Great American Desert, and the Alaska Purchase. From these aspects of the processes of growth and expansion Turner goes on to the final topic of the series:

> 15. The Northwest of To-day.
>
> a. A Century of Progress in the Old Northwest.
>
> b. The New Northwest.
>
> c. Effect of the Northwest on the United States.[2]

Clearly the concept of social development is fundamental to the organization of this work, compact though it is.

A more ambitious effort, and one giving greater scope for the display of his ability, was a contribution from Turner in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. This is an account of Wisconsin. It falls natu-

[1] *Id.*, 97–98.

[2] *Outline Studies in the History of the Northwest*, 6.

rally into two parts. The first and longer section deals topically with such matters as population, cities, agriculture, civil administration, and the system of democratic education. In short, Turner provides the reader with a cross-sectional view of the social, economic, and institutional life of Wisconsin in 1885. In the second section of his essay he provides a historical explanation of how this condition of affairs had come into being.

> Notable in this latter part of the essay is the masterly way in which he traces the social evolution of the Wisconsin community from its primitive beginnings in prehistoric times forward to the complex exfoliation of urban and industrial life in the late nineteenth century. So smoothly and so easily do the sentences of this portion of the article move that one reads them all but unaware of the fact that behind the lucid prose there exists a well-integrated, historical philosophy, characterized by strong devotion to the genetic method of investigation. . . .
>
> This piece should be read as the sequel to, and the natural continuation of, Turner's essay on the fur trade in its earlier form. It must have been written at the latest before he went East to study at the Johns Hopkins university.[1]

Before Turner completed this piece of writing, he had had to master much of the factual material on Wisconsin contained in the massive and numerous volumes of the Census of 1880. The essay proves that already Turner had embarked on that sociological way of writing history which he never afterward forsook. The pattern and model for that sort of investigation will appear in due course.

It becomes clear beyond question that the several products of young Turner's historical teaching and publication display coherence in relation to each other because all are outgrowths of a fundamental, unifying concept—that of evolution applied to social phenomena. As has been seen, he taught his advanced course in American history "from the genetic standpoint." He constructed his syllabus for the study of Northwestern history on developmental lines. He studied the history of the Wisconsin fur trade as an example of a transforming economic force which converted a wilderness into a settled community. In his *Britannica* article on Wisconsin he followed the same mode of treatment: not narration, but scientific explanation; not jaunty narratives and flowing tales to delight the imagination, but topics for the evolutionist. And it is well to make explicit the conclusion that this adherence to the concept of the genetic and evolutionary approach was unmistakably manifested by Turner before

[1] "Little Known Fragments of Turner's Writings," Fulmer Mood, Editor, *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XXIII (March, 1940), 329–330 (the quotation is from the editor's Introduction). One of the "fragments" here reprinted is the article on Wisconsin, first published in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (XXIV. 616–619), and reprinted in the tenth edition (XXXIII. 861–862).

he left Madison to undertake higher studies in history at Johns Hopkins University.

At Baltimore, where he studied for two terms, his familiarity with this evolutionary line of thinking was deepened. Among the several courses he took there with much profit was one on the history of political economy, taught by the vigorous and intellectually attractive Richard T. Ely. He also took Ely's course, "Special Economic Questions."[1] Ely included the substance of his lectures on the history of political economy in his book, *An Introduction to Political Economy*, published in February, 1889, and it can be easily shown that in one way or another Turner rapidly became acquainted with its contents.

It will be recalled that in "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" Turner deals with the course of social evolution in the United States.

> It begins with the Indian and the hunter; it goes on to tell of the disintegration of savagery by the entrance of the trader, the pathfinder of civilization; we read the annals of the pastoral stage in ranch life; the exploitation of the soil by the raising of unrotated crops of corn and wheat in sparsely settled farming communities; the intensive culture of the denser farm settlement; and finally the manufacturing organization with city and factory system.[2]

One has only to turn to Ely's *An Introduction to Political Economy* and glance at the title to the sixth chapter, which bears the heading "The Stages in the Economic Development of Civilization," to arrive at one of the proximate sources of the concept of sequence of economic stages already cited in Turner's essay. This chapter of Ely's covers much human history in three pages.[3] The opening paragraph, dealing with "prehistoric economy," is based on the sixteenth chapter of Sir John Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times*. The succeeding paragraph on "modern man" is founded upon the eleventh chapter of Sir Henry Maine's *Early Law and Custom*. Ely fills the gap between primitive and modern times by positing a series of "economic stages" as follows:

> We begin in our description of economic stages with the time when men had learned to kindle fires, to eat meat, and to live in some kind of political communities, however imperfect. We then divide economic development from this time up to the present into five stages when viewed from the stand-point of the production of material goods. . . . The following are the stages into which we may

[1] Official transcript of advanced courses taken by Frederick J. Turner at Johns Hopkins University.

[2] *Early Writings of Turner*, 198.

[3] Richard T. Ely, *An Introduction to Political Economy* (New York, 1889), 39–41.

roughly divide economic progress when it is viewed from the stand-point of him who inquires how goods are produced:

1. The hunting and fishing stage.
2. The pastoral stage.
3. The agricultural stage.
4. The trades and commerce stage.
5. The industrial stage.[1]

In his seventh chapter Ely goes on to take up the characteristics of the different economic stages, defining and explaining them in detail.[2] He observes in conclusion that the literature on the subject in English is inadequate; therefore he supplies a bibliography in which he includes material available in the European languages.[3]

No indication is given here by Ely as to the source of this scheme of economic stages, but by consulting a later work of his, *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society*, the answer to the question is found. A pertinent section from that later work may be quoted:

> The idea of the evolution of society in general has been one of slow, general acceptance. . . . Even before . . . [the time of the German Historical School, numbering Hildebrand, Roscher, and Knies,] Friedrich List, a German economist, who had lived for several years in the United States and was deeply impressed with our growth, had advanced the idea of an industrial evolution. In his *National System of Political Economy*, he says, "In the economical development of nations, it is necessary to distinguish the following principal stages: the savage state, the pastoral state, the agricultural state, the agricultural and manufacturing state, and finally, the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial state."[4]

His footnote reference leads back to the first American edition of List's work just cited, a translation from the German published at Philadelphia in 1856. List is thus seen as one of the first in the nineteenth century to spread this idea of a sequence of economic stages.

Still another proximate source for the concept may be found in the voluminous writings of Francis Amasa Walker, successively army officer, superintendent of the ninth and tenth censuses, professor of history and political economy at Yale, and, finally, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Walker introduced the idea of stages into the census reports prepared under his direction; with these, of course, Turner was thoroughly familiar. In his extensive treatise, *Political Economy, Advanced Course*, Walker discourses at some little length on the hunter

[1] Ely, *Introduction to Political Economy*, 41. [2] *Id.*, 42–50. [3] *Id.*, 53–54.
[4] Ely, *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society* (New York, 1903), 21 and *n.* 1. In the Philadelphia edition of List the scheme of stages is found on page 72.

state, the pastoral state, the agricultural state, and the manufacturing state.[1] No doubt he too had derived the idea from List. Since Ely had a high opinion of Walker's economic thinking, always referred to him with respect, and paid him the compliment of assigning his books for student reading, one can reasonably conclude that Turner had before him at least three opportunities of getting acquainted with the notion of economic stages: directly from Ely in the classroom or from his newly published book; directly from one or another of Walker's systematic treatises on economic theory; and indirectly from the incidental use of the concept as it is found scattered here and there through the pages of descriptive matter in the Census of 1880 and of works derived from it. Sufficient evidence could be drawn upon to demonstrate that Turner was well acquainted with more than one of Walker's writings. As between Walker and Ely, however, the probability exists that Turner found the concept of economic stages more simply and schematically outlined in the thought of the latter than in the work of the former.

In conclusion, then, we find that eminent thinkers like Maine and Lubbock and Herbert Spencer and Walker and Ely were employing this or a similar concept to organize the data of their special studies.[2] Little wonder, therefore, that a rising and alert young scholar like Turner did not hesitate to follow suit and conduct his own researches in accord with so useful a doctrine.[3]

III

FROM an intellectual viewpoint the distinguishing features of Turner's article on Wisconsin are its certitude and its air of calm maturity. How does it happen that a young man scarcely twenty-eight years old could

[1] Francis A. Walker, *Political Economy, Advanced Course* (2nd ed., New York, 1887), 44–53.

[2] Ely's popularization of this concept of stages gave it wide currency. Note, for example, its influence on his pupil, Charles J. Bullock, in Bullock's *Introduction to the Study of Economics* (Boston, 1897), Chapter II, "The Growth of Foundational Industry." Bullock had studied at Wisconsin under Ely. Through the medium of *Elementary Principles of Economics*, together with *A Short Sketch of Economic History* (New York, 1904, and later editions), both by Ely and George R. Wicker, the concept reached an immense audience on both the high school and college levels. Book II, "The Natural History of a Society," in Albion W. Small and George M. Vincent, *An Introduction to the Study of Society* (New York, 1894), comes pretty close to the idea. Ely and Small were at Baltimore at the same time.

[3] Of course, to take over, however critically, any *a priori* scheme or concept is to run a grave risk. The Listian sequence of stages is today firmly embedded in Turner's great essay, and today the Listian concept can be asserted to be, as a universal rule, a fallacious idea. It is one component element in Turner's essay that will not now stand the test of inspection.

handle so firmly and so tellingly a difficult historico-sociological synthetic problem like this, a problem which would give even a seasoned researcher pause? The answer lies in the fund of knowledge the young man had already accumulated. In addition to his evolutionary outlook, he had somehow acquired a fondness for the sociological approach which hereafter stood him in good stead. The texture of nearly all of Turner's historical work, even from the very beginning, has solidity, richness, and body. He derived this special strength from an attentive and prolonged study of a now neglected work of reference, *Scribner's Statistical Atlas*.

During the year 1887 the Wisconsin Historical Society acquired by purchase a copy of a folio compilation prepared by Fletcher Hewes and Henry Gannett, *Scribner's Statistical Atlas of the United States Showing by Graphic Methods Their Present Condition and Their Political, Social and Industrial Development* (New York, 1885).[1] Gannett, the leading co-editor, had lately served as geographer of the Tenth Census and was now chief geographer of the United States Geological Survey. He was a serious student, a prolific writer, and an organizing genius of high powers.[2] The influence of this *Atlas* on young Turner's historical thinking has never been appreciated: it was a factor in drawing him toward the sociological approach to history. Without the wealth of material of many different kinds contained in this huge folio, and without his careful study of its suggestive pages, one feels confident that Turner would not have evolved into the master we know. It was the thorough assimilation of the lessons implicit in *Scribner's Atlas* that made it possible for his genius to take that fruitful trend leading to results which the world has not yet done admiring. The *Atlas* is often referred to by Turner and by his early students. His footnotes acknowledge his dependence on its data. He frequently recommended it to his pupils. Pondering on the material presented by this extensive survey of a nation's resources, he silently added stature to his historical thinking and to his scholarly comprehension.

It will be well, therefore, to consider some of the salient points of the book itself, although it is really too massive to yield to effective summarization. One ought to approach it with the understanding that no matter how common such works may be today, they were rare a half century ago; and that this *Atlas*, viewed from whatever point in time, must be regarded as a brilliant achievement. A particularized description of the purpose of the *Atlas* is given in the Preface:

[1] *Proceedings*, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, XXXV (Madison, 1888), 16.

[2] On Gannett, in addition to the sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, see Simon N. D. North, *Henry Gannett, President of the National Geographic Society, 1910–1914* (Washington, 1915).

It is the aim of this work to bring together and to present by graphic methods, all the leading statistical facts regarding the physical, social, industrial, commercial and political conditions of the United States. It portrays the physical features of the country, which more or less determine its development; the political history of the nation, the succession of parties and the ideas for which they existed; and the progress of settlement, from the eastern seaboard, across the Appalachians, throughout the valley of the Mississippi, and beyond the barriers of the Cordilleras. It treats of the population, its varieties of race and nativity, its educational and religious condition, its occupations, and its mortality. Passing to the industries, it exhibits the great leading branches, agriculture, manufactures, mining, trade and transportation. Under the head of Finance and Commerce, it pictures the wealth of the country, and its public debt and taxation, its foreign commerce and carrying trade, its expenditures and its sources of revenue—thus presenting to the comprehension of all, the balance sheet of the General Government. The work closes fittingly with a series of diagrams which summarize and bring together for comparison, the leading facts previously developed.[1]

Hewes and Gannett, in other words, aimed at furnishing a many-sided description of American society as it existed in the year 1880. Though the word "sociology" then was but little employed in this country, one can see that the compilers of the *Atlas* approached their task in the spirit of sociological learning, broadly understood. Their production supplied American readers with the most thorough graphical presentation of the nation's condition and resources that had ever been available up to that time. Geographers, economists, and numerous other experts, working cooperatively with statistical tools and graphical techniques, prepared a cross section of American society at the given moment.

Where the labor of the sociologists ended, the task of the historian began. His was the function of explaining how that which was had come to be. Turner was to undertake to do his share to complete the work begun by Hewes and Gannett.

Once young Turner had fallen under the fascination of this suggestive and provocative work, he learned to think of the American scene in terms of vast physiographic provinces, each exerting a slow and invisible pressure on the life within its bounds: the Atlantic Slope, the Mississippi Basin, the Pacific Slope. He learned to think of American agriculture in terms of corn belts, wheat belts, sugar bowls, tobacco zones, and cotton belts. In 1880 each of these crops dominated certain areas, and in definite fashion the cartographer and the economist exhibited the facts. It was for

[1] *Scribner's Statistical Atlas*, Fletcher Hewes and Henry Gannett, Editors (New York, 1885), vii (hereinafter cited as *Atlas*). Hewes was apparently responsible for the editing of the text; he had compiled other works earlier. Fittingly, the work was dedicated to Francis A. Walker.

the historian to ask himself how that domination had been attained. What factors of soil, climate, racial skill, labor supply, markets for the surplus, and so on had led to the ultimate result? To ask questions like these was to block out the work looking forward to a future history of American agriculture.

From study of the maps showing the distribution, by counties, of manufacturing establishments the historian was led to note that American industry was a sectional rather than a national phenomenon of our life, for it was restricted to two main regions: the North Central states and the North Atlantic states. The composition of the American population and the distribution of the several component elements also came to be a matter that fascinated him. The *Atlas* showed that different racial elements were spread out over the country in patterns which suggested that deep-lying causes were at work to occasion these arrangements. In the Southern states, for example, occurred a Negro belt: its regions of highest concentration coincided, interestingly enough, with the counties producing the heaviest crops of cotton. In the North Central states was to be found the heaviest concentration of German-born immigrants, and in the North Atlantic states the heaviest concentration of the Irish-born. Why these particular distributions? Was it chance, or the expression of hidden historical forces which could be isolated and explained by historical analysis? Hence the need for a history of American immigration began to appear, one which would comprehend the leading foreign stocks. The student discovered that maps showing the membership of the several religious denominations held their own fascination: what historical conditions would account for the distribution as shown on these maps? Was not a study of American religious history called for?

As for politics, the *Atlas* contained not only a series of colored maps showing the "predominant vote" in presidential elections from 1824 onward,[1] but also a colored map indicating by counties the popular vote for the presidency in 1880,[2] and showing "the ratio between the predominant and the total vote." To consult this map was to stir the historical imagination. How did it happen that some counties were overwhelmingly Republican while others, sometimes adjoining, were heavily Democratic? Why was it that, in general, the Democrats and the Republicans inhabited different territorial regions, each tending to be a continuous zone? And why were enclaves of Democrats, for example, found in central Minnesota, interior Ohio, and Pennsylvania? Or why were there isolated bodies of Republicans in tidewater Virginia, eastern Tennessee, the delta region of Louisiana, and the gulf coast of Texas? Such facts prompted investigation

[1] *Atlas*, Plates 7–10. [2] *Id.*, Plate 11.

of the history of parties in relation to physiography, crop interests, racial composition, and religious belief. Thus the *Atlas* began to teach Turner the lesson of multiple correlation of social, economic, political, and geographic factors.

A section of the *Atlas* that Turner found of surpassing interest was an essay, "Progress of Settlement," which provided a suggestive outline of the development of the westward movement, showing how pioneers had first occupied the Atlantic Slope, then had crossed the Alleghanies, and had subsequently advanced into the continental interior. Not the least valuable feature of the essay was its accompanying clear and attractive maps illustrating the various points discussed in the text.[1] In some cases the maps were arranged in series designed to show the developing situation at ten-year intervals. There was, for instance, one group of maps designed to show the westward advance of population in 1790 and at every subsequent decade down to 1880. Beginning with that for 1830, these maps also showed the evolution, decade by decade, of the railway net.[2]

Turner studied these maps closely. Minute comparison of particular sentences in "The Significance of the Frontier" with the text, together with the accompanying maps, of this essay, "Progress of Settlement," and with the pertinent maps of the same sort in the reports of the Census of 1880 establishes the fact that Turner had at his elbow the census maps and the *Atlas* essay when he was composing his famous essay. In nearly every case, for example, Turner based his description of the location of the frontier line in a given census year upon the account given in the *Atlas*. In passing, an instance of Turner's careful workmanship in preparing this essay may be cited. Describing the frontier line of 1850, he wrote: "Minnesota and Wisconsin still exhibited frontier conditions."[3] The *Atlas* map for the frontier of that year, however, does not credit Minnesota with any inhabitants, and the frontier line does not extend into the area, though eastern Iowa and southern Wisconsin are shown as partly settled. But the map in the report of the Census of 1880 showing the frontier of 1850 gives the explanation of the apparent discrepancy. This map, which is more detailed, shows that in the region of the Twin Cities the beginnings of settlement had been made. Turner must therefore have checked the two sets of maps against each other and then decided to follow the more accurate one at this point of disagreement.

These *Atlas* maps repeatedly suggested the theme of westward movement. Those, foi instance, illustrating the distribution of foreign-born residents in the United States in 1880 made it clear that these people had

[1] For the text of the essay, see *id.*, xxxvii–xl; for the maps, see *id.*, Plates 12–17.

[2] *Id.*, Plates 15–17. [3] *Early Writings of Turner*, 195.

in many instances gone from the seaboard to the interior. This was true of such nationalities as Germans, English, and Welsh, British-Americans, Scandinavians, and, to a somewhat less extent, the Irish. A study of the maps illustrating the interstate migration of native-born Americans indicated that they too were taking part in this westward movement. For example, New York-born persons moved west to Michigan, Wisconsin, and the farther North Central states. Pennsylvanians settled thickly in the North Central states, the prairies, and the mountain West. Indiana and Ohio folk scattered out all over the Mississippi Valley and even reached the Pacific Northwest. Georgians moved on into the Deep South and Texas. Tennesseeans drifted into Arkansas, Kansas, Colorado, and Texas. It was plain that the American people exhibited an extreme readiness to change their place of residence. More than 9,500,000 people out of roughly 50,000,000 had been born in states other than those in which they resided in 1880. This westward movement of the native-born stocks took place mainly along the parallels of latitude, the North Altantic states sending colonists into the North Central region, and that region providing settlers for the further West while a similar line of movement originated in the South Atlantic states.[1]

From data contained in other *Atlas* maps one could see that as the people moved westward, they promoted the development of some of the amenities of civilization. Take, for example, educational institutions.[2] Maps of secondary schools, universities and colleges, and specialized schools showed that the frontier of education had moved westward since colonial days. In 1880 there were 364 colleges and universities in the United States. But the day had long since passed when the ancient foundations on the Atlantic Slope monopolized the field. In the older section of the Middle West, for example, were Oberlin and Beloit. Out on the borders of civilization, in states like Nebraska and Kansas, new colleges were springing up. Though the western half of Nebraska was still an unpeopled wilderness, the people of that state had already founded at Lincoln a university which was not yet ten years old when the *Atlas* was published. Facts like this suggested the need for an historical account of the rise and spread of American educational institutions as one phase of the growth of American civilization.

In still another way the *Atlas* proved to be suggestive, for it contained an essay by Henry Gannett, "The Natural Grouping of the States," which offered Turner the theoretical basis for a geographical concept of American sectionalism.[3] Gannett divided the United States into three large sections, each corresponding to a primary topographic division of

[1] *Atlas*, xli–li. [2] *Id.*, Plates 54–57. [3] *Id.*, xxiii–xxiv.

the country: the Atlantic Slope, the Mississippi Basin, and the Cordilleran region reaching from the Rockies to the Pacific Coast. The first was divided into two zones, the North Atlantic and the South Atlantic states. Taken together, these made up the "old" settlements. The states of the second main division were those in the Mississippi Valley and fell "naturally" into two groups, the North Central and the South Central states. They had been settled more recently. The third major division was the West, as yet a region either sparsely peopled or not settled at all.

The merit of this classification was that it brought out clearly certain salient features that neighboring states had in common. Thus, for example, when the North Atlantic and the North Central states were treated as a combined group, it was found that 85.8 per cent of the foreign-born population lived within their bounds; when the South Atlantic and the South Central states were similarly grouped together, it was seen that 90.5 per cent of the Negro population resided inside their limits. In the North Atlantic group were 266 urban units out of a total of 580; in the North Central, 213; in both Southern regions, only 78. If manufacturing were considered, this grouping was once more seen to be of usefulness, for the figures showed that the North Atlantic states had manufactures as their primary interest, the North Central states had important manufactures, and the other groups had either few or no manufactures whatever. If it were a question of agriculture, it was seen, on a sectional grouping, that the North Central states produced 71 per cent of all cereals grown in the nation, and the combined Southern sections produced 99.6 per cent of all cotton, sugar, and rice grown. According to this classification the West was a section of rough topography, arid climate, and sparse population, with unimportant agriculture and manufactures, but with mining and ranching as primary occupations.

Today, to be sure, when this and similar methods of ordering social data are so familiar, it is possible to overlook the novelty and the suggestiveness of Gannett's arrangement. Half a century ago, however, the scheme marked an advance in sociological analysis. Hitherto men had loosely used such expressions as "the South," "the West," or "the North" without giving them a specific content. By working out this useful scheme Gannett, building on Francis A. Walker's work, gave these "natural groups" a positive content in geography, economics, and politics.

This portion of the *Atlas* must have helped Turner in the development of his concept of sectionalism, for it made possible the interrelation of the factors of physiography, economic activity, and political views. He did not, however, take over the scheme unchanged, for where the *Atlas* divided the Atlantic Coast into two sections, Turner required for his

work three—New England, the Middle Atlantic region, and the South. By this alteration he showed his critical power as a historian in that he recognized the important difference between Quaker and German Pennsylvania, for instance, and the section east of the Hudson with its English-bred stocks. Further, it may be noted that Turner refused to enslave his mind, where sectionalism was concerned, by blindly accepting the framework of categories the *Atlas* provided. The scheme had its utility as method, but Turner did not forget that it was no more than an aid to thinking; hence he refused to deal with it as though these instrumental concepts possessed an objective reality of their own. He knew from experience, as also from a study of the maps in the *Atlas*, that between sections adjoining one another there were no hard and fast boundaries of crops, denominations, or political opinions. In between lay marginal areas which shaded off from centers of predominance into something less.

Excellent though this Gannett classification of natural groupings of the states proved itself when Turner first studied it, he did not adopt it permanently. Here one has an opportunity to point out how Turner would throw overboard a theory once he had learned of a superior one. Gannett's three-fold classification—the Atlantic Slope, the Mississippi Valley, and the Cordilleran region—was retained by Turner up to 1895. Then a better scheme was published: *Physiographic Regions of the United States* (New York, 1895), the work of Major John W. Powell of United States Geological Survey fame.[1] Powell conceived of the terrain of the United States as being made up of four major physiographic slopes: those of the Atlantic, the Great Lakes, the Gulf, and the Pacific. Progressing from east to west, one observes, according to the Powell classification, the following principal physiographic unities: the Atlantic Plains, the Piedmont Plateaus, the Appalachian Ranges, the Alleghany and New England Plateaus, the Lake Plains, the Prairie Plains, the Great Plains, the series of mountain ranges that form the backbone of the continent, and, finally, the Pacific Mountains. Powell discusses each of these unities in

[1] In its first edition this work (published by the American Book Company) was issued as one of the *National Geographic Monographs* (I, Number 3). It was republished the following year (1896) by the National Geographic Society, Washington. It was used by Turner in his classroom teaching for many years. When I studied the history of the West as a Harvard undergraduate in 1919–1920, I was required to have the substance of this essay completely at my command. As the scientific study of physiography developed, Turner kept pace with it and made use of new findings. The paragraph in the text can be rounded out by the following quotation: "I have generalized from the report of N. M. Fenneman, *Physiographic Divisions of the United States* (Association of American Geographers *Annals*, XVIII, 261–353), and A. K. Lobeck, *Physiographic Diagram of the United States* (Madison, Wis., 1922). . . . An older, and still useful, analysis is J. W. Powell, 'Physiographic Regions of the United States. . . .'" Frederick J. Turner, *The United States, 1830–1850: The Nation and Its Sections* (New York, 1935), 2, *n.* 2.

a systematic, detailed way and rounds out his discussion by providing a map in color of the several regions. The study of Powell's map and accompanying text was long a "must" assignment for those who studied under Turner.

On August 30, 1896, soon after Powell's publication had appeared, Turner wrote to Walter Hines Page of the *Atlantic Monthly* staff that he was basing his work in American history on the natural physiographic divisions as outlined by Powell: "I find it revolutionizes the study, and I hope sometime to work out a book along those lines."[1] He went on to give Page an enthusiastic account of his new understanding of the physiographic basis of sectionalism and to trace the relations between the West and the subsections which composed it, and between the West and the Atlantic Coast.

Almost a decade later Turner was still harping strongly on the theme of the importance of studying the basis of sectionalism.

> The physiographers have recognized the existence of natural provinces and have mapped them under such names as the New England Plateaus, the Piedmont Plains, the Lake and Prairie Plains, the Gulf Plains, the Great Plains, etc. The Census Bureau has likewise attempted sectional divisions, on the basis of its maps of population, industrial conditions, resources, etc. . . . But as yet the historian has hardly begun the serious study of sectionalism, in the continent as a whole. And yet this is a fundamental fact in American history. We need studies designed to show what have been and are the natural, social, and economic divisions in the United States.[2]

Still another topic taken up by the *Atlas* interested Turner. This was Gannett's essay, "Density of Population."[3] From this essay the following passage of central importance is quoted:

> There are to be seen in the United States nearly all conditions of industry attendant upon different degrees of density of population. Generally speaking, the North Atlantic states are too densely populated to support all their inhabitants by agriculture, and, consequently, a large part of the population is engaged in manufactures and commercial and professional occupation. In the South Atlantic states and the eastern part of the South Central states, the population has not yet reached the limit of self-support by means of agriculture. Manufactures are, however, springing up in this section, and, as the population continues to grow, a constantly increasing proportion will be obliged to seek other vocations besides farming. The North Central section, from the Ohio westward to the frontier line

[1] The original MS. is in the Harvard College Library.

[2] "Problems in American History" (1904), *The Significance of Sections in American History* (New York, 1932), 9.

[3] *Atlas*, xliii-xliv and Plate 22.

of settlements in Nebraska and Kansas, shows all the gradations, from the very densely populated agricultural community to those which, in consequence of the excess of land at their disposal, raise from the soil far more than they themselves require for subsistence. Generally throughout the Western states and territories, agriculture is the prevailing occupation, but in certain parts of this section the profitable interest of mining has changed all the conditions.[1]

Implicit in this description of American life there is, of course, a theory of the evolution of each natural group of states from lowest into higher stages of social and economic organization. In the North Atlantic states the highest stage, that of manufactures, had already been reached; while in the West, society still lingered on in the ranching or simpler agricultural phase. This account of Gannett's sounds like a dim anticipation of certain passages in Turner's "Frontier" essay of 1893. It may be noted in passing that Gannett had subscribed to the concept of stages of economic progress which he derived from his former chief, Francis A. Walker.

Once Turner had acquired a taste for statistical and sociological data such as the *Atlas* and the preceding census reports contained, he contrived to keep up with the new government publications along those lines. Soon after the Census of 1890 was taken, the Census Bureau commenced publishing preliminary papers on particular aspects of its findings. Late in October there was issued Number 12 of the census bulletins, *Population of the United States by States and Territories, 1890*. Though signed by the Superintendent of the Census, it was probably wholly written by Gannett. The opening portion of the bulletin deals with the scheme of classifying the states and territories according to natural groups; it is, therefore, a repetition of the discussion already referred to in the *Atlas*. But from his summary of the West, where "the leading industries are agriculture, mining, and grazing," the author goes on to generalize:

In the course of settlement and development of a country the industries commonly follow one another in a certain order. After the hunter, trapper, and prospector, who are commonly the pioneers, the herdsman follows, and for a time the raising of cattle is the leading industry. As settlement becomes less sparse, this is followed by agriculture, which in its turn, as the population becomes more dense, is succeeded by manufactures, and, as a consequence, the aggregation of the people in cities. We see in this country all stages of this progress.[2]

If we glance at Turner's essay of 1893, we read:

[1] *Atlas*, xliv.

[2] United States Census Office, Eleventh Census, 1890, *Census Bulletin No. 12. Population of the United States by States and Territories, 1890* (Washington, 1890), 5. For a republication of the substance of this discussion, including tables, map, and text, see *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. I. Population* (Washington, 1892), xl–xliv.

The United States lies like a huge page in the history of society. Line by line as we read from west to east we find the record of social evolution. It begins with the Indian and the hunter; it goes on to tell of the disintegration of savagery by the entrance of the trader, the pathfinder of civilization; we read the annals of the pastoral stage in ranch life; the exploitation of the soil by the raising of unrotated crops of corn and wheat in sparsely settled farming communities; the intensive culture of the denser farm settlement; and finally the manufacturing organization with city and factory system. This page is familiar to the student of census statistics, but how little of it has been used by our historians.[1]

As one of his authorities to support this paragraph, Turner gives the citation, "*Compendium of the Eleventh Census, 1890* (Washington, 1892), i, p. xl." This publication was doubtless available to him during January or February, 1893, but he could have levied tribute on its content by using it in its earlier form as *Bulletin Number 12*.

A comparison of the census discussion with Turner's makes it plain that the historian found utility in the concept of a sequence of pioneers: hunter, trapper, prospector, herdsman, farmer, city-dweller. It provided him with a clue to the organization of American social and historical material. His observation that "we see in this country all stages of this progress" implied a dictum that on the borders American society was continually beginning over again. This "process" had been going on since the first English settlers landed on the Atlantic Coast centuries before. How long would it continue? The answer to this question was soon available. Late in April, 1891, the Census Office published *Extra Census Bulletin Number 2*. The content of this bulletin put the capstone on Turner's edifice of sociological-historical thinking and must be considered at least briefly if the special nature of its influence is to be made plain.

This bulletin, whose subject was the density of the rural counties of the nation, consisted of a text, some tables, and a map. The county was taken as the unit for the inquiry, and the average density of each county unit was ascertained. The data were then plotted on a map of the United States according to a scale of six degrees of intensity:

Less than 2 inhabitants to a square mile	Treated as "unsettled"
2 to 6 inhabitants to a square mile	I degree of density
6 to 18 inhabitants to a square mile	II degrees of density
18 to 45 inhabitants to a square mile	III degrees of density
45 to 90 inhabitants to a square mile	IV degrees of density
over 90 inhabitants to a square mile	V degrees of density

By an arrangement of colors of increasing intensity of shade and by a corresponding system of Roman numerals it became possible to give on

[1] *Early Writings of Turner*, 198–199.

the map a display of the varying degrees of density of the nation's rural counties.

The editorial comment on the table and map may be cited:

> These limits define in a general way the extent and prevalence of various classes of industries. The first group, 2 to 6 to a square mile, indicates a population mainly occupied with the grazing industry or a widely scattered farming population. [The geographer, Gannett, had his eye on the contemporary ranches of the high plains, but Turner the historian knew that the fur trader had preceded the rancher in those countries at least a half century before.] The second group, 6 to 18, indicates a farming population, with systematic cultivation of the soil, but this either in an early stage of settlement or upon more or less rugged soil. The third group, 18 to 45 to a square mile, almost universally indicates a highly successful agriculture, while in some localities the beginnings of manufactures have raised into this group a difficult farming region. Speaking generally, agriculture in this country is not carried on with such care and refinement as yet to afford employment and support to a population in excess of 45 to a square mile; consequently, the last two groups, 45 to 90 and above to a square mile, appear only as commerce and manufactures arise and personal and professional services are in demand. In reports of former censuses that portion of our domain which contains less than two inhabitants to a square mile has been regarded as unsettled territory, and through this discussion the same distinction will be observed.[1]

The map, explicitly attributed to Gannett, showed, in six degrees of density, the distribution of the population of the United States in 1890. It was after a study of the data displayed on this map that the Superintendent of the Census—in reality probably Gannett—wrote the now well-known words: "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it can not, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports."[2]

This statement was the official notification that a great historic movement had come to an end, and it was to serve as Turner's text when, a few years afterward, he marshalled his thoughts to compose his "Frontier" essay of 1893. But Turner's mind was prepared to profit by the dramatic announcement issuing from the Census Office because he had already familiarized himself with the rich stores of social data heretofore provided by Walker in the census reports of 1880 and by Walker's colleague, Gannett, compiler of the *Statistical Atlas* of 1885. Turner enriched and strengthened himself by a study of this material.

[1] United States Census Office, Eleventh Census, 1890, *Extra Census Bulletin No. 2. Distribution of Population according to Density: 1890* (Washington, 1891), 1–2.

[2] *Id.*, 4.

IV

PRESIDENT Bascom had resigned in 1887 and was succeeded in the Wisconsin presidential chair by Thomas C. Chamberlin, an eminent geologist and a university leader who strove to transform his small college into a true university. Bascom had made a start, and Chamberlin vigorously pushed on. An investigator of transcendent ability and power in his own specialty, he hoped to raise the standards of instruction by collecting about him a faculty of well-trained men abreast of modern scholarship. The day of the Ph.D. was dawning, and Chamberlin wished some of these new doctors on his staff. When Turner applied for a higher salary—he wished an increase from four hundred to five hundred dollars a year—Chamberlin said, no. The President appears to have promised to keep a place for him if he took a doctorate in reasonable time, but a doctorate he must have if he were to expect promotion at Madison.

Accordingly Turner decided to spend a year at Baltimore. He put in two terms in residence, 1888–1889. More than a few Wisconsin graduates in recent years had gone to Johns Hopkins to pursue advanced studies at that famous graduate school where the picked youth of that day were congregating to their own benefit. Professor Allen had already lectured at the university and was well known to President Daniel Coit Gilman, for the two had met in Germany years before. Turner consequently found no difficulty in being admitted as one of the company of selected research students in history.

His schedule of studies was a heavy one: the history of politics, church history, international law, social science, the history of political economy, elements of political economy, administration, American constitutional history, a course on mathematics (oddly enough), including algebra, analytic geometry, and calculus, and, of course, the noted seminar in history that Herbert Baxter Adams conducted round the famous green table. For a thesis subject he chose to write on the institutional aspects of the fur trade in Wisconsin, a decision which precluded opening up another field of investigation and permitted him to get on with the required work for the degree with celerity.[1]

His teachers at Baltimore numbered, in addition to Adams, such men as Richard T. Ely, Albion W. Small, and Woodrow Wilson. The future Democratic leader was then a visiting lecturer at Johns Hopkins, coming down from Middletown, Connecticut, for six weeks to give a course on administration, a subject with which he was then deeply engrossed.

[1] Official transcript of advanced courses taken by Frederick J. Turner in Johns Hopkins University.

Young Charles H. Haskins, Turner, and Wilson boarded in the same house and spent pleasant hours conversing in each other's stimulating company. Turner and Wilson exchanged notes on the problem of the formation of American nationality. Wilson propounded the view that the history of the South had been neglected, and Turner agreed, pointing out that so, too, had been the history of the West.[1]

The period of study at Baltimore further broadened and deepened Turner's preparation for the conduct of historical researches of significance. He profited by the alert discussions of his young colleagues and by the thought-provoking dicta uttered by his distinguished teachers. The records of the famous seminar conducted by Adams have lately been opened up, and we can with their aid catch a glimpse of Turner as a member of that select company.[2] In January, 1889, Turner presented to the seminar a review of a recently published book by William Barrows, *The Indian's Side of the Indian Question* (Boston, 1887). A month later, on February 15, the first report of the afternoon was given by "Mr. F. J. Turner on 'The Influence of the Fur Trade in the North West from the Particular Standpoint of Wisconsin.' We can trace the growth of Wisconsin from the growth of the fur trade. It is only within the last fifty years that farming and manufacturing have become important."[3]

Following the counsel and advice of Adams, Turner set about reworking the material of his thesis and augmented the study. In its final shape it became a contribution to the history of American institutions. The rewritten thesis was submitted to the Johns Hopkins authorities in time for Turner to be awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Commencement in 1890.[4]

The rewriting of the thesis and the preparation of the manuscript for the press were accomplished at Madison, whence Turner wrote Adams in May, 1891, mentioning his wish to add a few maps and make some

[1] Letter from Wilson to Turner, Middletown, Connecticut, August 23, 1889, in the Harvard College Library.

[2] I am under obligation to Dr. Eric F. Goldman of the Department of History, Johns Hopkins University, who called my attention to this material and assisted me in other ways in settling specific points relating to Turner's period of study at Baltimore. Dr. Goldman's student, Thomas W. McElhiney, kindly permitted me to make transcripts from his notes of the seminar discussions.

[3] MS. minutes of the Johns Hopkins University seminar, 420.

[4] W. Stull Holt, Editor, *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876–1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert Baxter Adams* (Baltimore, 1938), 156; *Johns Hopkins Half-Century Directory, 1876–1926*, W. Norman Brown, Editor (Baltimore, 1926), 363. Other historians who completed their work on the same day were Charles H. Haskins, John M. Vincent, and James A. Woodburn.

slight changes in the text.[1] Turner sent back his galley proofs in mid-October, and toward the end of the year the book was published in the *Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science* with the title, *The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin: A Study of the Trading Post as an Institution.* Turner subsequently wrote to Adams that he was very much dissatisfied, now that he saw his ideas in print, with the way he had put them down, thus giving an early indication of that tendency toward perfectionism which haunted him all his days.[2] In due course Turner's monograph was reviewed by one of the company who gathered round the green table at Baltimore. It was the early winter of 1891, and the book was just out; the reviewer was James Alton James, who had studied formerly at Madison. The minutes of that seminar meeting record the opinion that the monograph showed careful research, was written in a good style, and was an important contribution to the history of the Northwest and especially to that of Wisconsin.[3]

Where lay the importance of Turner's year of study at Baltimore? He benefited by conversations with Woodrow Wilson and with Haskins. He learned from his young colleagues. He had the advantage of a new library well stocked with historical materials. He heard something of what was going on in European seminars of history. He brushed elbows with scholars who were no mean competitors.

In one sense, therefore, the answer to the question is many-sided. In another sense the question may be answered by saying that Turner benefited supremely from the discussion of the problem of land and land economics in history. This is something of central importance in his development. From the unpublished minutes of Adams' seminar at Johns Hopkins it is now known that this topic had been under discussion by Adams and his students for almost a decade before Turner got there. In 1880 Adams himself was examining the question of land as the basis of communities in ancient and modern times.[4] In 1884 Charles H. Shinn, a student, read a paper on the land laws of the mining camps of the Far West.[5] In 1885 Shosuke Sato, a Japanese, gave a report on the land laws of the United States, the product of his research being published the following year in the *Johns Hopkins Studies* as *History of the Land Question in the United States.* A highly suggestive comment by Adams on the Sato

[1] Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 158–159. Turner had received twenty-five copies of the published work by December 9.

[2] *Id.*, 168–169, 173–174.

[3] MS. minutes of the Johns Hopkins University seminar (December 4, 1891), 622.

[4] *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 4 (April, 1880), 47–48.

[5] MS. minutes of the Johns Hopkins University seminar (October 31, 1884), 66.

paper has been preserved in the seminar minutes for December 4, 1885:

> Dr. Adams then called attention to the importance of agrarian studies in this country, suggesting that its entire history turns on its agrarian aspect. To this he attributed the large emigration to the United States of America, showing that colonization was greatly influenced by the desire of the emigrants to obtain large landed estates like those of the gentry in England and France in which countries all the land was in the hands of the wealthy. Dr. Adams then said that studies in this direction had been continued in the Seminary by Messrs. Sato and Bliss.[1]

In 1886 the seminar was considering land questions in Nebraska, Indiana, Wisconsin, and California. "Dr. Adams showed the connection between the silver question and the land question, the people of the West and South being the debtor classes with many mortgaged farms, the people of the East being the capitalists."[2] The evil of landlordism was much in the students' minds. It seemed to Adams that Eastern capitalists were getting a hold on Western lands. President Gilman, after making a summer tour in 1887 through Nebraska, Minnesota, and the Dakotas, wrote back a letter of observations which the seminar considered in October. The burden of Gilman's communication was that the growth of great farms, absorbing the small ones throughout the West, was quite remarkable.[3]

At Johns Hopkins the study of the land question, in its earlier history as well as in its recent developments, was undertaken against a firm background of the economic theory of land. Here the professor was Richard T. Ely, who used the writings of John Stuart Mill and Francis A. Walker as his mainstays for instruction in economic theory.[4] To them he added his own textbook as soon as it was published in 1889. What Turner read and what he heard at Baltimore about matters like the theory of rent and property in land are of moment in view of the famous concluding sentences of the first paragraph in his essay of 1893: "Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward explain American development."[5]

Here we face questions of definition. When Turner used the expression "land," he meant by it what an economist of that day meant by this term. When Turner wrote of "free land," he used a term for which a good contemporary warrant can be given. Francis A. Walker, for instance, in his *Political Economy*, with which Turner was familiar, says (page 34):

[1] MS. minutes of the Johns Hopkins University seminar, 139.

[2] *Id.* (October 15, 1886), 160.

[3] *Id.* (October 14, 1887), 29.

[4] Ely's teaching on economic rent is brief and clear. See his *Introduction to Political Economy*, 215–216.

[5] *Early Writings of Turner*, 185–186.

"The three primary agents in the production of wealth are Land, Labor and Capital." By "land" Walker understood not only arable land but also pastures, timberlands, water privileges, building lots, mining properties, and wood lots.[1] It is worth calling attention here to the broad scope of the meaning of "land" as used by Walker and by Turner, because an alleged obscurity in Turner's use of the word has been complained of by a recent writer.[2]

When land is occupied or cultivated, it yields a rent. "Rent is the term applied to the remuneration received by the landowning class for the use of the native and indestructible powers of the soil, or, as it might be expressed, for the use of natural agents. That remuneration may be paid in money or in produce."[3] Walker devotes a long chapter to stating the law of rent with all its terms and qualifications and includes a comparative study of rents in the United States, in England, in Ireland, on the Continent, and elsewhere. He discusses the problems of rents of high yield, no-rents, and land out of cultivation. He has a place in his theory for a new continent and the consequence of this great tract of land for the rise and fall of rents in the Old World.[4]

The doctrine of economic rent in relation to the lands of a new continent is well brought out in Walker's *Land and Its Rent* (Boston, 1883). This work, especially the first chapter, is a book that everyone interested in Turner's basic economic ideas should read as a whole. This is the statement of the law of economic rent:

> Rent arises from the fact of varying degrees of productiveness in the lands actually contributing to the supply of the same market, the least productive land paying no rent, or a rent so small that it may be treated as none. The rent of all the higher grades of land is measured upwards from this line, the rent of each piece absorbing all the excess of produce above that of the no-rent land.[5]

Walker immediately goes on to point out that the net productiveness of a tract of land may be reduced comparatively by the important factor of distance from market in terms of difficulty of transporting the yield to place of sale.[6] Assume that some enterprising cultivators have opened up a large tract of very fertile land situated some distance from the market. If costs of transport are high, these will eat up so large a proportion of the produce of each acre that the economic rent derived from these outlying lands would be no greater than that derived from relatively un-

[1] Walker, *Political Economy*, 193, 211.

[2] George W. Pierson, "The Frontier and the Frontiersman of Turner's Essay," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXIV (October, 1940), 449–478.

[3] Walker, *Political Economy*, 193. [4] *Id.*, 193–218.

[5] Francis A. Walker, *Land and Its Rent* (Boston, 1883), 21. [6] *Id.*, 22.

profitable lands situated in the home section. Under such conditions the distant lands would not be cultivated at all or would be farmed without paying rent.[1]

Assume further that some marked improvement in transportation is made, so that the cost of moving the produce to market from the distant tracts is considerably less than it was.

> . . . what will be the effect on the cultivation of the several tracts [i.e., the distant and the home], and on the amounts of rent yielded by them respectively? The net produce of the distant tract (30–9) has now risen to 21 bushels. The 20-bushel [home] tract must be abandoned. No one can cultivate it and get his outlay back, so long as there is a limitless extent of free land on which wheat can be raised with a smaller expenditure of labor and capital. . . . Give the name America to the remote tract in this illustration, and you have a fair explanation of the tremendous effects produced, during the past few years, upon English and Irish rents, by the increasing severity of competition from this side of the Atlantic, following the reduction in the cost of transportation.[2]

Here we have an appearance of the much-discussed term "free land." By setting this excerpt side by side with a later one from the same work we can use both to draw clear conclusions.

> In the United States the mobility of the population, their quick intelligence, their almost Ishmaelitish proclivity to change of place . . . the cheapness of lands within the area of settlement, and the standing offer, by the Government, of boundless tracts of good land along the frontier, free of charge, upon the sole condition of actual personal occupation and cultivation . . . all these causes have combined in the United States to bring actual and theoretical rent close together.[3]

It has not been, in this country, the policy of the government to seek the fiscal advantage which might accrue from holding the public lands as a source of revenue.[4] It has been a matter of public policy to dispose of the lands cheaply or without price to actual settlers. In Australia public policy was different. "There are instances of rents paid in new countries, as in Australia, while yet all even of the best lands were not taken up. This phenomenon . . . has been due to the fact that all available lands were held by the Government, which was thus able to fix a monopoly price."[5]

In a word, Turner did not miss Walker's doctrine of economic rent and its associated features. Consider from the early essay (1892) on "Problems in American History" the following: "An interesting economic study in connection with the law of rent might here be made, but there are social considerations also to be reckoned with. . . . Space forbids

[1] Walker, *Land and Its Rent*, 23. [2] *Id.*, 25–26. [3] *Id.*, 45–47.
[4] *Id.*, 140. [5] *Id.*, 41.

the enumeration of the problems, economic, social, and political—such as the democratization of the country—which have grown out of free land."[1]

V

DURING Turner's terms of study at Baltimore he kept in close touch with Professor Allen and exchanged letters with him concerning the departmental plans at Wisconsin for the following academic year. The new schedule was made up early in 1889 and printed in the university catalog for 1889–1890. As announced, Turner's work consisted of four courses. An elementary course on United States history was proposed, as was a course on the history of the nineteenth century, for which the textbooks mentioned were Levermore and Dewey, *Political History since 1815* and W. Müller, *Political History of Recent Times*. Also listed was Turner's seminar in the history of the Northwest, which he had given before he went east, and a new course, one of the consequences of his study at Baltimore. This was the most ambitious project in teaching which he had as yet undertaken: an advanced lecture course on the constitutional and political history of the United States. The subject was to be studied from the original authorities, and there were to be readings in the standard histories. The announcement stated that particular attention would be devoted to the growth of American nationality and of state and local institutions. It was proposed to devote an entire college year to this important work. The appearance of this course reflects the influence of Herbert Baxter Adams at Madison. And the topic of American nationality recalls Turner's conversations with Woodrow Wilson on sectionalism, Southern and Western, and American patriotism.

Adams traveled out to Madison in January, 1891, at the invitation of Thwaites and Turner, to deliver the annual address before the Wisconsin Historical Society. The subject of his discourse was "The Higher Education of the People," a plea for adequate financial support by the legislature for the new university and the university extension schemes which were evolving in Wisconsin. In the course of his talk he took the opportunity to praise Turner:

> Professor Turner, after using the fur-trade manuscripts belonging to this society, has made in a report to your society, a brilliant contribution to the economic and social history of Wisconsin. His work was accepted as a doctor's thesis by the Johns Hopkins university, and it will soon be reprinted in revised form in our "University Studies." He himself is now a worthy transmitter of that rare spirit of historical research which Professor William F. Allen represented for twenty-two

[1] *Early Writings of Turner*, 82–83.

years among the students of this state. . . . How . . . [Allen] would still rejoice in the prospect of a great school of original workers and historical teachers who are likely to extend the combined influence of this society and of this university throughout the length and breadth of the land![1]

Thus the Baltimore benediction was bestowed on Turner's first work. He had made good with Adams and had left a strong impression on young Haskins and on John Franklin Jameson, another young historical scholar with a distinguished future before him. In 1891 Jameson published a slim but valuable volume, *The History of Historical Writing in America*.[2] The author took occasion to point out in one passage that American historians of the rising generation were emancipating themselves from the conventions and traditions of European historiography. All the signs pointed that way.

Never was there a time in America when so great a proportion of the best historical work was devoted to the subject of institutions and economics. One [scholar] writes of the history of finance; another of the fortunes of institutions transplanted westward, and the genesis of governmental ideas among the lawless frontiersmen; another, of movements of migratory population, and the influence of German or other national elements absorbed into our mass.[3]

For so brief a reference, this was surprisingly good publicity for the author of the monograph on the Wisconsin fur trade and the teacher of a promising candidate for the doctorate at Wisconsin, then investigating German immigration into that state. Baltimore knew that Turner and Turner's students were to be reckoned with.

Interest in Western history was certainly on the upgrade. The lately published sixth volume of Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History* (1887) contained a chapter by William F. Poole on "The West from 1763 to 1783." A more extended treatment of this and related matters appeared in 1889 when Theodore Roosevelt published the first two volumes of *The Winning of the West*. Both Thwaites and Turner admired this work. Thwaites invited Roosevelt to accept membership in the Wisconsin Historical Society, and Turner wrote a careful review of the book. A sentence or two from that review, written just after Turner had left Baltimore for Portage and his summer holiday fishing trips, cast some light on Turner's formulation of his own ideas on American history. After pointing out that Parkman had treated of the French occupation of the Old North-

[1] *Proceedings*, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, XXXVIII (Madison, 1891), 93.

[2] The edition was small, and the book soon went out of print.

[3] J. Franklin Jameson, *The History of Historical Writing in America* (Boston, 1891), 141–142.

west and that Hubert H. Bancroft had made a beginning in the study of the Spanish Southwest and the Pacific Slope, Turner goes on to say:

> But the American occupation of the Mississippi basin has not found its historian. General United States history should be built upon the fact that the centre of gravity of the nation has passed across the mountains into this great region. To give to our history the new proportions which this fact makes necessary, must be the work of the younger generation of students. It is a fertile field. . . . Economic history finds here a rich harvest. . . . To the student of politics, the West is also a fruitful field. Here we have the almost unique spectacle of heterogeneous peoples, in a new land, forming self-governed communities, peacefully as regards each other, drafting constitutions and growing into states of a federal union. . . . But American history needs a connected and unified account of the progress of civilization across the continent.[1]

These sentences serve to show in what direction Turner's thought was turning. But he did not have adequate opportunity at this time to pay much attention to the research problems which he had already envisaged. Beginning with the autumn of 1889, he had once more to take up his teaching duties. He now had the rank of assistant professor of history.

In December, 1889, Professor Allen died at Madison, just after he had completed revising the proofs of his book, *A Short History of the Roman People*, which was published in the spring of 1890. All those who may interest themselves in tracing the effect of Allen on his greatest pupil will find this a suggestive work to read. To it Turner contributed an admiring preface. Allen's untimely death threw many possibilities into the balance. Who would assume his place? Would Turner remain at Wisconsin or go elsewhere? It was not at the start a foregone conclusion that Turner would inherit Allen's headship of the history department. Behind the scenes there were negotiations and the writing of letters back and forth, but by the spring of 1890 the situation was clarified. President Chamberlin decided to retain Turner and to make him head of the department. He called Charles H. Haskins from an instructorship at Johns Hopkins to an instructorship at Madison to help Turner carry on the historical work in the university. Turner took the courses in American history, and Haskins, though trained as an American historian, took over the work in European history. From 1890 until 1910, when Turner left Wisconsin for Harvard, he continued to run the department. He therefore exercised a continuous guiding influence on the building up of the department and shaped it according to his own historical philosophy. It was important for Turner that he early became head of the department, because he did not thereafter have to consult any departmental colleague when he decided to alter an

[1] *Dial*, x (August, 1889), 71.

old course or add a new one. He had a free hand, he was his own master, a very important consideration for a man like Turner, who always was altering or reworking courses to make them more exactly expressive of his ever-developing historical scholarship.

In his first years after returning from Johns Hopkins, Turner displayed energies in several different fields. He did something for university extension, he trained his first graduate students, he wrote programmatic essays stating his historical outlook, and he ceaselessly revamped his lecture courses.

President Chamberlin was vitally interested in promoting university extension work. He called on Turner to help forward the movement, and first and last the historian did a good deal for that cause. To help Chamberlin he published two articles: "The Significance of History" (1891) and "The Extension Work of the University of Wisconsin" (1892).[1] He also drew up a report for the President on the place of history in such a scheme of popular education,[2] and compiled four syllabuses, in 1891, 1893, 1894, and 1895.[3] To keep engagements of the sort required, he did much traveling the length and breadth of the state. He finally withdrew from extension work when he had satisfied himself that it did not offer him sufficient opportunity to instruct philosophically.[4]

Turner's vital teaching began, slowly at first and then more rapidly, to attract competent graduate students. The interest in taking note of these early graduate students and the topics on which they worked lies in the fact that what they wrote reveals the interests and methods which governed Turner himself. Through his students one can see somewhat into his own mind.

Emory Richard Johnson was the first of these. An undergraduate at Wisconsin who studied history under Allen and Turner, he enjoyed his work with his professors and at the completion of his junior year in 1887 found that his college record permitted him to try for honors in history at graduation. Turner suggested that he write on the history of internal improvements, and Johnson accepted the suggestion. A future scholar was in the process of being made. First he wrote a senior essay on the history of internal improvements from 1822 to 1840. At Johns Hopkins during 1889–1890 he continued his study of the subject and wrote a paper for Professor Adams on river and harbor legislation. Johnson returned to Madison for the college year 1890–1891 and at Commencement, 1891,

[1] *Early Writings of Turner*, 236–237.

[2] Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 145.

[3] For bibliographical details, see *Early Writings of Turner*, 236–240.

[4] *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XXII (December, 1938), 216.

took a master's degree under Turner with a thesis entitled "River and Harbor Bills."

In April of that year Johnson read his thesis at a meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Philadelphia.[1] Two more years of advanced study followed at the University of Pennsylvania, which awarded him the doctor's degree in 1893 for a thesis on inland waterways and their relation to transportation. Since 1896 Dr. Johnson has served as professor of transportation and commerce at the University of Pennsylvania.

The subject which Turner gave Johnson to investigate, internal improvements, was full of meaning to the older man. Turner felt a permanent preoccupation with it. If the history of the United States was the history of an expanding people, then the forms of transportation in use at different times would have a deep importance. If expansion had the effect of mingling different stocks in the new lands of the West and brought about the rise of a new American nationality as opposed to old Atlantic Coast sectionalisms, then again the study of internal improvements justified itself.

Albert Hart Sanford explored another aspect of the matter. He took his first degree at the University of Wisconsin in 1891. He had been teaching school for some years before he attended college and was twenty-five when he graduated. He attained honors in history with his essay "Expressions of State Sovereignty Sentiment in the Boundary Disputes of Wisconsin." Turner wrote Herbert Baxter Adams of his remarkable student, and a place was found for the young man's paper at the meeting of the American Historical Association in December, 1891. Professor Haskins read the paper for Sanford, and it was soon after published in the Association's *Annual Report* for 1891 (pages 177–195).

Sanford's essay is an interesting fusion of the historical methods of Baltimore and Madison. The topic is seemingly a constitutional one. The Wisconsin legislature in the forties was voicing secessionist doctrines like those of Calhoun. If Congress would not give Wisconsin the northern counties of Illinois, then Wisconsin would consider herself a state "out of the Union." Sanford skillfully worked his way through this tangled political and constitutional question, proving that this extreme action was in the nature of a political farce. The occasion of its issue was probably the expectation that Congress would fall into a trap and grant the territory federal aid for internal improvement schemes that Wisconsin needed. Sanford's study is one of the relations between a raw territory in the developing West and the general government. A special constitutional

[1] *Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, II (Philadelphia, 1892), 782–783.

theory is seen emerging from the matrix of a particular definite political situation, and this political situation, in turn, is to be understood in the light of a basic economic advantage sought for. Sanford's writing has about it a sense of realities; it is no tissue of abstractions hovering in a constitutional void. Sanford subsequently did advanced work in history at Harvard, where he took a master's degree in 1894. He afterward flourished for many years as professor in the Normal School at La Crosse. In 1909 he collaborated with James Alton James, another early graduate of Wisconsin, to produce the first textbook of American history for high schools written along Turnerian lines.[1]

Another principal theme of interest to Turner was the study of population movements. It interested him equally whether they were movements of foreign peoples into the United States or interstate migrations of American-born settlers moving from the Atlantic seaboard into unsettled lands. In 1888 Thwaites and the Wisconsin Historical Society, with the cooperation of the history department at the university, began a systematic study of organized immigration into Wisconsin. A fruitful field of investigation was opened up, and a number of research studies by different writers grew out of this undertaking.[2] The most notable of them were written by a mature student, Miss Kate Everest, who had taken her first degree from the university in 1882. Returning to Madison for advanced study in history, she began to study aspects of this topic. Her first paper was "Early Lutheran Immigration in Wisconsin," which demonstrated that a large initial German immigration came into the state during the years 1839–1845 as a direct result of certain religious conditions in Prussia. Her study examined the antecedent causes and traced the initial settlement and later dispersion of these Wisconsin Germans. It was based on printed materials, American and German in origin, and on data derived from the German pastors of local churches.[3]

Turner thought well of Miss Everest and read her paper before the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters.[4] He saw to it that she was given a fellowship in history, and he encouraged her to continue her studies. Her second production, completed in 1892 as a thesis for the

[1] James A. James and Albert H. Sanford, *American History* (New York, 1909). In a letter to me Professor James states that this book "was, I think, the earliest text for schools to make use of the Turner viewpoint." The book was not submitted to Turner in manuscript, Professor James adds.

[2] For the inception of the plan, see *Proceedings*, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, XXXVI. 47.

[3] *Transactions*, Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, VIII (Madison, 1892), 288–298.

[4] Here Turner followed the gracious custom of his predecessor, Professor Allen.

master's degree,[1] was entitled "How Wisconsin Came by Its Large German Element." Here she pointed out that according to the Census of 1880 Wisconsin had a larger proportion of German-born than any other state in the Union and stood fourth in the absolute number of German-born. The purpose of the thesis was to explain historically how this situation came about. She set forth the different causes for the Germans' abandonment of their homeland and then listed those for their selection of Wisconsin for their home rather than other states. Important in the latter connection were the low price of land, good climate, the opening up of the state at the right time, and advertising in Germany. The study is accompanied by a large map, in color, which shows the distribution of Germans in Wisconsin as recorded by the Census of 1880. The varying degrees of density of this settlement are carefully worked out and appropriate colored shadings used to indicate the differences. The workmanship of this thesis is quite Turner-like. It shows how sociological analysis and historical synthesis were fused to yield a sound study of an important characterizing feature of the Wisconsin community.

Miss Everest was awarded the doctorate in 1893. She rounded out her studies by publishing in 1898 a long paper on "The Geographical Origin of German Immigration into Wisconsin."[2] She made an examination of the different parts of Germany and found the regions from which the immigration flowed into Wisconsin. The study was founded principally upon German printed materials. Her map of German settlement in Wisconsin was brought up to date by the use of the figures of the Census of 1890.

Turner's leading pupil of this early Wisconsin period was Orin G. Libby, a former schoolteacher and a graduate of a normal school in northern Wisconsin. Libby enrolled as a junior at Madison in the fall of 1890; he was then just twenty-six years old. In two years he earned his bachelor's degree and at once went on to do graduate study, selecting a topic related to internal improvements for his master's thesis. He took the degree in 1893, the title of his essay being "The Erie Canal as a State Enterprise." Turner thought well of Libby, who served as fellow in history from 1893 to 1895 and afterward became a colleague as instructor in history.

In 1895 Libby was awarded the doctorate. His dissertation had already been published in Madison in June, 1894, as *The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution, 1787–8.* Libby's investigation grew out of Turner's course on the constitutional and political history of the United States. In his lectures on the ratification

[1] *Collections*, Wisconsin State Historical Society, XII (Madison, 1892), 299–334.

[2] *Id.*, XIV (Madison, 1898), 341–393.

of the Constitution Turner was accustomed to teach that the commercial and the small states ratified easily. One of J. Franklin Jameson's pupils had lately gone on record as saying: "In the states whose interests were commercial, ratification was easy, while in those in which agricultural interests were predominant ratification was difficult. A line fifty miles west from the coast would have pretty accurately divided the friends and the foes of the Constitution."[1] This last assertion Turner emphatically queried, for his studies had already taught him the numerous differences between the societies of the backwoods, the Atlantic Slope, and the seaboard.

Libby set out to make a scientific, detailed investigation of the geography of opinion in relation to the movement for ratification. He demonstrated in precise fashion the territorial pattern of the distribution of Federalist and Antifederalist sentiments. Of this dissertation Charles A. Beard said, writing in 1913, that it was "the most important single contribution to the interpretation of the movement for the federal Constitution."[2] In writing his own book on the Constitution, Beard made ample use of Libby's conclusions and fully acknowledged them. Libby brought the study of American political and constitutional history down from the clouds and set it firmly on the ground. He solved his own problem and pointed out the way for similar solutions in the future by identifying specific geographical areas with particular political sentiments, and by correlating these political sentiments with the economic and social activities of the areas under examination. He completed his study of regional opinions and then carefully mapped their distribution district by district for each state. In the preparation of the material of this map and in its actual construction Libby showed remarkable ingenuity. It was the first work of the kind undertaken by a historian primarily for historical analysis. To study this map is to perceive, even after the lapse of half a century, the abiding originality of the feat. Although *Scribner's Statistical Atlas* was well supplied with political maps, only one of them can be thought of as having anything like an intimate relation to Libby's cartography: Plate 11, showing by counties the popular vote of 1880 with the ratio of "predominant" to total vote.

Libby seized firmly on the significant point that in political history the important unit to map is the smallest local political unit represented in the

[1] J. Franklin Jameson, Editor, *Essays in the Constitutional History of the United States in the Formative Period, 1775–1789, by Graduates and Former Members of the Johns Hopkins University* (Boston, 1889), 67.

[2] Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York, 1913), 5.

deliberative body which has questions of public business under discussion. He applied this investigative canon to state after state and thus compiled his final map, a summation of thirteen distinct studies in local political geography. Afterward he began extensive studies of Congressional legislation, analyzing votes in Congress by Congressional districts and mapping the results—a natural extension and development from his study of the vote for ratification. Though Turner and Libby together somehow shared in the forging of this mapping technique, it may well be that the professor deserves less credit for this important invention than the pupil. In any case, the technique became a permanent tool in the Turner armory of devices employed to attack historical problems. It passed outward from Madison and won much acceptance in after years.

Turner prefaced Libby's published monograph with an editorial note.[1] Since this is hardly known today, it is desirable to quote some sentences from it for the light they shed on his general ideas of historical interpretation in 1894:

> The following paper is one of a series of studies carried on in my seminary in American history, with the design of contributing to an understanding of the relations between the political history of the United States, and the physiographic, social, and economic conditions underlying this history. . . .
>
> It is believed that many phases of our political history have been obscured by the attention paid to state boundaries, and to the sectional lines of North and South. At the same time the economic interpretation of our history has been neglected. In the study of the persistence of the struggle for state particularism in American constitutional history, it was inevitable that writers should make prominent the state as a political factor. But, from the point of view of the rise and growth of sectionalism and of nationalism, it is much more important to note the existence of great social and economic areas, independent of state lines, which have acted as units in political history, and which have changed their political attitude as they changed their economic organization, and divided into new groups.
>
> American growth has exhibited not only the evolution of the Atlantic coast from sparse settlement to concentrated city life, with all the changes in political sentiments involved in these economic and social transformations; it has also exhibited the spread of population steadily westward, with areas of sparse settlement on the borders of this advancing society, contemporaneous with the complex and concentrated settlements of the older regions. Thus the United States has been at once a developed country and a primitive one. The same political questions have been put to a society, advanced in some regions, and undeveloped in others. More than this, each area of settlement has been undergoing continual modifications.

[1] Orin G. Libby, *The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution, 1787–8* (Madison, 1894), iii–vii.

Physiographic conditions have facilitated the rapid evolution of some areas and have retarded others, so that the complexity of this grouping has been increased. . . .

Within the United States there have been exhibited contemporaneously all the stages of social progress, from the hunting to the manufacturing stage. Each of these social conditions has been exhibited on a determinable geographical area. Each of these areas has been evolving into a higher stage of social advance; the grain raising region becomes a region with diversified farming; the region with diversified farming becomes the region of manufacture; the hunting or pastoral region of the arid tracts is turned by irrigation into a varied agricultural region, with corresponding social transformations. On specific political questions each economic area has reflected its peculiar interests. At a subsequent period, when the geographical area occupied by this stage of economic developement has evolved into a higher economic stage, the change is made apparent in changed views on similar political questions. Thus Wisconsin, once a "Granger state," has now little sympathy with the western Populists. . . .

It is believed, therefore, that a series of studies upon natural economic groupings in American history will be of service to the investigator who desires to understand political history in the light of economic and social forces. To such a historical geography of organic social and economic areas, Mr. Libby's paper is designed to contribute.

This statement of aims and interpretation could hardly be more lucid. It deserves to be better known.

A later pair of studies in Wisconsin history displays another type of historical investigation which Libby undertook following the model supplied by Turner. "The Significance of the Lead and Shot Trade in Early Wisconsin History"[1] is instructive, for the writer sees the relation between this local subject and the outer world. The ups and downs of the lead trade react commercially on English exports, on New York industrial enterprises, and on the prosperity of New Orleans; they are also bound up with schemes for internal improvements. We see how transportation methods in the upper Mississippi Valley altered in successive stages, and how routes of trade changed during the pivotal period 1846–1847. Before this time the main stream of commerce followed the Mississippi; afterward it took a course eastward from Wisconsin via the Lakes and the Erie Canal to the Atlantic Coast. When Wisconsin's lead mining interest combined with her farming interest, an effective basis was found in state politics for legislation which secured improved modes of transportation. The conclusions are supported by a series of three sketch maps depicting county boundaries, rivers, and lakes and the distribution and increasing densities of Wisconsin's population in 1836, 1840, and 1850.

This essay by Libby is Turnerian in execution and in point of view.

[1] *Collections*, Wisconsin State Historical Society, XIII (Madison, 1895), 293–334.

It seeks to understand and explain social phenomena rather than to narrate a series of events. In 1836 the population of Wisconsin, sparse and of low density, lay in two separated, inharmonious districts: in the southwest and the southeast. By 1850, however, a continuous belt of settlement extended from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. The essay explains by what processes and in what successive stages this result had been accomplished. "In general . . . the lead trade and the shot trade together attracted capital to Wisconsin, helped to fill its southern counties with population, and gave an impulse to its industrial life that the State has never lost."[1]

A companion piece was "The Chronicle of the Helena Shot Tower."[2] Libby's incidental comment on this strikes a large note: "The type of life it gave rise to has already disappeared. . . . To study it is to study beginnings, the rudiments of social and economic order in an undeveloped country, and see in their proper perspective the first rough outlines of a new social organization in the Northwest."[3] These two papers, taken together, carry forward the genetic study of Wisconsin history begun by Turner's fur trade study. Libby showed how lead mining succeeded the fur trade and preceded agriculture.

It is instructive to glance at some of the other essays and theses which were written under Turner's direction during this first period of his teaching. Miss Florence Baker studied the extension of the elective franchise in the New York constitutional convention of 1821. Miss Florence Robinson investigated the colonial elective system as it developed in Virginia and Massachusetts; Miss Ada Griswold, the territorial development of Georgia; and Miss May Shelton, the English Corn Laws. Paul S. Reinsch explored the land system of New England towns. Joseph Schafer won undergraduate honors with an essay on suffrage and representation in Virginia to 1830. Adam Crull wrote a thesis on arguments concerning internal improvements in Monroe's administration. The development of the nominating convention in Pennsylvania was treated by Frank Miller, and Miss Winifred Sercombe studied the early history of the spoils system in New York and Pennsylvania. Other early essays written under his direction dealt with such subjects as land companies in Ohio, Georgia's claims to state sovereignty, railway land grants, Mexican-American relations, the growth of popular forces in colonial Maryland, land grants and education, American colonial charters, Massachusetts Federalism, and Populist legislation in Kansas.

This good grist of work was all ground out before 1896. It is to be noticed that not once does the word "frontier" occur in the titles of these studies. Significant, too, is the breadth of historical interest displayed. The

[1] *Id.*, 334. [2] *Id.*, 335–374. [3] *Id.*, 363.

students wrote on topics relating to the Southern, New England, and Middle Atlantic States, as well as to the West. Turner did not exercise a constricting influence on his students, nor did he enforce a narrow concentration on the history of the West.

These students had been set at work by an American historian, and the subject of their researches was one or another aspect of American history. To make clear the opportunities latent in the subject, Turner threw off with the rapidity and the fertility of genius a short program for future work. He published it in the undergraduate newspaper in the fall of 1892. This highly concentrated essay, "Problems in American History," he doubtless intended as a kind of early manifesto of his position and interests and as an advertisement to the student public of what they might expect to find in his department. Graduate study at Wisconsin was about to boom, and Turner was one of the causes of the boom interest in the social sciences. But he had his ideas formulated before he wrote the essay, and he had students before he published it.

His special view of American history as the history of a community composed of different sections politically united by a federal system and peculiarly distinguished by its expansive tendency he twice tried to state. A brief formulation of it is given in the article "Frontier" in *Johnson's New Universal Cyclopedia* (New York, 1894). This short essay, which offers a careful discrimination between the European meaning of the term and common American usage, clears up doubts and questions that scholars lately have been raising, and must be carefully pondered by critics who think that Turner was uncertain in his use of terms.[1]

"The Significance of the Frontier in American History" supplemented the content of the preceding essay. It is high time for those who sincerely wish to understand Turner to read both these essays, and read them in close connection with each other. The essay of 1893 was intended as a clarion call to the younger generation of American historians, hence its poetic and rhetorical prose. In this respect its contrast with the "Frontier" article of 1894 is quite marked.

What is the essence of the "Frontier" interpretation of 1893? There is a summary of the essay, almost certainly written by Turner himself,

[1] I have reprinted the 1894 "Frontier" essay, with introductory remarks, in "Little Known Fragments of Turner's Writings," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XXIII (March, 1940), 330, 338–341. Why Turner allowed this useful essay (as well as his *Ægis* article of 1892) to drop out of sight is a minor mystery. He seems to have had little concern over being misunderstood by those who were to come afterward. Until the recently published chronological bibliography of Turner's writings by Dr. Edwards (*Early Writings of Turner*, 234–268) it was quite impossible to trace the unfolding of his scholarship.

in the report of the proceedings of the ninth annual meeting of the American Historical Association. It seems to have been quite forgotten and therefore is quoted here:

> Up to our own day . . . American history has been in a large degree the history of the great west. This ever-retreating frontier of unoccupied land is the key to our development. The settlement of the problems that arose at one frontier served as guides for the next frontier—for example, in matters relating to land policy and the Indians. There are various kinds of frontiers which passed westward in successive waves—the Indian's frontier, the trader's frontier, the miner's or rancher's frontier, and the farmer's frontier. The methods of advance and the characteristics of each were traced, showing how the Indian was pushed back and how each frontier affected its successor. It was found that the successive frontiers revealed the progress of society. At the same time the United States could show the hunting stage, the pastoral stage, the agricultural stage, and the manufacturing stage, as the traveler crossed the continent from west to east.[1]

This essay, one may remind students, deals not with the significance of the *frontier* but with the *significance* of the frontier *in American history*. The Turner interpretation of American history is first an American interpretation and then a Western interpretation. Turner taught American history before he taught Western history, and when eventually he came to teach Western history, he wished to have it taught in close conjunction with Southern history. As soon as possible he made arrangements to have the history of New England, also, taught along with Western and Southern history. What does this mean? It signifies that he conceived of American history as the history of a group of sectionally different communities, each one established in a physiographic area of its own, each one devoted to its peculiar economy and social life, its own culture and politics. In the large view of affairs that he upheld, it was the interplay and interdependence of these sections with one another that formed the stuff of *American* history. The forward-moving frontier was important because in its westward progress it advanced into unique virgin physiographic areas and thus generated the beginnings of still other sections.

That this view of Turner's historical ideas is a sound interpretation can be demonstrated by consulting the descriptions of the American history courses formerly given at Madison, and by correlating the courses with the books written by his colleagues, his students, and himself. The evidence fits together in an unmistakably coherent pattern.

One may look first to see how instruction in Western history as such came into existence. In 1891–1892, as a companion to the course on the

[1] *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893* (Washington, 1894), 6.

constitutional and political history of the United States (a course dating back to 1888–1889) Turner offered for the first time a new advanced course: "Course 7. Economic and Social History of the United States." The subject was studied from the colonial period to the present with special attention to the origin and development of the social and economic characteristics of the country. He took up for consideration, among other points, such topics as the changes in the thought of the nation, the country's material development, and the process of American settlement across the continent. The rôle of physiography in the country's history was studied all through the year's work.[1]

This course was given again in the academic years 1892–1893, 1893–1894 (this time with special emphasis on the study of the advance of settlement and population and the results, social and economic, of this movement), and 1894–1895. In 1895–1896 the significant mutation appeared. For the first time the catalog listed "Course 7. History of the West. Particular attention is paid to the advance of settlement across the continent, and to the results of this movement." Thus Western history instruction, as an independent subject, evolved tardily after Turner had been teaching general United States history for almost a decade. But simultaneously with this first appearance of Western history there came to Madison Professor William P. Trent from the University of the South as a visiting lecturer to give special instruction in Course 16: "Southern Statesmen of the Old Régime."[2]

Is all this evidence that Turner was becoming provincial? On the contrary, it indicates with emphasis that in attaining to an explicit recognition of the importance of sections he was striving to lay bare the marrow of American nationalism—a composite product resulting from the interplay and interaction of the different sections with each other. In promoting the study of the histories of the several sections Turner sought to learn more precisely the meaning of "Americanism."

Trent visited Madison on invitation of Ely and Turner. He delivered his lectures in February and March of 1896 and published them early in the following year. In the Preface to his book he was at pains to make clear that he wrote from the point of view of an American who was at the same time a Southerner, proud enough of his section to admit its faults and yet to proclaim its essential greatness. He disdained, he wrote, to pander to provincial sentimentalism that shivered at honest criticism, but, he added,

[1] *Catalogue of the University of Wisconsin for 1891–1892* (Madison, 1892), 98.

[2] Trent was of Virginian birth, had done postgraduate work at Johns Hopkins, and was the author of *English Culture in Virginia* (1889) and *Life of William Gilmore Simms* (1892).

he had not consciously written about the leaders of the South one word that should be construed as a tame acceptance of the adverse judgments passed on some of them by outside, unfriendly critics.[1] Turner, one conjectures, would have subscribed readily to the same dictum concerning his own point of view in writing the history of the West.

At this stage in his development—about 1896 and 1897—when he had glimpsed more clearly than ever the significance of sections for general American history, Turner resolved to write a book on that principle. He had been weighing the pros and cons of writing a full-scale account of our history at least as far back as the summer of 1896 when, as has been seen, he was corresponding with Walter Hines Page. The firm of Henry Holt projected their *American Historical Series* and appointed Charles H. Haskins to the post of editor. Distinguished contributors were selected, and a modern, up-to-date outlook was promised for the finished volumes: "The treatment will be descriptive as well as narrative, and due attention will be given to economic and social conditions and to institutional development." Turner signed a contract with Holt in 1897, binding himself to write a one-volume history of the United States for college students. He made a beginning but never completed the (for him) far too difficult task.

> For inherent in his interpretation of the influence of the frontier was a realization of the important part that the sections have played in the course of American history. His studies, in their sweep, showed him that physical environment and social environment were often determining factors in developing group interests; that these led to group conflicts, and hence affected public policies and political behavior. . . . How was it possible to present even an outline of United States history that would approximate the truth until one could estimate more accurately the weight to be assigned to this factor?[2]

A richer, more accurate interpretation of American history, therefore, reasoned Turner, was bound to emerge from a careful and prolonged study of the several American sections. Let scholars in each section cultivate the materials that lay close at hand. As for Turner, he and his students were content to exploit the history of the West. Happily for them, a sufficient stock of materials lay at hand ready to use in the libraries of Madison.

In his short paper, "The West as a Field for Historical Study," written for the American Historical Association's meeting in December, 1896,

[1] William P. Trent, *Southern Statesmen of the Old Régime: Washington, Jefferson, Randolph, Calhoun, Stephens, Toombs, and Jefferson Davis* (New York, 1897), vii–xv.

[2] Max Farrand, "Frederick Jackson Turner at the Huntington Library," *Huntington Library Bulletin*, Number 3 (February, 1933), 159.

he gave the justification of his faith.[1] The West, holding a very important position in American political life, needed to be understood, and for two reasons. First for itself, but principally because "the real significance of Western history is that it is national history in one of the most noteworthy aspects of that history, namely, that of expansion from the Atlantic to the Pacific."[2]

The topics in Western history that called for scholarly study were many, as Turner listed them: exploration, settlement, Indian fighting, institutional origins, land cessions, agricultural and ranching industries, Western political parties, and social development in the West. He concluded: "Only by such coöperation and systematic pushing forward of the lines of investigation will it be possible to give the correct perspective to American history."[3] He chose as the first of his own special topics in Western history that of early institutions beyond the mountains, and published his findings in 1895 in his article, "Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era."[4] From this he swung away to long-protracted investigations of the early West (down to 1803) in American diplomatic history, a line of study which he did not complete till 1905. His publications on this subject were numerous, including both original documents which he edited and articles in narrative form.[5] Less difficult problems in the internal economic or political history of a portion of the West—often Wisconsin—were taken over by his students. But there is nothing at all to indicate that in 1896 or thereabouts Turner was encouraging anyone to write a comprehensive, well-rounded work on the West alone.

But was Turner, it may be asked, peculiarly and inescapably pledged to devote himself to the history of that section we refer to as the West? The answer is emphatically in the negative. When, for example, in 1895, and again in 1897, he expected to remove as professor of history to Princeton, he projected long-term investigations in the history of the Middle Atlantic section, one then little studied and even less understood. And, once again, when he joined the Harvard faculty in 1910, with equal enthusiasm he spurred on his students to do research in the history of New England. His scholarly interest extended to all sections, not to the West only. The scope of his investigations was as broad as American history, no less.

To underscore the argument, and at the same time to conclude this

[1] *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1896* (Washington, 1897), I. 281–296.

[2] *Id.*, 283. [3] *Id.*, 287.

[4] For bibliographical details, see *Early Writings of Turner*, 239.

[5] *Id.*, 239–250 (entries for the years 1895–1905).

phase of it, one needs but to call attention to new instruction announced at Wisconsin for the academic year 1897–1898 by Turner's young colleague, Orin G. Libby. This course was entirely devoted to the fundamental matter of American sectionalism: "A study of the geographical distribution of political parties with especial reference to votes in Congress and in state legislatures."[1] Libby and Turner already clearly saw that Congressional action is one of the focal points in American national life. To study the votes, especially those of the House of Representatives, was "to study a great plexus of forces, partly harmonious and partly antagonistic, whose outcome is national policy and national development."[2] The unit to be taken, Libby proposed, should be the Congressional district. From Congressional votes by districts maps could be constructed showing the sectional geographies of opinion on important questions that have been up for discussion, questions like tariff, internal improvement, and the United States Bank. Series of such maps would reveal facts of the deepest significance in American history, and they would enable one to discover the physiographic areas that become in time economic and political sections.

> If the votes of the members of the House of Representatives are a correct expression of the opinions of the constituents of the various districts represented, it is of prime importance to know from what quarter of the country, from what localities, come the strength of the opposition and of the support for the measures that have shaped and still are shaping our history.[3]

To elucidate the problems of American sectionalism Libby set to work to analyze and then to map Congressional votes on great questions of policy from 1789 onward. His purpose was to secure a firm basis for subsequent political and economic investigations. By 1896 his work had progressed to the year 1841. Altogether, there was ample warrant for Libby's comprehensive course on sectionalism.[4]

Rightly to understand American history as a history of interacting sections implied that the department at Madison must supplement its course on the West by a course on the history of another important section, New England. Therefore it was that in 1900 Turner invited a young Rhode Islander, a graduate of Brown University, to join forces with him. Carl Russell Fish was not quite twenty-four years old and was fresh from Harvard where he had prepared for the doctorate under Edward Channing and Albert Bushnell Hart. On first coming to Madison he taught

[1] For a statement of Libby's views on this subject, see his article, "A Plea for the Study of Votes in Congress," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1896*, I. 323–334.

[2] *Id.*, 323. [3] *Id.*, 332. [4] *Id.*, 332 and *n.* 1.

courses on diplomatic history, the Puritan Revolution, and the American colonies. In 1902–1903 he began to offer a course on the history of New England. As time went on, he came more and more to concentrate on the colonial period of this section's history, stressing the internal forces which promoted the expansion of the New England people into the West.

Simultaneously, therefore, Turner's department was offering work on the history of general American sectionalism, under Libby; on the history of the West, under Turner himself; and on the history of New England, under Fish. One big gap remained to be filled, and in 1902 Turner filled it by calling Ulrich Bonnell Phillips to teach Southern history at Madison. A native of Georgia, a graduate of its university, and that very year the recipient of a doctorate from Columbia, where he had worked under William A. Dunning and Herbert L. Osgood, Phillips had early fallen under Turner's spell, as the Preface to his first book plainly declares.[1] Phillips was then not quite twenty-five years of age.

Phillips made haste to get ready the projected course on the history of the Old South which he had been invited to Madison to teach. The catalog for 1903–1904 first announced his "History of the South." The work proposed to cover the economic and social forces involved in the plantation system, in slavery, and in the occupation of the Gulf Plains as a basis for understanding the political history of the South and its place in national history. From this beginning Phillips steadfastly worked on through the field of Southern history. His course did not strongly attract the students at Madison, but he persevered in the study of his field, mastering its materials and consistently treating them in the approved Turner mode. His life work adds up to a solidly constructed and gracefully written history of his native section, and his scholarly output shows how rewarding and productive the Turner point of view can be when applied by as skillful a master craftsman as Phillips certainly was.[2] Perhaps Wisconsin undergraduates viewed New England history as something alien to their interests; or perhaps Fish came to have less interest in this course as he grew more absorbed, first in American diplomatic history, in which he taught a course for many years,[3] and afterward in the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. One thing stands out in clear relief—Fish never completed

[1] Ulrich B. Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights. A Study of the Political History of Georgia from the Revolution to the Civil War, with Particular Regard to Federal Relations* (Washington, 1902), 5.

[2] See Everett E. Edwards, "A Bibliography of the Writings of Professor Ulrich Bonnell Phillips" [Introduction by Fred Landon], *Agricultural History*, VIII (October, 1934), 196–218.

[3] His *American Diplomacy* (New York, 1915, and four subsequent editions) developed from this branch of his teaching.

that well-rounded history of his native section which Turner looked forward to seeing when he brought him out from Cambridge.

Was not this a remarkable experiment in teaching American history? Simultaneously and in the same department a native Southerner taught the history of Dixie, a native Yankee lectured on New England history, and a son of Wisconsin taught the history of the Great West. By this means full sympathy and a natural understanding were sure to be displayed toward each American section; bias and prejudice were certain to be eliminated; and enlarged, balanced views could be expected to emerge from the crossfire of informed discussion. It was an experiment conceived as a systematic, coöperative attack on general American history from the sectional approach.

The experiment terminated when the team of coöperating historians disintegrated. Phillips left Madison in 1908 for Ann Arbor by way of Tulane, and Turner resigned to join the Harvard staff in 1910. Few American historians today have ever heard of this unique venture in historical instruction. Does it not quite destroy the force of the charge that Turner was a "provincial" historian?

VI

IN the autumn of 1901 Turner reached his fortieth year. Looking back he could have congratulated himself on an abundance of good work well done: he had taught many classes with never-flagging intellectual vitality; he had trained scholars to further the scientific study of American history; and he had produced, continuously since his Johns Hopkins days, a stream of research articles, each one penetrating and novel.

He had, however, written no book. Basically he disliked crystallizing his interpretations, setting his thoughts in a mold. He much preferred continuous research and continuous revision of his conclusions, followed by the occasional publication of a mature paper on a limited aspect of his subject. Thus, while the pupils with success applied the master's doctrines to the data and in good season brought out their first books, the master himself withheld his pen.

Unexpectedly Albert Bushnell Hart did the impossible thing—he signed up Turner to write a book and then extracted the manuscript from him. This double feat no one else ever rivaled. It came about in this way. Late in 1899 a committee was appointed by the Council of the American Historical Association to consider the preparation of a monographic American history to be written by coöperating scholars. On this committee were William A. Dunning, Herbert B. Adams, Charles Francis Adams,

John B. McMaster, Moses C. Tyler, Turner, and as chairman, Hart.[1] Woodrow Wilson, then professor at Princeton, but shortly to assume its presidency, was invited to write a volume in the projected *American Nation Series*, of which Hart now became general editor. On January 21, 1902, Wilson wrote Turner that he had decided, after long and careful consideration, not to take part in Hart's coöperative history.[2] About the same time Turner signed the contract with Harper's that pledged him to produce *The Rise of the New West*. In the spring of 1902 Turner began the series of ultimate, intensive studies which were to lead up to his book. He decided at this time that for the coming year (1902–1903) his seminar would make a close study of Monroe's administration. This announcement in the Wisconsin University catalog is the outward sign that he was prepared to buckle down to work on his book in real earnest.

A period of nervous stress and strain now opened for the great historian. The first semester of 1903–1904 he gave his course on the history of the West, putting particular emphasis on the conditions of the westward migration and on the economic, political, and social aspects of the occupation of the various physiographic provinces of the United States, together with the reactions of these sections on national developments. His seminar took on added importance this semester, for it met weekly in two sections of three hours each to study Monroe's administration. This was a notably generous provision of time for so short a period in American history. It gives a hint that Turner was working away with savage intensity.

The remainder of the college year he spent in private study and writing. He now found composition a killing labor, not because it was hard for him to write, but because it was hard to stop thinking about his sentences after he had them written. An alert mind continued to receive new insights, to entertain visions of fresh historical truth just around the corner. He would not willingly complete his thinking or write "finis" on any historical topic. Long before he had done with *The Rise of the New West* he must have regretted signing a contract. Hart never permitted his contributor to forget that there was a deadline to meet.

While Turner worked away at his book, writing, revising, discarding, and rewriting, Hart kept sharp watch on his publication schedule. He meant to live up to this and did not propose to be put off by any author, no matter how eminent. Hart (who had started in *western* Pennsylvania) had more than a dash of good old western practicality and ability to get things done when promised. If Turner begged for more time, Hart asked

[1] Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 276.

[2] Woodrow Wilson to F. J. Turner, Princeton, January 21, 1902, in Harvard College Library.

for delivery; and when Turner kept silent, Hart bombarded him, first with letters, then with telegrams. By the spring of 1905 Turner was in a state bordering on panic. He, who so hated to make definitive statements, was sternly being driven into the certainty and finality of print. The ever-developing scholar who never troubled to write out lectures, who contented himself by talking informally from piles of newspaper clippings and marked copies of "separates" or research monographs, and by commenting with rich suggestiveness upon home-made maps hung from the wall at the front of the classroom, this was the man whom Hart was now forcing to come to final terms with his subject, the history of the decade from 1819 to 1829.

From the distance of Cambridge, Massachusetts, the insistent general editor of the *American Nation Series* wrought strange effects in the catalog of the University of Wisconsin for the academic year 1904–1905. Turner, desperate and reluctant, adopted an unheard-of expedient. An undergraduate seminar studied the origin and development of Nullification for three hours a week throughout the year, and a graduate seminar duplicated this work. More surprising still, there now appeared an entirely new course planned to occupy a whole year's time in the study of the relatively brief period from 1816 to 1837. The special character and the economic, social, and political interrelations of the various sections of the United States were to be emphasized, and the constitutional history of the period was to be studied as the outgrowth of the economic and social conditions in the different physiographic provinces that composed the Union. Out of this new course, and in the most direct and precise way, there was at last to emerge the completed manuscript of *The Rise of the New West*.

Into these courses during 1904–1905 Turner poured his full strength. And he wrote, forever urged on by the adamantine taskmaster in Cambridge. It was deadly labor. Years afterward he told a colleague that he would painfully write a paragraph, then go out doors and walk round the house. Smoking a cigarette, he would balance in his mind some delicate bit of interpretation that was to form part of that next, as yet unwritten, paragraph. And then, tense and determined, he would go back to his study, again to struggle with the writing and rewriting of that paragraph.[1]

The first volume of the *American Nation Series* came out in 1904. The day came when Turner's manuscript lay on Hart's desk. The persistence of the general editor was rewarded. For many years thereafter he was accustomed to exult: "When I die, let them put on my gravestone just this, 'He got a book out of Turner.' "

The Rise of the New West was published by Harper's in the spring of

[1] This anecdote comes to me from Professor Wilbur C. Abbott.

1906. No book like it had ever before been written by any American historian. He dealt with the varied sections of an expanding and developing federal union and the reactions of these different sections on the stream of national history. His study embraced the decade from 1819 to 1829. This was his subject matter, and he had mastered it after long years of study. He had solved the research problems involved.

The literary problems which presented themselves to Turner were difficult in the extreme. He had at the outset to describe and characterize each of the several sections that composed the Union. In these accounts he had to present a truthful general picture, well-rounded sociologically, and at the same time contrive to give a sense of the development locally, of the movement of history within the particular section itself. He had also to indicate how the section was represented in the national councils and what its spokesmen thought was its true policy. His survey of the several sections is in the main expository and descriptive.

Once he had firmly based the history of the period on a carefully calculated review of the congeries of sections, his task was to demonstrate the course of national history. Here narration was naturally the method followed, and movement was more attended to than analysis. The grand topics of Congressional debate and legislation were considered in the light of sectional influences impinging upon Congress in the persons of the sectional champions, political figures in national life. Federal policy was thus shown to be a resultant of compromise and conciliation which reduced the originally extreme claims of rival sections to a decent moderation. National history, as studied in Congressional action and presidential policy, came thus to have coördinate interest and importance with the internal history of the sections. And underneath all, the strong tide of nascent democracy was shown silently on the upsweep, moving toward the political victory of Andrew Jackson in 1828.

The book sums up and gives permanent expression to Turner's individual genius for historiography. It is the perfect and perfected flowering of his own special method of historical workmanship, displayed in all its many-sided richness and exacting refinement. As a historical construction it is utterly novel in ordonnance, a supremely difficult feat excellently performed. This book must be read and read again before it will give up all its secrets of craftsmanship.

Once more Turner sought to realize his conclusions according to an almost identical pattern. His object this time was to cover the period in United States history from 1830 to 1850. The Madison seminar served as the proving ground for the projected work. Jackson's administrations were studied, and that of Van Buren likewise. The times of Harrison and

Tyler were investigated. The fifties were explored. Always to the fore in Turner's mind in these seminars were the nature and the practice of statesmanship on the American model. And with such probing and delving his years at Madison passed one after another. He went on with the study of the sections, and with the light from these peripheral studies he looked the more closely at the history of the general government as expressed in Congressional debate and legal enactments. Continuously he learned and revised and learned anew.

Removing to Harvard in the fall of 1910, Turner went forward in the same path that he had already marked out for himself. In succession his seminars took up the history of Van Buren's administration, the period 1840–1850, and the decade leading up to the Civil War. Then he journeyed back over the same ground. In 1913–1914 the Harvard seminar studied the period 1830–1845; in 1917–1918, the period 1840–1855; in 1920–1921, the period 1830–1860. His knowledge of sections and of the Union as a whole grew deeper with the years, but his craving for still more knowledge and ever more insight into political and economic realities was seemingly insatiable. The shifting, growing, altering political scene at Washington in the days of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun fascinated him. He wished to be able to reconstruct every stage in its development as a geologist, for example, reconstructs a vanished era of the earth's history. On one occasion, to give an instance, he felt impelled to probe deeper into some of Calhoun's political activities. He traveled to the Library of Congress and read the pertinent correspondence of American politicians and statesmen. When he came back to Cambridge, his notes on this reading he had just done filled a small trunk. In this painstaking way his studies progressed until his service at Harvard terminated in 1924 with his retirement.

Three years later Turner became attached to the staff of the Huntington Library as Research Associate. By this date he had been at work investigating the decades 1830–1850 for about twenty years. He had the material under control, but very little of it was reduced to literary statement. As early as 1918, however, he had delivered the Lowell Lectures in Boston, taking as his subject "The United States and Its Sections, 1830–1850." In 1924, immediately after his retirement from Harvard, he gave the Dowse Lectures, dealing with sectionalism in American history during these same years. By the time he arrived at the Huntington Library in 1927, therefore, he thought he was ready for final composition. But let Max Farrand tell the story:

> Turner spoke blithely of finishing his book within a few months, for two or three chapters were already written and sketches of other chapters had been made.

In reality, hardly a third of the work could be regarded as completed. For a while it seemed as if his expectations would be realized. He set about the task of composition in so determined a fashion that within a comparatively short time several more chapters were perfected, and one of them was printed in the first number of the *Huntington Library Bulletin*. It was even necessary to warn him against overdoing. Then he encountered the one great obstacle at the Huntington Library to the accomplishment of his immediate purpose. Perhaps he had written all that was ready to be put in final form. At any rate, he paused and began looking up further data. Scarcely a student in the fields of English or American history and literature has ever come to the Huntington Library who has not found something of importance for his researches. The effect upon Turner may well be imagined. Hardly a day and never a week passed but he would excitedly and delightedly report upon discoveries he had made. A reference was to be added here, a sentence must be changed there. Some new material was important enough to modify a conclusion already reached or to demand consideration in the chapters still unfinished. "The book" had reverted to the pioneer stage.

In the summer of 1927, and again in 1928, the Turners went east to Hancock Point. His health had not improved; in fact, his strength was failing, although he was unwilling to admit it. . . . On returning to Pasadena, he came to the Library every day, but limited his work there largely to the morning hours. He met the situation bravely, but feeling the obligation of what was expected of him he realized that it was a race to get his book finished, and the next two summers were spent in California.

In November, 1931, a phlebitis developed in one leg and confined him to the house for several weeks. This had the advantage, so far as composition and writing were concerned, of keeping him from undertaking any further investigations, and with Mr. Crissey's help he made steady progress in finishing the last chapters of his book. When the trouble cleared up, Turner was again at the Library every morning. On Monday, March 14, he came as usual, and several persons spoke of his high spirits. He went home at noon, and before evening the end had come—just as we all should like to have it come to us.[1]

As the master had conceived it, the task had proved too great. Time enough for the execution of the plan he had formed long ago in his Madison days was not granted him. There remained at his death an extensive though unfinished manuscript, in pattern, when compared with his former book, somewhat more complex. Brought into shape for the printer by the skillful work of a disciple, this manuscript was published in the spring of 1935 as *The United States, 1830–1850: The Nation and Its Sections*.[2]

It is an open question whether the ordonnance displayed in these two

[1] *Huntington Library Bulletin*, Number 3, 160–162.

[2] The helpful Introduction by Professor Avery Craven reveals how Turner worked and composed his manuscript.

books is not too exacting, too time-consuming for the merely mortal historian to practice. Does it not require, this Turner method of multiple sectional analysis, overmuch of the practitioner? Consider how much knowledge of history must be accumulated, how many arts (including the art of literary composition) must be well learned and cultivated before ever writing can actually begin.

An ill fate overtook both of Turner's devoted colleagues of his Madison days. Both Carl Russell Fish and Ulrich Bonnell Phillips made plans, quite in the Turner spirit, for extended projects of historical composition, and both died with these plans unrealized.

Finally abandoning an earlier interest in New England's history, Fish went forward to deep study of the decades 1860 to 1880. For many years he taught courses at Madison on the Civil War and the Reconstruction periods. Under his hand a manuscript slowly grew. It was his intention to put forth his conclusions in two volumes, one to be devoted to the Civil War, and one to the Reconstruction era. Fish died on July 10, 1932. Fourteen draft chapters of his first volume were found. Nothing of the second volume had been written. Again a disciple worked over an unfinished manuscript by a member of the Turner school. It was edited for publication by Professor William Ernest Smith and appeared in 1937 as *The American Civil War: An Interpretation*. The method of this book is the method of Turner, though to be sure it is applied with variations arising from the different subject matter and from the individuality of the author.[1]

Phillips experienced a similar literary frustration. After years of study and consequent on the publication of several excellent books on one or another aspect of Southern history he resolved to compose a trilogy on the history of the Old South.[2] He projected one volume to deal with the people of the South and their ways of making a living—the economic and social basis of Southern society. There was to be a second volume dealing with antebellum politics and the social and political thought of the section. A final volume was to treat the consolidated political and social themes forward from the year 1861. A noble plan, this, one which would have enriched American historical writing in full measure had Phillips lived to complete it. But he survived long enough to publish only the first volume in the proposed series. *Life and Labor in the Old South*, a prize-winning study, appeared in 1929. Phillips died in January, 1934, leaving the man-

[1] For an account of the literary project that Fish had in hand, see his *The American Civil War*, vii–viii.

[2] The project was outlined by Phillips in the Preface to *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929).

uscript of a course of lectures on the political history of the South to be published posthumously in 1939 as *The Course of the South to Secession: An Interpretation.* From this a good idea of his matured conclusions on the political rôle of the section in the Union can be gauged. Again a Turner colleague, and one who worked in the Turner philosophy, left a fragmentary work behind him. Too ambitious a design, or one too tardily undertaken, or again, too complex a method?

Thus *The Rise of the New West* stands alone, the unique and completed masterpiece of this particular school of American historical interpretation. It will probably have no rival for a long time to come, for the method it embodies is difficult enough and exacting enough to warn off prospective writers who might think of emulating the accomplishment of the founder of the school.

VII

HOW did Turner contrive to win so thoroughly complete a reception for his interpretation of American history? Did he labor to win converts? Did he scheme and cajole and persuade? Did he consciously publicize his ideas? The central query of this generation is curiosity as to how he put his ideas over.

A simple explanation is at hand. Young students interested in history sat in his lecture room or round his seminar table. The logic of the lecturer and the broad, unifying philosophy of his interpretation won the students' minds. An effortless indoctrination occurred. The students dispersed here and there to teach in high schools, small colleges, or the state universities of the Middle or Far West. Many of these students became productive scholars in their own right and proceeded on their way of research with the assumption that the Turner interpretation was sound in principle and in detail. Perhaps, however, these students were a trusting lot, perhaps they were uncritical and did not stop to inspect or question fundamental things. Thus it is desirable to glance at some of the more noteworthy of the students who went through Turner's classes and taught and wrote history afterward.

Among those who worked under the scholar before the last century ended may be named these: James A. James, Albert H. Sanford, Emory R. Johnson, Paul S. Reinsch, Orin G. Libby, Mat B. Hammond, Joseph Schafer, Herbert E. Bolton, Guy Stanton Ford, William A. Schaper, Algie M. Simons, Charles J. Bullock, Carl Lotus Becker, George H. Alden, Louise P. Kellogg, Balthasar H. Meyer, and William Spence Robertson. Collectively this group was responsible for a goodly quantity of publication.

Noteworthy is the fact that three of the students in it afterward served as president of the American Historical Association.

Some of those who received Turner's instruction during the decade before he resigned from the staff at Madison were: Edmond S. Meany, Charles McCarthy, Chester Lloyd-Jones, Benjamin H. Hibbard, Lawrence M. Larson, Allyn A. Young, Homer C. Hockett, Solon J. Buck, Robert C. Clark, William V. Pooley, Clarence E. Carter, Amelia C. Ford, Royal B. Way, Edgar E. Robinson, Leon E. Aylsworth, Charles H. Ambler, William J. Trimble and William A. Robinson—another productive group.

As these students went out from Madison, they took with them the Turner interpretation. Most of them were historians. It would be an interesting exercise in academic geography to trace one by one the careers of these disciples, to see where they went, how soon they contrived to introduce a course on the history of the West into the curriculum of their new academic home, and whether they afterward sent the most promising of their own undergraduates back to Madison for advanced work. Speaking broadly, this is just about what happened. From Madison as a center the Turner interpretation diffused outward, first establishing itself strongly in the Middle West, then in the Southwest and on the Pacific Coast as secondary centers. Fish maintained it loyally at Madison when Turner effected the invasion of Massachusetts in 1910. Phillips made a sortie into the South but returned to plant the banner nearer home at Ann Arbor; later he carried the colors to New Haven. By the time he rose to the presidency of the American Historical Association Turner could survey a wide scene and observe his students at work in every principal section of the country. If his ideas had taken root and had spread, it had not been because he actively promoted them. The enthusiasm of his disciples, the wide range, geographically, of appointments they came to fill, and the utility of the doctrine they applied account for the remarkable hold which this historical interpretation quickly won—and seemingly without a battle. Had there been a rival interpretation in the field, the story might have been otherwise.

Was there never, even in the early days, any criticism of the Turner interpretation? Very little, apparently. Edward Everett Hale and some other correspondents thought the "Frontier" essay a "curious" idea, and Horace E. Scudder of the *Atlantic Monthly* refused to publish "The Problem of the West" in the form in which it was first written. In 1896, however, when Scudder's successor, Walter Hines Page, sought an article from Turner, the once rejected article was "adjusted . . . to the Bryan campaign" and accepted.[1] The first overt suggestion that every single word of

[1] *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XIX (September, 1935), 96–97.

the famous essay of 1893 was not utterly accurate and true came from a historian who had carried on advanced studies at Madison. At the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held in New York City at the close of December, 1909, Professor Edmond S. Meany read a paper entitled "The Towns of the Pacific Northwest Were Not Founded on the Fur Trade."[1] Opening his remarks by quoting from two key paragraphs by Turner, Meany stated his challenge in these words:

> While conceding the full value and validity of the thesis as applied to that portion of the United States lying east of the Rocky Mountains, it is the purpose of this present paper to demonstrate that west of those mountains, in the Pacific Northwest, or the old Oregon country, the evolution of civilization did not follow the lines so successfully elaborated by Professor Turner.[2]

Meany was professor of history in the University of Washington. He had studied at Madison, having taken a master's degree there in 1901. His excellent *History of the State of Washington* was just out, and in the course of preparing for it he had come to question an element in the Turner interpretation as it related to the social evolution of the special region he knew best. What Turner thought of the validity of Meany's challenge does not appear. The essay by the Seattle professor seems to have been ignored and then forgotten, but it deserves to be read and pondered today. After almost overwhelming victory the first sound of opposition and questioning had made itself heard. Thus Meany's forgotten paper is the precursor of the current controversy.

[1] *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1909* (Washington, 1911), 165–172.
[2] *Id.*, 165.

February Meeting, 1940

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS, at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 15, 1940, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President reported the death on January 4, 1940, of JOHN WOODBURY, a Resident Member.

The Editor, on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. THEODORE HORNBERGER, accepting election to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON spoke on "The Harvard Columbus Expedition."

Mr. HENRY J. CADBURY presented by title the following paper:

John Harvard's Library

I

IN 1919 Mr. Alfred C. Potter printed in our *Publications* (XXI. 190–230) the list of books given to Harvard College by its founder, adding, so far as he could identify them, the full title and the exact edition probably intended.[1] The list represents in all, he estimated, some 329 titles or about 400 volumes, of which a small number, about forty, seemed to defy identification. This situation, first coming to my attention at the beginning of Harvard College's tercentenary year, was too tantalizing

[1] Mr. Potter, to whose studies and interest all later concern with the John Harvard donation is indebted, retired as the Harvard College Librarian in 1936. The Library has continued, however, to secure as far as possible copies of the books whose titles were identified. A list of some seventy such additions will be found below in the footnote on page 355; but there remains a list of desiderata, nearly twice as long, representing the items still lacking at the Library. Most of the books regarded as replacements of the original donation have been classified as a separate category with a shelf list of their own, and many of them have stood together in a separate show case in the old Treasure Room in the main building of Widener Library.

The substance of this paper is included in a more popular article, "What Happened to John Harvard's Books?" *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, XLI (November 18, 1938), 241–248.

to be ignored. The following notes represent the result of a new review of the problem. It is, of course, audacious for a layman to venture into a field where expert bibliographers have labored. The only excuse that I can offer is that the problem fascinated me and that many of the books in the list belong in the field of theology. A further connection, though an irrelevant one, is the fact that the same Thomas Hollis who founded the professorship which I hold was also, after John Harvard himself, the principal donor to the college library in its earliest days. It was at his suggestion, as the records show, that the first printed catalogue was issued in 1723. This publication was intended to give guidance for further donations of books from Hollis and other English benefactors of the college. Today it is of great value in identifying the original Harvard library.

Mr. Potter's success in identifying so many of the titles can only be appreciated by one who recognizes the difficulties of the task. His ingenuity and that of Mr. Andrew McF. Davis, who worked on the problem earlier,[1] are hardly indicated by Mr. Potter's modest publication. The following sentences from it indicate some of the difficulties:

> The list comprises 250 entries, each numbered in pencil in a later hand. These are very brief, usually confined to a single line, but on the other hand often including several works by an author and occasionally books by more than one author. The entries are made usually under the author but sometimes under the title, with no attempt at uniformity. The arrangement is alphabetical only under the first letter. The nature of many of the entries would indicate that the binder's titles were used, and some of the errors make at least plausible the suggestion that the list was taken down by dictation. . . .
>
> The Catalogue of the College Library published in 1723 has been one of the main sources of identification, for it is a fairly safe assumption that if a title given in the Harvard list reappears in this Catalogue it is the book and edition that John Harvard owned. Rather over half of the titles have thus been found. Unfortunately, this Catalogue gives only the briefest of titles, often hard to recognize owing to abbreviation, and has many misprints, especially in the dates.

This is all excellently expressed. The errors in dates are apparently often due to the misreading of Roman numerals on the title pages. They are often errors of just one decade ("X") or one century ("C"). With regard to the printed catalogue, it has been possible to add from it evidence for more of the items in the Harvard list that Potter had identified but had not thus associated with that source.[2] And most of the entirely new

[1] "A Few Notes concerning the Records of Harvard College," *Bibliographical Contributions*, Justin Winsor, Editor, No. 27 (Cambridge, 1888). The list, without identifications, was published in Thomas G. Wright, *Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620–1730* (New Haven, 1920), 265–272, and in our *Publications*, XV. 158–166.

[2] In his list Potter used the designation "(Cat. 1723)" to indicate items that he identified

identifications offered below also receive, it will be noted, their confirmation from the printed catalogue. On the other hand, no one will be surprised if several of John Harvard's books, given more than eighty years before, were lost by the time the catalogue was printed and do not appear in it at all. It is particularly hazardous to assume that dictionaries and other works of reference in the two lists are the identical copies or editions.

The defects in the Harvard list may be due to other causes than binder's titles. In the seventeenth century short titles were often written on the leaf edges, and presumably the books were shelved with the backs in and the fore edges forward where these titles could be read.[1] Such titles were easily miswritten or misread. Again, the list may have been recopied. But in some cases the title, though not corresponding to the known book, is no accident. Two titles in the list may be taken by way of example: "Haylins Geography" (No. 114) and "Magirj Physica" (No. 146). No doubt Potter has identified these works with the highest degree of probability. But neither Peter Heylyn's *Microcosmos, or Little Description of the Great World* nor Joannes Magirus' *Physiologiae Peripateticae Libri Sex*, in any edition known to me, nor any other works of the same writers have on the title page or as the binder's title the words, respectively, "geography" or "physica." Yet a list of books owned by Increase Mather in 1664 includes among its short titles precisely the same words: "Heylins Geography" and "Magiri Physica."[2] Another early list of books, that made by Solomon Stoddard and now in the library of the Union Theological Semi-

in this way. This symbol may now be added to his printed list in the following instances, confirming or correcting his titles and editions: Nos. 26, 44 (should be Geneva, 1625), 50, 55 (also Poitiers, 1619, f°), 81 (should be 4°), 111a (the edition in English), 163b (should be Basel, 1611), 196 (should be 4°), 222 (should be edition of 1547, for which "1647" in the Catalogue is an obvious error), 227b. The dates in Potter's list should be further corrected in these items: Nos. 8b (1620 for 1630), 72d (1572 for 1568), 143a (1599 for 1589), 174a (1570 for 1574), 198a (1618 for 1628), 199 (1629 for 1627). The asterisk used by Potter to mark items of which copies are in the Harvard College Library may now be added, owing to more recent accessions, to the titles and editions which he names under Nos. 1, 2, 6a (Volumes 3 and 4), 13, 16, 18, 23a, 24a (Antwerp, 1616), 29b, 29d (Venice, 1617), 30d, 31, 33, 42, 46a, 46e, 48b, 48d, 48e, 48g, 48j, 51a, 54, 59, 60, 62a, 62c, 62f, 62h, 70, 72a, 75b, 75c, 90 (London, 1593), 91 (London, 1633), 94 (Frankfort, n.d.), 106, 108a, 109b, 114, 116, 117, 126, 134, 140, 143b, 156, 162, 163b (Basel, 1603), 169 (London, 1638), 172, 174, 183a, 184b, 189a, 191e, 195, 198a, 205, 208, 210, 220, 222 (Lyons, 1547), 234, 237, 242b, 245, 246 (London, 1618), 247, 250.

[1] This striking difference between ancient and modern library practice is rarely mentioned or thought of today. Burnett H. Streeter thinks the custom goes back to the days of chained books. *The Chained Library* (London, 1931).

[2] *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, xx. 287, 288. The original manuscript of this list is in the Boston Public Library.

nary, also includes "Heilins Geographie"; while a list of Thomas Weld's books in 1651 (see below) has "Magirij Physica."

A more serious doubt respecting the Harvard list has come to my attention and cannot honestly be suppressed. In the same record book in which it appears there is another list, written in the same hand, naming twenty works given to the library by Richard Bellingham. The date of his gift or gifts is not indicated. He came to Massachusetts in 1634 and died in 1672. The two lists overlap in a surprising manner.[1] Fifteen of the twenty titles in Bellingham's list are certainly identical with titles in the Harvard list, and very probably three more besides. Indeed, the very manner in which these titles are given suggests that the lists are not independent. In several instances the items in the shorter list appear grouped together in the longer list. To show this relation it is necessary to give the Bellingham list in full, with the corresponding titles in the Harvard list.

Richardus Bellinghamus Armiger hos Libros dedit		*Catalogus Librorū quos dedit Dominus Harvardus*
Arresiū in N. Test	11	Apeius in Nov. Testam^{t}
Anatomij Armenianism	12	Anatomy Arminianisme
Augustinj opera	9b	Augustinj Opera
Biblia Tremelij & Junij	43	Biblia Tremelij & Junij
Cartwright on Prov: Eccles:	68	Cartwright in Eccles. & Prov.
Curiel in Epistolā Thomæ	60	Curiel in Epist. Thomæ
Gouges Sacrifice of S^{ts}		
Grotium de jure belli		
Lutherum in Genesin	124a	Lutherus in Genesin
Marlorati thesaurum Scripturæ	142	and 145 Marloratj Thesaurus Scripturæ
Molinæum contra Arminium	144	Mollinæus contra Arminios
Mollerum in Psalmos	141	Mollerus in Psalmos
Musculum in Psalmos	143a	Musculus in Psalmos
Polanj Syntagma	163a	Polanj Syntagma Theologiæ
Reinoldum de Idololatria	196	Reinoldi Liber de Idololatria
Stultetj Opera	198	Scultetj opera
Stellā in Lucam	197	Stola in Lucā
Vortium de Deo	236	Vorsius de Deo
in Psalmos		
Com̄ent in Philemonem		

[1] This similarity was noted by Andrew McF. Davis (*Bibliographical Contributions*, No. 27, 7), but he drew no deductions from it. The list was printed by him in *id.*, 14.

Of course some coincidences between contemporary libraries in New England are to be expected. I have attempted to compute the number of titles in the John Harvard list that are also found in three other lists of the period. The library of Thomas Jenner, left by him in America in 1649 and bought in 1651 for the use of John Eliot by the Corpo-

Of the five items in Bellingham's list not also clearly in the Harvard list, the first is certainly a misspelling for "Aretius" and is really, I suspect, the same as No. 11 on the Harvard list: "Apeius in Nov. Testam^t^." The last two in the Bellingham list, though without author's name, may be one of the several books on the Psalms in Harvard's list (e.g., Nos. 48, 160, or 187) and "Feuardensius in Epist. ad Philemonem" (No. 99 in the Harvard list). The titles by Gouge and Grotius are alone definitely absent from the longer list. Both lists agree, not only in misspelling Cumel as "Curiel," but in including the very similar titles "Anatomy Arminianisme" and "Molinæus contra Arminios" (i.e., Pierre du Moulin, *Anatome Arminianismi*). Several titles are abbreviated in strikingly similar wording, the frequent difference between the accusative case in the Bellingham list and the nominative case in the Harvard list being due merely to the different grammatical government of the initial rubrics in the original manuscripts.

It seems to me very unlikely that the gift from Bellingham so fully duplicated the earlier gift from Harvard. More probably, the so-called Harvard list was really made when the Bellingham books were already in the library or when they were listed much as in the contemporary copy.[1] In that case the former is not to be trusted as including only books given by Harvard himself. The copy of Musculus' book on the Psalms mentioned in the 1723 catalogue was published in 1639, too late in date to have come from the founder. The copy of Grotius' *De Jure Belli* mentioned in the catalogue of 1723—and apparently still extant and listed as having survived the fire of 1764—was published in 1651. Both these books may well have been given by Bellingham. The *Thesaurus Scrip-*

ration for Propagation of the Gospel in New England (the New England Company) had 200 titles (our *Publications*, XXVIII. 113–136), of which not more than 40 are in the John Harvard list. The library left in America by Thomas Weld (1595–1662) and similarly disposed of at the same time as Jenner's (*id.*, 136–156) contained 195 titles, of which about 32 may be the same as titles in the John Harvard list. A smaller and earlier library, owned and housed in various places in the colony from its presentation in 1629 until it was burned in the Town House fire in Boston in 1711, was that given the Massachusetts Bay Company by William Backhouse and the Reverend Samuel Skelton. About a dozen of the John Harvard titles may be included in its 52 entries. *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, XX. 271.

[1] The date at which the two lists were copied into the Record Book is not known. Mr. Morison thinks it was probably after 1667, when the new library laws called for a catalogue. *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, 1935), 264. The handwriting is not that of President Dunster, as was formerly thought, but it has not been identified. Bellingham's gift may have been made in 1642, when the magistrates and elders gave to Harvard College from their libraries books to the value of £200 (*id.*, 263); or by bequest at his death in 1672, when, according to the inventory of his estate, he had at his house in Boston a library of books worth £30. Mellen Chamberlain, *Documentary History of Chelsea*, 1624–1824 (Boston, 1908), I. 427.

turae of Marlorat is twice entered in the Harvard list. If one of these copies is Bellingham's, the other may be Harvard's.

Of Harvard's books, tradition has long identified one as having survived the fire of January, 1764: John Downame's thick folio, *Christian Warfare against the Devill, World and Flesh* (4th ed., London, 1634). In the Harvard list it is called "Dounā his warfare" (No. 78). A copy of this edition is included in the printed catalogues of the library both before the fire, in 1723, and after the fire, in 1790. Recently there has come to light among the library records a list of 404 books which survived the fire, and it includes Downame's *Christian Warfare*. In fact, it is possible to say just how this particular book came to survive, for the newly discovered list shows that the volume had been charged out of the library on October 14, 1763, to a student named Briggs.

Every fresh review of the Harvard list naturally leads to renewed hope that some further volume actually in that collection has survived and can be found. However, a comparison of Harvard's library with the above-mentioned list of books that survived the fire shows only the Downame title in both, with the possible exception of a few works of reference where probably the edition and certainly the copy were not the same in 1638 and in 1764. The printed catalogue, by its omissions, shows that already by 1723 many of the "charter members" of the college library had been lost or discarded. Since Downame's *Christian Warfare* is the only John Harvard book on the list of volumes in actual circulation at the time of the fire, it would appear that the rest of the works that he gave were not at the time in active demand. Except for these factors, it would certainly be expected that, by the law of chances, out of the total college library of some five thousand volumes in 1764, including fully two hundred from the original donor, the escape from destruction of 404 volumes (nearly 8 per cent) would have left more than a single survivor from the Harvard gift.

In this connection it is worth while to note that a good many survivors of the fire besides Downame's *Christian Warfare* are still extant. Copies of Grotius' *De Iure Belli ac Pacis*, the gift of Richard Bellingham, and of the works of Cassian (1578), given by Sir Kenelm Digby in 1655, have been in the college library nearly as long as Downame's book. These two titles, like the Downame folio, appear in the lists of early contributions, in the catalogue of 1723, in the list of books that survived the fire of 1764, and in the catalogue of 1790. John L. Sibley identified all three as being among the oldest in the library. Several other books which came into the library before 1764 were also so marked by Sibley upon the bookplates. In some cases these volumes present evidence to confirm this claim by agreeing with titles in the catalogue of 1723 and occasionally by also

having marked on the flyleaf or title page the three-number pressmark indicated for them in that catalogue. The third or shelf number is also sometimes marked in ink on the fore edges of the book. While some of this group of books appear in the list of 404 survivors of the fire, the fact that others of them are not so included shows even that list to be incomplete. This gives still a faint hope that further Harvard volumes may some day be discovered. One of them has already been suggested by Mr. Potter: *The Whole Volume of Statutes at Large* (London, 1587).[1] An item answering this description was catalogued in 1723, and the John Harvard list had a "Collection of statutes." Hence the extant copy may be the actual gift of John Harvard (see below, No. 69).

In the disappearance of so nearly all of its books the John Harvard gift has fared no worse than other donations of the seventeenth century. It would be interesting if some of the large gifts of Peter Bulkley, Ezekiel Rogers (1660), John Lightfoot (1675), or Richard Baxter (1675) could be identified, but no clear evidence is at hand to show the present existence of volumes given by those men. Only a few books from any source that were in the college library before 1700 are now identifiable. It is interesting that many of these have not been continuous residents of the library but have been returned to it after many years' absence.

Perhaps the chances are greater that John Harvard's books have survived outside the library than within it. It is known, for example, that the college sold duplicates. There is no reason to suppose that the older copies would always stay in the library and the later copies be sold. It is true that when Cotton Mather in 1682 bought ninety-six duplicates from the library, it had just received a large shipment of the books from Sir John Maynard, some of which were sold at once because they were duplicates of titles already in the library. There are extant a dozen such volumes that were evidently sold direct to Mather. They usually have Maynard's name stamped on the flyleaf or title page. They correspond to titles in the list of Mather's purchase, and they passed down as part of the Mather library which Isaiah Thomas bought for the American Antiquarian Society. In 1924 that Society courteously turned them over to Harvard College, the original beneficiary, where they had never been entered in the library records because they had been duplicates.[2]

In other cases, however, old books in the library may have been sold to Mather or to others, or may have otherwise got into private hands and never been returned to the library. And why not among these some of

[1] Sibley has written on the bookplate: "This book belonged to the Library before the fire Jan. 24, 1766 [*sic*]."

[2] *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, XXXIV. 2–4, 14–19.

John Harvard's gift? Of the ninety-six items or sets named in Mather's list of purchases, twelve are also in the John Harvard list.

There is evidence of another method by which older books left the main college library upon receipt of duplicates. On January 5, 1724/5, when he had secured for the library many new books, Thomas Hollis, in a letter to Edward Wigglesworth, made the following suggestion:

> And supposing any already sent or now sending that you have already of the same sort J order for myself & by Leave of the Don^rs Let the Library keep the best books and the duplicates be for my Profess^rs Closet or wth the Presid^ts advice given to any of my Students that goe out of the College for the Ministry[1]

This was recorded by the Corporation in its minutes for June 2, 1725. Three years later (December 30, 1728) it was ordered that

> Mr Wigglesworth ye Professor of Divinity, exhibit to ye Corporation a Catalogue of Books of ye Library belonging to ye Professorship of Divinity, & y^t said Catalogue be entered in ye College-Book[2]

The same arrangement is mentioned in 1742.[3] Several of these volumes are still extant. They had been in the regular library, marked and listed in the printed catalogue of 1723. Soon after that they were replaced by duplicates and segregated. A red bookplate indicates that after the fire they were still treated separately. The inscription on the plate reads: "Ex dono Tho. Hollis Armig. in usum Sui Professoris S.S. Theol."

Again, many of the titles in Harvard's list were textbooks that he himself had used. They also became textbooks at Harvard. Mr. Arthur O. Norton's list of known Harvard textbooks recently published by the Society[4] contains no less than thirty-three items also in the John Harvard list, and many others on his list were equally available for undergraduate use. Other copies and other editions of such works would be very likely to replace his original gifts. The latter would be lost or worn out and destroyed.

In all these ways no doubt much of the original library was dissipated before Harvard Hall was burned in 1764. Those books that were then in the building doubtless perished in the flames. It is not usually noted in references to that event that in 1737 the Corporation had appointed a committee "to provide boxes for the books in the Library fitted with handles &c whereby the Said Library may be speedily and safely removed

[1] Our *Publications*, XVI. 522. On the recovery of nearly seventy of the duplicates thus disposed of, see my article, "My Professor's Closet," *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, XXXIX (December 4, 1936), 297–301.

[2] Our *Publications*, XVI. 570. [3] *Id.*, 728.

[4] *Id.*, XXVIII. 381–461.

in case of fire." This precautionary measure sounds ironical today. There is no evidence that any book in the Hall at that time was snatched from the burning.

II

Titles Hitherto Not Certainly Identified

The list which follows is composed, in the first place, of those books in the John Harvard library which are now identified for the first time or for which a different identification is offered from that given by Mr. Potter. To these are added, for the interest of any who may wish to help with the further work of identification, those titles whose identity still eludes me.

The several items are handled according to a uniform scheme. The first line gives *literatim* the entry as it appears in the original manuscript. Next, where possible, the form of entry in the 1723 catalogue is given in quotation marks. Then comes a full title, taken from an actual copy of the work or from a bibliography, with the place of publication given in English. Finally come such comments of my own as seem pertinent.

Key to Abbreviations

ATS. Library of Andover Theological Seminary.
BL. Catalogue of the Bodleian Library.
BM. British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books.
BN. Catalogue Générale des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
BPL. Boston Public Library.
CL. Congregational Library, Boston.
HCL. Harvard College Library.
HDL. Library of the Harvard Divinity School.
HEH. Henry E. Huntington Library.
HLL. Harvard Law School Library.
STC. Short Title Catalogue.
TC. Catalogue of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.
UTS. Library of the Union Theological Seminary.

1 Ambrosij Dixionariū.

"Calepini (Ambros.) Dictionarium cum Cornucop. Paris. 1510." f°.

"Calepini (Amb.) Dictionarium undecim Linguarum. 7 Edit. Basil. 1627." f°.

Ambrosius Calepinus. Dictionarium ex Optimis Quibusquam Authoribus Studiose Collectum. [Paris], 1514. BN.

Ambrosius Calepinus. Dictionarium Undecim Linguarum. Basel, 1627. f°. BN.

There was also a [Paris], 1518, edition of the first of these titles, but I have not verified the existence of an edition of Paris, 1510.

Potter names only the second of these titles; but each has equal right to be suggested as fulfilling the requirement of the manuscript entry. The "Cornucopia" was doubtless a copy of the contemporary philological work of that name by Nicolas Perottus[1] bound with the dictionary. By 1725, when a supplement to the catalogue of the college library was printed, a further work by Calepinus was in the library, entered as "Calepini (Amb.) Dictionarium Hexaglottum. Bas. ——." f°.

4 Analysis Apocalypseωs.

"Brightmanni (Tho.) Apocalypsis Apocalypseωs. Francof. 1609." 4°.

THOMAS BRIGHTMAN. Apocalypsis Apocalypseωs: Id Est, Apocalypsis D. Joannis Analysi et Scholiis Illustrata. Frankfort, 1609. 4°. BPL.

Of all the works on Revelation in the 1723 catalogue, including that by Conradus Graserus selected by Potter, Brightman's, because of its use of "Analysis" and the Greek "ω," corresponds most nearly to the title in the Harvard list. The title in the form given there is found on a work by Henri à Diest, *Analysis Apocalypseos*, published in 1663, too late for Harvard's gift.

8d Amesij . . . contra Armin:

WILLIAM AMES. De Arminii Sententia Qua Electionem Omnem Particularem, Fidei Praevisae Docet Inniti, Disceptatio Scholastica, inter Guil. Amesium Anglum et N. Grevinchovium. Amsterdam, 1613. 4°. HCL.

A 1658 edition is also in HCL. Several of Ames's books are polemics against the Remonstrants, but none of them appear in the 1723 catalogue except the *Coronis ad Collationem Hagiensium* mentioned by Potter. The date of the edition included there is 1650, too late to have been in the Harvard list. The above title is chosen as the only one to use the words "Arminius" or "Arminianus" on the title page. The same short title, "Ames Contra Armin," appears (No. 328) in the list of Thomas Weld's books bought for John Eliot in 1651 (our *Publications*, XXVIII. 149).

11 Apeius in Nov. Testamt.

"Aretij (Bened.) in Nov. Testam. Comment. Genevae 1618." f°.

BENEDICTUS ARETIUS. In Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Commentarii. Geneva, 1618. f°. UTS.

There is a copy in HDL. lacking the general title page. This identification is, to be sure, very uncertain. It implies that the person who made

[1] Or perhaps a similar work of the same title by Ravisius Textor.

the original manuscript entry misread the author's name as it appeared on the title page. I had made this conjecture before I discovered the close likeness between this list and the list of the Bellingham donation with its "Arresiū in N. Test," which must mean "Aretium in N. Test."

12 Anatomy Arminianisme.

"Corvini (Joan. Arnold.) Censura Anatomes Arminianismi. 2 Edit. Franc. ad. Maen. 1632." 4°.

JOANNES ARNOLDUS CORVINUS. Petri Molinaei Novi Anatomici Mali Encheiresis; seu Censura Anatomes Arminianismi. Frankfort, 1632. BL.

This is identified by Potter with Pierre du Moulin, *The Anatomy of Arminianisme* (London, 1620, 1626), just as No. 144, "Mollinæus contra Arminios," is identified with the Latin original of the same work, *Anatome Arminianismi* (Leyden, 1619 [or 1620]). Both appear in short-title form in both the Harvard and the Bellingham lists, but there is no copy of either in the catalogue of 1723. Further, No. 12 has no author's name and lacks the "of" that would be expected in the title of the English edition. For these reasons I have proposed an alternative identification.

23a,b Bezæ Test. N. cū Annotat. Test. Græc. Lat.

THEODORE BEZA. Novum D. N. Iesu Christi Testamentum, a Theodoro Beza Versum, cum Eiusdem Annotationibus. Basel, 1560. f°.

THEODORE BEZA. Iesu Christi D. N. Novum Testamentum, sive Foedus, Graece & Latine. [Geneva], 1565. 8°.

The titles are taken from Thomas H. Darlow and Horace F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1903–1911). This entry in the Harvard list probably represents two separate items (not, as Potter suggests, one), probably the two common forms of Beza's Greek New Testament, which appeared in rapid succession. Several subsequent editions of these were issued at Geneva: of the first, in 1565, 1582, 1588, and 1598; of the second, in 1567, 1580, 1590, 1604, and 1611. All but two of these eleven editions are to be found in the libraries at Harvard University. According to the 1725 supplement to the 1723 catalogue a copy of the 1598 edition was then in the college library.

23c Bezæ . . . In Epist. ad Galat.

"Notae in Epistolam ad Galatas ex Gasp. Oleviani Concionibus Excerptae. Genev. 1581." 8°.

THEODORE BEZA. In Epistolam D. Pauli Apost. ad Galatas Notae, ex Concionibus Gasparis Oleviani Excerptae, et a Theodoro Beza Editae cum Praefatione Eiusdem Bezae. Geneva, 1581. BN.

A copy of the edition of Geneva, 1578, from the Mather library is at the American Antiquarian Society.

23d Beza . . . Eplæ.

"Bezae (Theod.) Epistolae. Genev. 1575." 8°.

THEODORE BEZA. Epistolarum Theologicarum Liber Unus. 2nd ed., Geneva, 1575. HCL.

All previous efforts at identification of this title failed because it was misread "Ephes[ians]." But the manuscript list, which has "Ephes." differently written in the next line, here plainly reads as above.

27a Buxtorfi. Dixionar. Hebr:

JOHANN BUXTORF. Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum. 4th ed., Basel, 1631. HDL.

The first edition was in 1607. An edition of 1655 is in the 1723 catalogue. Potter suggested Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum et Syriacum.* A copy of this latter work survived the fire, perhaps the very one (Basel, 1622) which is listed in the catalogues of 1723 and 1790. But "Chaldaicum" is not "Hebraicum."

27b Buxtorfi . . . Graim: hebr:

"Amamae (Sixtin.) Grammatica Hebraea Martinio-Buxtorfiana. Amstelod. 1634." 8°.

SIXTINUS AMAMA. Grammatica Ebraea Martinio-Buxtorfiana seu Grammatica Petri Martinii Navarri, Quam ex Accuratissimis Aliorum Grammaticis Praecipue Vero Cl. Buxtorfii, Suisque Etiam Observationibus Sixtinus Amama Mutavit, Correxit & Auxit. Amsterdam, 1634. ATS.

The same edition was in the college library catalogue of 1790, and this title suits well the Buxtorf Hebrew grammar which escaped the fire through having been taken out of the library by Mr. Sewall in 1762. But Potter's suggestion of Johann Buxtorf's *Thesaurus Grammaticus Linguae Sanctae Hebraeae* is also a suitable identification for the short title in John Harvard's list though none of its many editions appear in the 1723 catalogue except that of 1651. A copy of this edition was in the 1790 catalogue and hence may be the one which survived the fire. It is still extant, but its shelf number is not that given in the 1723 catalogue.

29c Bellarmin . . . In 1ª & 2ª Epist: ad Thessalon.

This title is still unidentified. Of the four works of Robert Bellarmine in the Harvard list, this one alone is not mentioned among some sixteen Bellarmine items in the catalogue of 1723.

36 Bovilij Adagia.

Potter suggests that this was a certain folio collection of proverbs edited by Johann Jacob Grynaeus and published at Frankfort in 1629. He adds: "It is entered in the List under Carolus Bovillus, the last of several authors mentioned on the title-page. It does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723." Neither of these statements is quite correct. Bovillus is not the last mentioned of the several authors in the work suggested, nor does his name appear in a conspicuous place on the title page. Furthermore, the catalogue of 1723 has this entry: "Erasmi et Aliorum Adagiorum Collectio absolutissi. in Loc. Commun. digesta. —— 1643" (f°). This is precisely the collection mentioned by Potter, but in a Frankfort edition too late to have been in John Harvard's bequest. There is, therefore, the alternative of supposing that the entry in the Harvard list intended some other collection or else the early separate work of Charles de Bouelles entitled *Caroli Bovilli Proverbiorum Vulgarium Libri Tres* (Paris, 1531).

38 Brentius de parabolis.

"Gastij (Joan.) Similitudinum et dissimilitudinem [*sic*] Liber. Basil. 1540." f°.

Joannes Gastius. Parabolarum, sive Similitudinum ac Dissimilitudinum Liber. Cum Epistola D. Ioannis Brentii. Basel, 1540.

The title is taken from Walther Köhler, *Bibliographia Brentiana* (Berlin, 1904), No. 694.

43 Biblia Tremelij & Junij.

"Biblia Sacra Vet. Testament. interpp. Junio et Tremellio et Nov. Testam. interpret. Beza. Edit. 7. Hannoviae 1624." f°.

"Biblia Sacra Vet. Test. ex Interpretat. Junii & Tremellii, et Nov. Testam. ex interpretatione Bezae. Amstelod. 1628." 8° &c.

Emmanuel Tremellius and François du Jon (Franciscus Junius). Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra sive Libri Canonici Priscae Judaeorum Ecclesiae a Deo Traditi, Latini Recens ex Hebraeo Facti, Brevibusque Scholiis Illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio, & Francisco Junio Sermone Syro ab Eodem Tremellio, & ex Graeco a Theodoro Beza in Latinum Versos. 7th ed., Hanover, 1624, 1623. f°. HDL.

Emmanuel Tremellius and François du Jon (Franciscus Junius). Biblia Sacra, sive Testamentum Vetus, ab Im. Tremellio et Fr. Iunio ex Hebraeo Latine Redditum, et Testamentum Novum a Theod. Beza e Graeco in Latinum Versum. Amsterdam, 1628. 8°. HCL.

Potter wrongly assigns the second of these Latin Bibles to item No. 23. Under No. 43 he cites from the catalogue of 1723 only the former. So far as the lists of John Harvard and Richard Bellingham go, either of these would meet the requirement.

53 Cleonardi.

"Clenardi (N.) Institutiones ac Meditationes in Ling. Graec. Paris. 1566." 4°.

"Clenardi (Nic.) Tabula in Grammaticen Hebraicam. Paris. 1564." 4°.

NICOLAUS CLENARDUS. Institutiones ac Meditationes in Graecam Linguam, cum Scholiis & Praxi P. Antesignani. Paris (Johann Borellus), 1566. 4°. HCL.

NICOLAUS CLENARDUS. לוח הדקדוק Tabula in Grammaticen Hebraeam. Paris, 1564. 4°. BN.

The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale shows that A. Wechelus also published in Paris in 1566 a quarto edition of the first of these books; and that in the case of the second there was an octavo edition of the same place, date, and publisher as the quarto edition.

The entry in the Harvard list is almost illegible, the page on which it is written having been trimmed at the top. Sibley's transcript, which may have been made before the page was so badly trimmed, reads plainly, "Cleonardi." The title is gone entirely. There is no reason, therefore, to give, as Potter does, only one of the above quartos listed in the catalogue of 1723. HCL. has the Paris, 1539, edition of the second item.

57 Chrystopolitanj opa.

I have been unable to identify this title.

58 Christianity.

My first impression was that this word was too common to permit of any identification, but further consideration has led to a more hopeful view. Several observations occurred to me: the word is not at all frequent in English theological writing of the period; in a considerable experience with lists of books printed before 1640 no title beginning with "Christianity" has come to my attention; my identification of No. 104 in this list proves that some of the entries were taken, in abbreviated form, from running heads; there were two books, and I think only two, printed before John Harvard's death containing the word "Christianity" in the running head, and either of them was likely to have been included in his library.

In 1603 Richard Rogers published *Seven Treatises, Leading and Guiding to True Happiness*. Farther on in the title appear the words "the Practice of Christianity." In 1618 was issued *The Practice of Christianity, or an Epitome of Seven Treatises*. There were, according to the *Short Title Catalogue*, six editions of the first of these books and three of the second. Both were known by the short title which appears as the running head of the epitome: "The Practice of Christianity" ("of Christianity" appearing on the right-hand pages). The title appears in contemporary lists of Puritan libraries in New England (cf. our *Publications*, XXVIII. 125, 137).

Thomas Shepard refers to "old m^r Rogers 7 Treatises & the Practise of X^tianity the booke which did first woorke vpon my hart" (our *Publications*, XXVII. 363). The catalogue of 1723 lists a 1610 edition of the *Seven Treatises* and a 1639 edition of the *Practice of Christianity*.

John Rogers' *The Summe of Christianitie* was first published about 1560 and again in 1579 (in the latter edition the date, through a typographical error, reads "1679"). The British Museum has a copy of both editions. The running head reads: "The Summe of Christianitie." The right-hand pages have merely the word "Christianitie," while, as has already been pointed out, Richard Rogers' book has "of Christianity" as the running head on the right-hand pages. John Rogers' book seems, therefore, more likely to be the work intended by the short title in John Harvard's list. In any case, the identification is narrowed down to either one Rogers or the other, and perhaps to a copy which, because of the loss of the title page, was listed by a word in its right-hand running title.

61 Chareus in Epist.

I have been unable to identify this title although it is possibly one of the New Testament commentaries of David Pareus.

64 Cõmentariũ in Horatiũ in Fol.

"Lambini (Dionys.) in Horatium Flaccum Comment. Aurel Allobr. 1605." 4°.

Dionysius Lambinus. In Q. Horatium Flaccum Commentarius Locupletissimus. 6th ed., Geneva, 1605. 4°. HCL.

The discrepancy between the description "in Fol." and the listing of the book among the quartos in the catalogue of 1723 is explained by the actual size of the volume. Probably, though a quarto, it was shelved with the folios.

65 Cõment in 4 Evangel. & Acta Apost. On the Prov.

"Pelicani (Chuonrad.) Comment. in 4 Evang. et Act. Apost. Tiguri. 1637." f°.

Conrad Pellikan. In Sacrosancta Quatuor Evangelia et Apostolorum Acta Commentarij. Zürich, 1537. f°. HDL.

Conrad Pellikan. משלי שלמה. Proverbia Salomonis Translata et Annotationibus Illustrata. Basel, 1520. 8°. BM. BN.

The entry in the Harvard list seems to call for two books from the same author: one containing in a single volume a commentary on the five historical books of the New Testament, the other a work on Proverbs. This combination is an almost impossible one to find, especially if, as the original manuscript entry indicates, the latter is to be in English while the former is to be in Latin. The two volumes named above come as near as

any combination I can find to meeting the requirement, and even if the second be wrong, and if for this Latin-Hebrew text of Proverbs with commentary some other author's work ought to be substituted, the first is almost certainly right, being abbreviated in the same way in the catalogue of 1723 as in the Harvard list. It is one of a set of folio volumes in which Conrad Pellikan published a complete commentary on the whole Bible, including the Apocrypha. All his works seem to be rather rare. The date in the 1723 catalogue is, through a typographical error, one hundred years too late.

67 Comment. in Arist. Phys. de anima.

"Collegii Conimbricens. Comment. in 8 Lib. Phisic. Aristotelis Pars 1. Colon. 1616." 4°.

"Collegii Conimbricens. Comment. in 3 Lib. Aristot. de Anima. Colon. 1617." 4°.

Commentariorum Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu, in Octo Libros Physicorum Aristotelis Prima Pars. Cologne, 1616. 4°.

Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu, in Tres Libros de Anima Aristotelis Stagiritae. 4th ed., Cologne, 1617. HCL.

The first title is taken from Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*.

The original entry seems to require the same commentator on these two parts of Aristotle. Potter suggests from the 1723 catalogue two appropriate works by Jacopo Zabarella. For the second he cites as less probable one of the above. He apparently did not note that in this case, too, there are in the catalogue of 1723 companion volumes suiting both parts of the Harvard entry. It seems to be slightly more likely that these commentaries rather than those of Zabarella would have been set down anonymously in the Harvard list. They emanated from the Jesuit College of Coimbra in Portugal where they were published in 1591 and 1595, respectively, but they were widely circulated in several later editions.

69 Collection of statutes.

"Pulton's (Fardin.) Collection of Statutes. Lond. 1636." f°.

"The Statutes at large from Magna Charta to the 29th of Queen Elizabeth. Lond. 1587." f°.

"The Statutes at large from the 35 of Q. Elizabeth to the 4 of K. Charles. ——— ———." f°.

FERDINANDO PULTON. A Collection of Sundrie Statutes Frequent in Use Together with an Abridgement of the Residue Which Be Expired. London, 1636. f°. HLL.

The Whole Volume of Statutes at Large, Which at Anie Time Heretofore Have Beene Extant in Print, since Magna Charta, until the xxix Yeare of the Reigne of Our Most Gratious Sovereigne Ladie Elizabeth. London, 1587. f°. HCL.

I have been unable to ascertain the exact title of the third item cited from the 1723 catalogue. Any of the three titles from the 1723 catalogue meets the requirements of the short anonymous entry in the John Harvard list. On the whole the first seems the best guess. The copy of the second item now in the Harvard College Library survived the fire of 1764, and it has been suggested that it is the actual book given by John Harvard. It has no mark of a previous owner.

72f Chytreus in . . . Ester.

Of the seven titles by David Chytraeus in the Harvard list, this one alone is not mentioned in the catalogue of 1723 nor in any of the bibliographies. He seems to have written on most of the other books of the Bible, but not on Esther.

74 Catin. Phrases.

"Manuiit [*sic*] (Ald.) Phrases Linguae Latinae. Lond. 1613." 8°.

ALDUS MANUTIUS. Phrases Linguae Latinae Conscriptae Nunc Primum in Ordinem Abedecarium Adductae, & in Anglicum Sermonem Conversae. London, 1613. 8°. BPL.

After toying with titles in "Catena" or authors named Cato (Catonis) I have concluded that the trouble here is simply the miswriting of a first letter (cf. Nos. 187 and 230, below). "Latin Phrases" would then be a natural short title for the above work published in the name of Aldus Manutius. There are of course other possibilities (cf. Nos. 56 and 89 in the Harvard list).

75e Danej . . . his cõmon Ethicks.

This I have not identified, unless it be Lambert Daneau's *Ethices Christianae Libri Tres* (Geneva, 1577, and later editions).

89 Elegant Phrases.

I have been unable to identify this. Potter says ". . . more probably a duplicate entry for 'Draxe, Thomas. Calliepeia,' No. 56," whose title continues, "Or, a Rich Store-house of Proper, Choise and Elegant Latine Words and Phrases." Another possibility is Aldus Manutius' *Phrases Linguae Latinae*, suggested above for No. 74. That any English edition of this included the word "elegant" in the title I do not know. In those I have seen, following the letter of dedication is a new heading: "Elegantes

Copiosaeque Latinae Linguae Phrases, ab Aldo Manutio Pauli Filio Conscriptae." But the work as published first in Italian in 1558 was called *Eleganze, Insieme con la Copia della Lingua Toscana e Latina.* French editions had such titles as *Phrases sive Elegantiae Auctae Gallicae Factae* (Rouen 16010 [*sic*]), or *Purae Elegantes et Copiosae Latinae Linguae Phrases* (Lyons, 1581). A German edition published in Cologne in 1567 had the same title as that of the Lyons edition. Another, published in Leipzig in 1603, was entitled *Purae Elegantes Linguae Latinae Phrases.*

97 Fuebernes lapidua Pasmaliensis.

This I cannot identify. The entry in the original manuscript, being interlined, is difficult to read. Sibley, instead of transcribing it at all, wrote in his copy: "?? can't read this title." The first word is perhaps "Funebres," as in item No. 94. The last word may begin with "D" (for "Damascensis"?).

104 Household Phys:

No book with a title like this has been found. A nearly hopeless quest has, however, been happily concluded as a result of a suggestion received from Dr. Larkey of the Welch Medical Library, Baltimore, through his assistant Miss Helen Wheeler. The phrase is apparently part of the running head employed in one of the frequently republished works of Gervase Markham. It may be conjectured that John Harvard's copy lacked the title page and that the list employed the words which appear at the top of the right-hand pages of the first chapter. The following are some of the forms of title and running head:

Country Contentments, or the English Huswife. London, 1623. Running title: "The English Houswifes/House-hold Physicke." HEH. STC.

The English House-Wife. London, 1631 [also collected with other items in *A Way to Get Wealth.* London, 1631]. Running title: "The English Housewifes/Houshold Physicke." HEH. STC.

The English House-wife. London, 1637 [also collected with other items in *A Way to Get Wealth.* London, 1638]. Running title: "The English Houswifes/Houshold Physicke." HCL. STC.

105 Haxions Prælections.

I have not succeeded in identifying this.

111b Hemmingius . . . in Epist. ad Collos:

NIELS HEMMINGSEN. Commentarius in Epistolam Pauli ad Colossenses. Wittenberg, 1566. 8°.

The title is taken from No. 811 in Lauritz Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi, 1551–1600*, I (Copenhagen, 1931), 221, which locates copies at St. Andrew's University Library, Salisbury Cathedral Library, and several places on the Continent. The title is not in the catalogue of 1723.

115 H.

All other letters of the entry have been trimmed off. Two strokes show below the line and suggest the possibility that the word was "Hyperius" (Andreas Gerardus Hyperius). The catalogue of 1723 lists the following of his works: "Comment. In Epist. ad Hebraeos" (Zürich, 1584, folio); "Annotationes in Prophet. Isaiam" (Basel, 1557, octavo).

124a Lutherus in Genesin.

MARTIN LUTHER. In Primum Librum Mose Ennarationes Collectae [Vol. I].

MARTIN LUTHER. In Genesin Ennarationum Collectarum tomus secundus [tertius, quartus].

The titles are taken from the bibliography in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, XLII (Weimar, 1911).

Potter is incorrect in suggesting that this is the title of one of the seven volumes of the *Works*, which are also listed in this entry ("Tomus 1us, 2us, 3us, 4us, 5us, 6us, 7us"). It is, rather, a separate work published in folio in 1544–1554 (4 vols., various places). There were two later folio editions: Nuremberg, 1550–1563 (4 vols., copy in ATS.), and Wittenberg, 1556. There was also an octavo edition at Frankfort in 1545–1555. As the item is not in the 1723 catalogue, there is no way of knowing what edition was included in John Harvard's bequest or in Richard Bellingham's gift. A third list of early gifts to the library, those of Peter Bulkley, also includes "Lutherum in Genesin."

125 Luke Angl.

I have been unable to identify this title.

133 Lamentations.

"Udal's (Joh.) Comment. on the Lamentations. Lond. 1637." 4°.

[JOHN UDALL]. A Commentarie upon the Lamentations of Ieremy. London, 1595. CL.

The entry obviously refers to an English work on the Book of Lamentations. If the omission of the author's name be taken as proof that the name did not appear on the title page, the identification that I have offered is almost certainly correct.

148 Melanchj Logica.

I have been unable to identify this title. Apparently, however, it is a work of Melanchthon, whose name is often abbreviated as "Melanth." His work on logic appeared successively under three different titles, none, however, containing the word "Logica": *Compendiaria Dialectices Ratio* (1520); *Dialectices Libri Quatuor* (1528); and *Erotemata Dialectices* (1547). See Karl Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae* (Berlin, 1889), 211. Possibly the short title is an error for Melanchthon's *Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum seu Hypotyposes Theologicae* (Wittenberg, 1521), a copy of which or of one of the later editions or of the German translation (1536) alone could satisfy the entry (without place or date) in the catalogue of 1723: "Melancthonis (Phil.) Loci Communes. (Tit. deest)." I find no more likely candidate in the bibliography in Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon*, 579–620. Another Melanchthon title worth noting here is *Loci Praecipui Theologici* (Wittenberg, 1569). HDL.

153 Montanj in Psal. Prov^{r} Comt. & Hebr.

BENEDICTUS ARIAS MONTANUS. ספר תהלים משלי קהלת ושיר השירים Psalmi Davidis, Proverbia Salomonis, Ecclesiastes et Canticum Canticorum Hebraicè cum Interlineari Versione Santis Pagnini: Benedicti Ariae Montani & Aliorum Collato Studio ad Hebraicam Dictionem Diligentissime Expensa. Geneva, n.d. 8°. HCL.

Cf. Jacques LeLong, *Bibliotheca Sacra* (revised by Andrea G. Masch, Halle, 1778–1790), I. 164; II. 537. The imprint in the original is in Hebrew. The printer's name, "Cephas Elon" in Hebrew characters, is Petrus Quercetanus, who was known to the French as Pierre de la Rouvière. He published interlinear Old and New Testaments in Geneva from 1609 to 1620. See Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scriptures*, No. 5113, etc. The device on the title page appears also in works of the same printer in 1599 and 1607. See Paul Heitz, *Genfer Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen* (Strassburg, 1908), No. 117. This is the only way of conjecturing the book's date. A second edition was published in Paris in 1632. Obviously the entry in the Harvard list stands for a single volume and not, as formerly supposed, a set of otherwise unknown commentaries by Arias Montanus on Psalms, Proverbs, and Hebrews. The author's name is often more properly given as Pagninus. The "Comt." in the manuscript entry is a mistake for "Cant.," and the ampersand is superfluous.

155 N. Test. Catholicj Expositio Eccles̄:

"Marlorati (August.) Exposit. Ecclesiast. in Nov. Testa. 7 Edit. —— 1620." f°.

AUGUSTIN MARLORAT. Novi Testamenti Catholica Expositio Ecclesiastica. 7th ed., [Geneva], 1620. f°. ATS.

157 N. Test. Lat.

I have been unable to identify this title.

159 Natales Comes. in 29 Tomis.

I have been unable to identify this title. Potter says: "This entry is obviously wrong. Natale Conti (Natalis Comes), although a somewhat voluminous writer, does not appear to have published as many as 29 volumes, nor were his collected works issued." My only suggestion is that several works of his were included in the Harvard collection and that the scribe, being weary of the longer lists of titles in such instances, now adopted the expedient of a collective title. Compare Nos. 164 and 198, below, and contrast the itemized entries of the works of Ames, Beza, Bellarmine, Broughton, Calvin, "Cornelius," Chytraeus, etc., in the earlier part of the alphabet. In this instance he may have added up as "volumes" the "books" within the several works. Thus the two volumes by Conti listed in the 1723 catalogue as *Mythologiae* (Frankfort, 1681) contained "Mythologiae Libri Decem" and "Libri Quatuor de Venatione." The rest of the twenty-nine volumes, if that was the right total (the original entry shows signs of having been changed), could, on this basis, have been made up of other works containing several "books." Possibly the original list read simply "in 2 Tomis" or "2us Tomis," referring to the *Mythologiae*.

164 Piscator. 17 Tomis.

I have not been able to identify this title. The problem is the same as in the case of No. 159, except that Johannes Piscator was a voluminous writer. His exegetical writings, as first issued in separate works on one or more books of the Bible, amounted to twenty-four volumes, and in addition he wrote on classical and other topics. By 1723 only a half dozen of his works were in the college library.

168 Philippi Homil: in Jonam.

"Galli (Phil.) Homiliae in Prophetam Jonam. Magdeb. 1606." 8°.

PHILIPPUS GALLUS. XXX Homiliae in Prophetam Ionam. Magdeburg, 1606. 8°.

The title is taken from a photostat of the title page of the copy in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

170 Pareus de doctrina X^iana^.

"Ursini (Zach.) Corpus Christianae Doctrinae, cum Explicationibus; Edit. Studio Paraei. Heidelb. 1621." 8°.

ZACHARIAS URSINUS. Corpus Doctrinae Christianae Ecclesiarum à Papatu Reformatarum, Continens Catecheticas Explicationes Zachariae Ursini Ita Recognitum ut Novum Opus Haberi Possit Studio Davidis Parei. Heidelberg, 1621. 8°. BC. TC.

This work seems to fit the original entry better than the one selected by Potter from the 1723 catalogue: David Pareus, *Opera Theologica Exegetica* (n.p., 1628).

173 Porcensis orationes.

I have not been able to identify this title. The first word is as difficult as the second is common. I may hazard as a guess "Phorcensis" (meaning "from Pforzheim"), a Latin name often used for Johannes Reuchlin, "dictus Capnio Phorcensis." The 1723 catalogue includes: "Reuchlini (Joh.) Rudimentorum Hebraicorum Libri duo. Basil. 1537" (folio); "Reuchlini (Joan.) De Accentibus et Orthographia Linguae Hebraicae Lib. 3. Hagenoae 1518" (quarto); and "Reuchlini (Joan.) in 7 Psalmos paenitentiales hebraicos Interpretatio & Commentarioli [n.p., n.d.]" (octavo). But neither these nor any other of Reuchlin's works seem to justify the word "orationes."

184b Preston . . . 4 Sermons.

"Preston's (Joh.) Of the New Covenant. Lond. 1634." 4°.

JOHN PRESTON. The New Covenant, or the Saints Portion. A Treatise Unfolding the All-sufficiencie of God, Mans Uprightnes, and the Covenant of Grace. Delivered in Fourteen Sermons upon Gen. 17.1,2 Whereunto Are Adioyned Foure Sermons upon Eccles. 9.1.2.11.12. 8th ed., London, 1634. 4°. HCL.

Except for the appendix of this work, I find none of Preston's many volumes containing exactly four sermons. Potter suggested Preston's *Sermons Preached before His Majestie* (London, 1634), mentioned in the catalogue of 1723, but it has five sermons. Another alternative is *Foure Godly and Learned Treatises Delivered in Sundry Sermons* (London, 1631), but I do not find this in the catalogue of 1723. Preston had been Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, John Harvard's own college.

A copy of Preston's *New Covenant* is listed among the 404 books which "escap'd the flames" in 1764. It had been borrowed by Secretary Willard in 1748! There is no record that it was returned after the fire. It is not in the 1790 catalogue.

187 Quirbi comēnt: in Psalmos & Prophetas.

"Riveti (Andr.) Comment. in Psalmorum Propheticorum Decadem Selectam. Ludg. Bat. 1626." 4°.

André Rivet. Commentarius in Psalmorum Propheticorum de Mysteriis Evangelicis Decadem Selectam. Leyden, 1626. 4°. TC.

In its later form the title had "dodecadem" in place of "decadem." Potter had guessed: "Quiros, Augustin de. Commentarii exegetici litterales in postremum canticum Moysis . . . prophetas Nahum et Malachiam, etc. Lugduni: 1623. 4°." It is not, however, in the catalogue of 1723, and the likeness of name and title to what is given in the original manuscript is not great. I have assumed that there is a superfluous ampersand as in No. 153 (see above) and that there is a manuscript confusion between "Quirbi" and "Riveti." In seventeenth-century handwriting that would be easy. In fact, Sibley in his transcript read the name as "Quieti," which is at least one stage nearer to "Riveti."

191a,b,c,d Rami Graeca Gramm: Lat. Logica cū Talaej Rhetorica. . . .

"Sabatecii (Sam.) Logica Pert. Rami florens. Francof. 1617." 4°.

Petrus Ramus. Grammatica Graece Quatenus a Latina Differt. Paris, 1560 (and later editions).

Petrus Ramus. Logica, Perpetuis Tabulis M. Samuelis Sabatecii Delineata et Succincto Commentario Joan. Henr. Alstedii Illustrata. Frankfort, 1617. 4°.

Audoramus Taleus. Rhetoricae Libri Duo, P. Rami Praelectionibus Illustrati. Basel, 1573. 8°.

The titles are taken from Charles Waddington, *Ramus, Sa Vie, Ses Écrits et Ses Opinions* (Paris, 1855), 460, 454, 464. In spite of the Latin grammar of Ramus cited by Potter from the 1723 catalogue, it seems better to suppose from the cryptic wording of the list that there was only one grammar, and that a Greek one. My identification of "Logica" is preferable to Potter's because it is confirmed by the catalogue of 1723; and my identification of the last of these Ramus titles is better because the title cited lays claim to partial authorship of Ramus. This rhetoric by Omer Talon was a common text for college boys. A copy of the Frankfort, 1579, edition, bound with Ramus' work on dialectics (Paris, 1574) and his Greek grammar (London, 1581), was used by Dudley Bradstreet, who graduated from Harvard in 1698. It is now at the Massachusetts Historical Society. A small book containing Ramus' work on logic and Talon's work on rhetoric was issued in 1610, apparently at Frankfort.

194a Rogers, his Divinity.

John Rogers. The Summe of Christianity. London, 1579. STC.

THOMAS ROGERS. The English Creede, Consenting with the True Auncient Catholique and Apostolique Church in All the Points and Articles of Religion. 2 vols., London, 1585–1587. f°. STC.

THOMAS ROGERS. The Faith, Doctrine and Religion Professed and Protected in the Realme of England. Cambridge, 1607 (and later editions). STC.

Apparently the manuscript entry is not the actual title; at least no work by a Rogers including the word "divinity" in the title has been identified. Besides Potter's guess, the much-used *Seaven Treatises* or *The Practice of Christianity* by Richard Rogers (cf. No. 58), the works listed above are suggested.

198 Sculteti opera.

No collected edition of the works of Abraham Scultetus was published. The author of the list has therefore lumped together, without itemizing, a group of Scultetus titles. Potter suggests the five titles which appear in the 1723 catalogue. One can do no better.

207 Sebati Phys:

I have been unable to identify this title.

218 Test. N. Graec.

The omission of both place and date for the *Testamentum Novum Graecum* in the 1723 catalogue leaves this entry quite indefinite.

225 Test.

The rest of the entry is nearly all trimmed off. If from the remains I correctly guess the next two letters as "Ve," it is likely that the entry was "Test. Vetus," probably referring to a copy of the Septuagint.

230 Terus in Exod. Num. Deut. Josh. Jud.

"Feri (Joan.) Annotat. in Exod. Num. Jos. Jud. Col. Agrip. 1574." 8°.

JOANNES FERUS. Ecclesiastae Olim Mogumtomo, non Minus Eruditae, Quam Catholicae Annotationes, in Exodum, Numeros, Deuteronomium, Lib. Iosue, Lib. Iudicum. Cologne, 1574. 8°.

The title is taken from a photostat of a copy in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. A copy without the title page is in HDL. There was also an edition of 1571. The confusion of "Ferus" with "Terus" is simple but has hitherto served to obscure the identity of the work.

235 Treasury of God.

Potter conjectured that this was F. B., *Gods Treasurie Displayed* (London, 1630). I cannot improve on this suggestion. There was at one time

a copy in the Prince Collection at the Boston Public Library. The author was not Francis Bunny, as suggested tentatively in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but, as stated in a contemporary manuscript list of short titles, Francis Bridges, "Londoner, tradesman." Cf. STC., No. 3733.

239 Vocatio Judæorū.

"Heurnii (Just.) Admonitio de Vocatione Ethnicorum & Judaeorum. Ludg. Bat. 1628." 8°.

JUSTI VAN HEURN. De Vocatione Ethnicorum et Iudaeorum Ultimâ ad Fidem Christianam Admonitio, seu de Legatione Evangelica ad Indos. Leyden, 1628. 8°.

The title is taken from Alphonse Willems, *Les Elzevier* (Brussels, 1880), No. 296. The work is apparently better known in its 1618 edition with the title *De Legatione Evangelica ad Indos Capessenda Admonitio.* A copy of this edition is in HCL. This identification is to be compared with that of Potter, also cited from the catalogue of 1723: William Gouge, *Of the Calling of the Jews* (London, 1621). I find no evidence elsewhere in the list that English titles were entered in Latin translation.

April Meeting, 1940

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. RICHARD M. GUMMERE, at No. 11 Quincy Street, Cambridge, on Thursday, April 25, 1940, at half after eight o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. FREDERICK SCOULLER ALLIS, Jr., of Andover, Mr. EDMUND SEARS MORGAN of Cambridge, Mr. PETER OLIVER of Cambridge, and Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL of Salem were elected Resident Members of the Society; and the Reverend CHARLES LESLIE GLENN of Cambridge and Mr. JOHN LYDENBERG of Cambridge were elected Associate Members.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting in November:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE and PHILIP PUTNAM CHASE and the Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS and HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE.

Mr. HENRY J. CADBURY read a paper entitled "Some Sequels to the Quaker Hangings, 1659–1661."

Annual Meeting

November, 1940

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Thursday, November 21, 1940, at a quarter after seven o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death of ROBERT GRANT, a Resident Member, on May 19, 1940; that of MATT BUSHNELL JONES, a Resident Member and a Vice-President of the Society, on July 1, 1940; that of ALBERT HARRISON HALL, a Corresponding Member, on August 12, 1940; and that of HOWARD MILLAR CHAPIN, a Corresponding Member, on September 18, 1940.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Mr. FREDERICK SCOULLER ALLIS, Jr., Mr. EDMUND SEARS MORGAN, Mr. PETER OLIVER, and Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, accepting Resident Membership in the Society; and from the Reverend CHARLES LESLIE GLENN and Mr. JOHN LYDENBERG, accepting Associate Membership.

Mr. WILLIAM ROBERTS CARLTON of Springfield, Mr. STEPHEN PHILLIPS of Salem, and Mr. HARRY ANDREW WRIGHT of Springfield were elected to Resident Membership in the Society.

The following amendment to the By-laws was submitted by the Council and unanimously adopted by the Society:

Chapter II, Art. 1, insert a new paragraph after the second paragraph as follows:

The provisions of this Article limiting the number of Corresponding Members to fifty shall not apply when the Council in accordance with the By-laws transfers a Resident Member to Corresponding Membership upon his residence or place of business having ceased in Massachusetts, and thereafter the number of Corresponding Members may exceed the limit of fifty members; but no Corresponding Member shall thereafter be elected

to the Society until the number of Corresponding Members shall be less than fifty.

Dr. JAMES L. HUNTINGTON read the Annual Report of the Council.

Report of the Council

IN the year past the Society has held, as usual, three stated meetings: on December 19, 1940, at the house of Mr. Augustus P. Loring, Jr.; on February 27, 1941, at the invitation of Mr. Stephen W. Phillips, at the Club of Odd Volumes; and on April 24, 1941, at the house of Mr. Richard M. Gummere in Cambridge. The attendance has been about the same as during the past years.

The following members have been elected to the Society:

Resident:

FREDERICK SCOULLER ALLIS, Jr.
EDMUND SEARS MORGAN
PETER OLIVER
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Corresponding:

THEODORE HORNBERGER

Associate:

Rev. CHARLES LESLIE GLENN
JOHN LYDENBERG

During the past year we have lost five members by death:

JOHN WOODBURY, Resident, 1910, died January 4, 1940. A graduate of Harvard and the Harvard Law School, he was ever a student of colonial history. He collected rare books and loved them. Always one of the most faithful attendants at the meetings of this Society, his presence will be greatly missed.

ROBERT GRANT, Resident, 1912, died May 19, 1940. He was a distinguished judge, a well-known author, writing both prose and verse, a keen, vivid Bostonian up to the very last.

MATT BUSHNELL JONES, Resident, 1930, Vice-President of the Society from December, 1937, until his death on July 1, 1940. A lawyer, then President of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company, he was deeply interested in the history of New England, particularly that of his native state. His volume, *Vermont in the Making*, will remain an enduring monument to his great historical ability.

Albert Harrison Hall, a Resident Member, 1934–1937, a Corresponding Member from the latter date until his death on August 12, 1940. Active in Cambridge politics, he was also a successful merchant of books. He was a member of the Massachusetts General Court for five years, and in 1929 was appointed Archivist of the State of Massachusetts, a position he filled with distinction until his retirement in 1937.

Howard Millar Chapin, Corresponding, 1933, died September 18, 1940. Keenly interested in colonial history, particularly that pertaining to Rhode Island, he became Librarian and Editor of the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1912. He wrote extensively on historical subjects, especially in regard to colonial military flags, ships, and privateering.

During the past year the Society has published and distributed Volume XXXIII of its *Publications*, containing Charles Morton's *Compendium Physicae*, edited by our fellow member, Theodore Hornberger, with a biographical sketch of Morton by Samuel E. Morison.

The Society has continued its generous support of the *New England Quarterly*.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 14, 1940.

Statements of Assets and Funds, November 14, 1940

ASSETS

Cash:		
Income	$12,624.33	
Loan to Principal	*10,358.16*	$2,266.17
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $93,398.75)	$88,132.36	
Stocks (Market Value $52,066.25)	52,807.94	
Mortgages	3,500.00	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,291.18	147,731.48
Total Assets		$149,997.65

FUNDS

Funds	$137,002.14
Unexpended Income	12,995.51
Total Funds	$149,997.65

INVESTMENTS AS OF NOVEMBER 14, 1940

BONDS	*Book Value*	
$5,000 Bell Telephone Company of Canada First 5's, Series B, 1957	$4,062.50	
5,000 Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 5's, 1944	3,872.50	
5,000 Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952	4,763.28	
5,000 Community Public Service Company First 4's, 1964	5,137.50	
5,000 Consolidated Oil Company Convertible Debenture 3½'s, 1951	5,169.62	
5,000 Continental Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, Series A, 1958	4,663.28	
5,000 Iowa Southern Utilities Company General Mortgage 4½'s, 1950	5,050.00	
5,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie Railway Company First Refunding 6's, Series A, 1946	250.00	
5,000 Montana Power Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, 1966	5,125.87	
5,000 New York State Electric and Gas Corporation First 4½'s, 1980	4,795.78	
5,000 Northwestern Public Service Company First 4's, 1970	5,168.75	
5,000 Public Service Company of Indiana First 4's, Series A, 1969	5,325.00	
5,000 Public Service Company of New Hampshire First 3¼'s, Series F, 1966	5,148.75	
5,000 Remington-Rand, Inc., w. w., Debenture 4¼'s, 1956	5,013.28	
5,000 Scranton Gas and Water Company First 4½'s, 1958	5,068.75	
5,000 Texas Electric Service Company First 5's, 1960	4,437.50	
8,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, October 1, 1949	6,080.00	
2,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, November 1, 1949	1,500.00	
5,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, January 1, 1950	3,750.00	
5,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, March 1, 1950	3,750.00	
TOTAL BONDS		$88,132.36

STOCKS	*Book Value*	
50 shares American Telephone and Telegraph Company	$8,593.63	
50 shares Consolidated Edison Company of New York Common	3,077.50	
100 shares Electric Bond and Share Company $6.00 Preferred	10,600.00	
50 shares E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company	2,683.75	
50 shares First National Bank of Boston	1,750.00	
1 share First National Bank of the City of New York	1,544.81	
240 shares General Electric Company Common	5,719.50	
50 shares Insurance Company of North America	1,963.75	
40 shares Radio Corporation of America Common	0.	
100 shares State Street Investment Corporation	7,900.00	
5 shares Travelers Insurance Company	2,225.00	
50 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation 7% Preferred "A" 50 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation Common	6,750.00	
Total Stocks		$52,807.94
First Mortgages on improved property in Greater Boston	$3,500.00	
Deposit in Warren Institution for Savings	3,291.18	6,791.18
Total Investments		$147,731.48

Composition of Funds, November 14, 1940

Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications	$10,000.00
General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees and Commutations added to Principal, Gains on Sales of Securities, etc. Income only to be used for Current Expense	24,137.68
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. Income only to be used	10,000.00
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restriction as to use	20,000.00
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00

Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under the will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	$5,000.00
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	2,000.00
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	30,000.00
Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund, established in 1923 under the will of Henry H. Edes as the "Henry H. Edes Bequest" to accumulate until it reached the sum of $3,000 when it would become a permanent fund to be known as the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	3,000.00
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, established by sundry subscriptions from 1923 to 1925. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $10,000. Income only to be used for Publications	6,864.46
George Nixon Black Fund, established in 1929 under his will without restriction as to use	10,000.00
TOTAL FUNDS	$137,002.14

CHANGES IN PRINCIPAL OF FUNDS

Total Funds, November 14, 1939		$137,178.65
Add—Additions to Special Funds:		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund		298.74
Add—Additions to General Fund:		
Admission Fees	$70.00	
Profit from Sale of Securities:		
$5,000 Chester Water Service Company First 4½'s, 1958	1,725.00	
5,000 Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Mortgage and Collateral Trust Refunding 5's, 1940	1,237.50	
5,000 Pacific Gas and Electric Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, Series H, 1961	227.39	
5,000 Southern California Edison Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, Series B, 1960	366.75	
2,500 United States Cold Storage Corporation First 6's, Series A, 1946	75.00	
4,000 United States Cold Storage Corporation First 6's, 1945	40.00	

105 shares Wickwire Spencer Steel Company Common	$118.84	
Received from the assignment of Heid Alum mortgage charged off as uncollectible in 1939	50.00	$3,910.48
		$141,387.87
Deduct—Charges to General Fund:		
Loss from Sale of Securities:		
$5,000 Southern California Water Company First 4½'s, 1960	$50.00	
5,000 United States Steel Corporation Debenture 3¼'s, 1948	82.12	
5,000 Western Union Telegraph Company 5's, 1960	1,690.26	
Balance of Max Brown mortgage charged off as uncollectible as per vote of the Council	2,563.35	4,385.73
Total Funds, November 14, 1940		$137,002.14

Income Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Balance, November 14, 1939		$13,481.79
RECEIPTS:		
Interest	$3,916.93	
Dividends	2,733.50	
Annual Assessments	790.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	199.00	7,639.43
Total Receipts of Income		$21,121.22
DISBURSEMENTS:		
New England Quarterly	$2,000.00	
Publications, Volume 33	2,977.70	
Editor's Salary	1,000.00	
Annual Dinner	516.90	
Preliminary Check List of Cambridge Imprints	420.25[1]	
Storage on Stock	300.76	
Secretarial Expense	350.00	
Auditing Services	125.00	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	112.00	
Contribution to Writings on American History	50.00	
Postage, Office Supplies, and Miscellaneous	68.05	
Rent of Safe Deposit Box	22.00	
Accrued Interest on Securities Purchased	255.49	

[1] Of this total, $291.18 is to be reimbursed from the savings bank deposit belonging to the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund.

Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund added to Principal	$298.74	
Total Disbursements of Income		$8,496.89
Balance of Income, November 14, 1940		$12,624.33

Principal Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Loan to Principal, November 14, 1940		*$6,049.71*
RECEIPTS:		
$5,000 Chester Water Service Company First 4½'s, Series A, 1958	$5,100.00	
5,000 Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Mortgage and Collateral Trust Refunding 5's, 1940	5,000.00	
5,000 Pacific Gas and Electric Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, Series H, 1961	5,609.51	
2,500 United States Cold Storage Corporation First 6's, Series A, 1946	2,575.00	
4,000 United States Cold Storage Corporation First 6's, 1945	4,040.00	
5,000 United States Steel Corporation Debenture 3¼'s, 1948	5,150.00	
5,000 Western Union Telegraph Company 5's, 1960	3,447.24	
5,000 Southern California Edison Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, Series B, 1960	5,441.75	
5,000 Southern California Water Company First 4½'s, 1960	5,200.00	
105 shares Wickwire Spencer Steel Company Common	618.84	
Admission Fees	70.00	
Max Brown Mortgage Note, on account	1,436.65	
Proceeds from the Assignment of Heid Alum mortgage charged off as uncollectible in 1939	50.00	
Estate of Horace E. Ware, legacy	51.79	
Transferred from Income to Principal:		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund Income	298.74	
Total Receipts of Principal		44,089.52
		$38,039.81
DISBURSEMENTS:		
$5,000 Continental Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, Series A, 1958	$4,663.28	
5,000 Iowa Southern Utilities Company General Mortgage 4½'s, 1950	5,050.00	

$5,000 Montana Power Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, 1966	$5,125.87	
5,000 Northwestern Public Service Company First 4's, 1970	5,168.75	
5,000 Public Service Company of Indiana First 4's, Series A, 1969	5,325.00	
5,000 Remington-Rand, Inc., w. w., Debenture 4¼'s, 1956	5,013.28	
5,000 Southern California Water Company First 4½'s, 1960	5,250.00	
2,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, November 1, 1949	1,500.00	
5,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, January 1, 1950	3,750.00	
5,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, March 1, 1950	3,750.00	
50 shares State Street Investment Corporation	3,750.00	
First Church in Boston—legacy received from the Estate of Horace E. Ware	51.79	
Total Disbursements of Principal		$48,397.97
Loan to Principal, November 14, 1940		*$10,358.16*

James M. Hunnewell
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended November 14, 1940, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the vaults of the New England Trust Company.

We hereby submit their report which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

Stephen W. Phillips
Hermann F. Clarke
Auditing Committee

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers

for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK
Vice-Presidents Hon. FRED TARBELL FIELD
Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT
Recording Secretary AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.
Corresponding Secretary Dr. JAMES LINCOLN HUNTINGTON
Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL
Registrar ROBERT DICKSON WESTON
Member of the Council for Three Years ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Mr. Ellis W. Brewster, Mr. Bernard deVoto, the Reverend Oliver J. Hart, Señor Pedro Henriquez-Ureña, Mr. Harold Larrabee, Mr. David McCord, and Mr. Benjamin F. Wright, Jr.

After the dinner Mr. McCord read some of his verses, and Mr. deVoto addressed the Society and its guests.

December Meeting, 1940

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 19, 1940, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Mr. WILLIAM ROBERTS CARLTON, Mr. STEPHEN PHILLIPS, and Mr. HARRY ANDREW WRIGHT, accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. LINCOLN COLCORD of Searsport, Maine, Mr. THOMAS HERBERT JOHNSON of Lawrenceville, New Jersey, and Mr. WILLIAM GURDON SALTONSTALL of Exeter, New Hampshire, were elected Corresponding Members of the Society.

The Reverend ARTHUR J. RILEY read the following paper:

Catholicism and the New England Mind

TO many, the title given above may appear paradoxical. The natural and instinctive reaction of most students of the New England colonial period is to believe that a long bow is being drawn when an attempt is made to show that Catholicism had a positive influence on the New England mind. It is perfectly obvious that New England was generally Protestant until the turn of the present century. It is equally certain that the religious movement in colonial New England derived from an English and a Continental Protestantism. Why, then, labor to show that Catholicism had a place in this development, a place that at first thought seems clearly insignificant? In answer it may be said that it is not intended to show that Catholicism had any positive motivating part in the development of New England in the colonial period. That it had a negative motivating part as a result of the anti-Catholicism of the era is now generally admitted. New England Protestants were insistent on the fact that they constituted the true church in contradistinction to, among others, the Church of Rome. These New Englanders constantly argued about false interpretations of doctrines and practices expounded by the Catholics or

"Papists." In a word, the Puritans and their contemporaries were concerned with Catholicism, at least from a hostile viewpoint; and their thought and mind were formed and molded by this reaction to Catholic thought and practice.

The purpose of what is written here is much wider than a mere discussion of the negative angle of anti-Catholicism, however positive were its results. The discussion that follows aims to show that there are many things in New England Protestantism which have a much closer relationship with things Catholic than is generally recognized. As one studies the apparently endless tangle of theological controversies and embattled sects of the colonial and later periods, one notes that there are certain terms which are always the subject of debate. These terms were not new to New England or even to Protestantism, novel as their interpretation in these debates may have been. Such terms were the basis for discussion or definition long before the Protestant Reformation. They are, in fact, the great headings of religious thought. But in the Reformation and the development thereafter certain interpretations were debated: those given these terms by the so-called Church of Rome. Non-Catholic students may or may not approve of this Catholic system of thought, but they cannot neglect it because they consider it false. It had been definitely crystallized prior to the time of the Reformation and is easily recognizable historically.

The plea, then, is to use this pre-Reformation Catholic system of thought as the basis for study of New England colonial history. Here was a historical unity which can easily be ascertained; here was a unity which the New England Protestants themselves recognized. That is why this basis is chosen as historically the most accurate. To start with modern Protestant terms and attempt to read modern connotations back into the colonial period is impractical. To begin with the colonials themselves and neglect the age-old meanings of the terms, which were then being newly defined or reinterpreted, is to see only part of the picture, and the more confused and confusing part at that. It is slipshod history to begin the study of a movement halfway along. Historical understanding requires that movements be traced to their causes; only thus can one bring order out of chaos, simplicity out of confusion.

A discussion of the problem here outlined may suitably find its starting point in a consideration of the notes or marks of the Christian Church as it was conceived in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Therein one reaches a least common denominator, for these notes or marks were accepted by Catholics and early Protestants alike. It was in the interpretation of these marks that there developed the confusing divisions

of New England thought and history. It is not yet possible, of course, to say the last word on the subject. There are many points which still need further investigation before a definitive monograph can be written. Yet the time has come for emphasizing the necessity of a reorientation of the study of colonial history. When such an eminent scholar as Mr. Perry Miller insists that Puritan piety is Augustinian, it is time that the relationship between Protestant and Catholic thought be appraised, not from a polemical or apologetical viewpoint—there has been enough of that—but from a strictly historical aspect.

Briefly, all Christians at the time of the Reformation—whether that be placed in the twelfth, the fourteenth, or the sixteenth century—understood the Church to be a definite external organization. Admission to this church was dependent on the fulfillment of certain conditions; and continued membership was governed by definite rules. Such admitted and practising members could be recognized by the doctrines they professed, the morals they practised, and the allegiance they paid. Doctrinally, Christians believed in a Supreme Being who in some mode created the world and the first man and woman. These two creatures violated God's ordinances and committed sin, thereby plunging themselves and the rest of mankind into loss of God's favor. God, however, did not turn completely away from man but spoke to him from time to time through inspired men who recorded these inspirations in writing in that part of the Bible called the Old Testament. In due time He sent His Son, Jesus Christ, who also spoke to and taught mankind, founded a church, and died on the Cross that man might be saved from the penalty of sin. A portion of the teaching of Christ is likewise recorded in writing in that part of the Bible called the New Testament. The inspired writings, the Old and the New Testaments, contain God's Word and must be accepted by all believers. The correct interpretation of this revelation is dependent upon some agency external to the individual, whether it be direct individual inspiration or an inspired church. Belief in these doctrines, correctly understood, together with a belief in the salvific will of God, constituted the basis for membership in the Church, which had a definite external ceremonial manifesting to the public at large that the individual had so conformed. After such conformation the individual attended such ceremonies, professed such doctrines, and practised such morals as the Church legislated. Failure so to act was punished by authority, which had the sole right of judgment. This, then, was the concept of the Church at the time of the Reformation and for a period continuing at least to 1750, a concept admitted by Protestants and Catholics alike.

The foregoing formulation sets forth the fundamental tenets of the

various early Protestant sects. Historically, these tenets were still being taught, as they had been previously, by the Catholic Church. The point to be emphasized is that Protestants and Catholics alike insisted on these tenets as the marks of the Christian Church. Early Protestant and New England writers and preachers were children of the era in which they lived. They took the conceptions recognized in their time and in the meaning which the concepts then had. Whether they accepted these concepts in the terms of their then current meaning or sought to modify them, they used terms and conceptions derived from the Catholicism which preceded the Protestant revolt. This state of affairs the Reformers had constantly and vividly in mind.

Now these notes or marks may be grouped under four major headings: interpretation of the Scripture or authority, organization, justification, and political implications. This fourfold division is not disjunctive, a fact that must be clearly understood; but it will be found practical in viewing the historic cleavages of doctrine and practice to consider the points separately. Actually, of course, the views held with regard to any one of these divisions will necessarily modify views about the others. In many cases, too, meanings in one field were completely modified and changed by developments in thought in quite another field.

Primary, of course, to any study of the relationship between Protestantism and Catholicism is the question of interpretation of the Scripture or authority. This problem essentially means the canon of the Scripture, the interpretation of its content, its completeness as a source of revelation, and the authority guaranteeing the accuracy of that revelation. It will be well first to state the Catholic doctrine. The Catholic view holds that God from time to time has spoken to man and that these words have been recorded in part in the Scripture. Not all that has been spoken, however, has found its way into these inspired writings, for there is a vast store in tradition. A church guaranteed by God to be accurately inspired determines what writings are to be considered part of the Scripture and what store of tradition has really been revealed. This totality of revelation or the deposit of faith is to be safeguarded by some external authority which has the power to teach and declare. The Catholic Church, in other words, holds that Scripture *and* tradition form the deposit of faith, which is interpreted and guarded by that Church.

The Protestant movement began by declaring that the Scripture alone formed the total deposit of faith; that its content gave clear indication of its origin in divine revelation; and that the meaning of the Scripture was to be found by individual inspiration. This naturally led in the course of time to variations. When radically different interpretations of the Scrip-

ture were forthcoming, and when the canon of the Scripture itself was argued, appeal was frequently made to external authority, the state, for the enforcement of pure doctrine. Some people went further and asserted that there was a new revelation, superadded to the Scripture, granted by special inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Finally, under the influence of Rationalism the fundamental belief in the inspiration of the Scripture was swept away; and under the aegis of Pietism the doctrinal content was modified by a conscious emphasis on emotionalism. Thus three great divisions resulted. In the first place there are the Evangelicals or those Protestants who accept the Scripture alone as the total deposit of faith. They include the present fundamentalist and the earlier Calvinist Anglicans, the Calvinists (Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians), the Lutherans, the Methodists, the Quakers, the Ranters, the Seekers, the Arminians, the Antinomians, and the Independents. In a second group there are the Experientialists, who include the Protestants who postulate another revelation over and above the Scripture. Such are the Anabaptists, the Swedenborgians, the Inspiration Communities, the followers of Sebastian Franck, the Mormons, the Rosicrucians, the Irvingites, and some forms of Pietists. Finally there are the Liberals, of whatever name or shade, who reject the inspired character of all or most of the Scripture.

The matter, however, is not closed quite so easily. The earlier Reformers, notably Luther, Calvin, and Henry VIII, soon recognized that there had to be some principle of authority in this matter of interpretation of the Scripture. Luther at first felt that the grace of God would take the place of the Pope and bishops, but he soon found that he had to appeal to the authority of the state. Calvin from the very beginning required the state to aid the church in protection of doctrine. Henry VIII substituted himself for the Pope and immediately introduced the Erastian element into the Anglican Church, which for this very reason has had a curious history. The English Reformers under Edward VI introduced the evangelicalism of John Calvin; Mary Tudor made the English Church officially Roman Catholic; and Elizabeth made it something halfway between that of Edward VI and that of Mary, thus causing traditional elements to remain in the face of strong Calvinist tendencies. The Stuarts continued this, but Laud for a moment brought Anglicanism very near the Catholic Church; then it became the almost lifeless pawn of the state until its invigoration by John Wesley.

With the development of Protestant sects under unfavorable state governments the leaders had to find some substitute in practice for the authority of the state. This they did in synods or similar gatherings corresponding to plenary national councils in the Catholic Church. These

meetings adopted the many confessions of faith and issued the catechisms which contain the so-called official teaching of the various groups.

With the rejection of the teaching authority of the Church came the Socinian or anti-Trinitarian movements of the sixteenth century. With the rise of the Deism of the eighteenth century came the Unitarianism of the nineteenth. And with the overthrow of the inspiration of the Scripture came the Liberalism of the nineteenth century and the Modernism of the twentieth which speak *merely* of a historic Christ and are in reality a modified Unitarianism.

Thus the whole series of sectarian movements may be seen in logical development from one basic and primary Catholic tenet. Similarly, the rejection of tradition as a source of revelation brought in its wake the whole problem of church organization. The Catholic point of view then held and still holds that there is a hierarchic organization in which there is a laity, an ordained priesthood, and a self-perpetuating episcopacy at whose head there is the Pope, who enjoys supremacy of jurisdiction. This hierarchic organization is the guardian of a sevenfold sacramental system, a liturgical rite, and various and sundry devotions. In this the early Anglicans concurred except for the position of the Pope. The subsequent infiltrations of Calvinism caused considerable modifications. The Edwardian change swept away the Mass, at least a portion of the sacramental system, some of the liturgy, and a few devotions. Later Calvinist efforts sought to abolish the episcopacy, the Lord's Supper, the liturgy, the devotions, and, save in a symbolic meaning, the remainder of the sacramental system. Modern Anglo-Catholic reactions have endeavored to restore much of the Catholicism which existed in the time of Henry VIII and toward which Laud tended.

As a part of this historical development of the concept of religious organization, it may be noted that the earlier Protestants and their fundamentalist successors were forced to postulate a universal priesthood of the laity, which at one fell swoop abolished the episcopacy and the papacy, together with an ordained priesthood. Hence they could have merely licensed ministers whose license was from either the state, the congregation, or the representatives of the latter. If there was a ceremony of ordination, it implied the bestowal of no special powers but was simply a sign of approval. In this group must be placed all Protestants except the Anglicans, the Modernists, and the Liberals. This last group hold that no external organization is necessary, believing that the religious bond exists only between God and the individual.

The third great line of division between Protestants and Catholics centers about the problem of justification, which was, as all know, the great

battleground of the religious movements. This problem has two phases: the consequences of original sin and belief in the salvific will of God. The shades of opinion with regard to each and their interrelationship are almost as numerous as are the theologians who debated the problem. For the purpose of the present discussion it will be sufficient to indicate some of the more important. The Catholic position has always been that Adam violated an ordinance of God, thereby really committing sin, and in virtue of that sin suffered the loss of God's grace and a weakening of his nature through a clouding of the intellect, a weakening of the will, and a tendency to concupiscence. To remedy this state of affairs God, in due time, sent His divine Son, Jesus Christ, who through His redemptive death on the Cross won salvation for man. Through Christ, man wins his salvation through a process which leaves both God and man completely free. By God's grace man's nature is intrinsically changed and supernaturalized so that by the performance of the proper actions man may merit salvation by his own efforts.

Countless other explanations there have been. The Modern Rationalists and many Modernists, for instance, have denied the reality of sin. The Rousseauists have denied any weakening of man's nature. All early and later fundamentalist Protestants have asserted the total vitiation of man's nature. This is a result of the identification in Adam of the natural and supernatural destinies so that when the latter was lost, man's nature was intrinsically changed and completely vitiated insofar as the attainment of salvation as a right of man was considered. This led inevitably to the predication of a loss of liberty and the later Calvinist insistence on predestination. The Rationalists, the Rousseauists, many Modernists, and some Unitarians have taught the denial of any particular aid to man from God. According to this doctrine man utilizes only his unaided nature and abilities. All early Protestants and most of the later fundamentalist groups have insisted on the denial of any intrinsic change by grace in man's nature. Grace, according to this view, is a purely external imputation of Christ's merits. Thus Calvin taught that man is impotent and that salvation is merely God's decree of imputation. How this imputation affects man was the source of considerable speculation, for it has practical psychological consequences: how is the individual himself to know and how are others to recognize whether he has been thus predestined? In point of fact such groups as the Anabaptists, the Antinomians, the Quakers, the Ranters, the Seekers, the Rosicrucians, and the Pietistic and Inspiration Communities, by insisting that man is completely moved by the Spirit, reduced to nothing man's part in salvation, even in acceptance of God's invitation. On the other hand, a considerable group felt that man must make some

effort of his own and in their explanations so exaggerated the necessity of this effort that they taught in effect that man does all while God merely furnishes grace in consequence. This was the doctrine of Luther—to all intent and purpose—of the Arminians in Holland, the Laudians in England, and most of the fundamentalist Anglicans. The Covenanting Puritans taught that both man and God act freely but by compact coördinate their activities, a tenet which in some respects parallels the Catholic doctrine but in important aspects is different in emphasis and theory.

The foregoing schema is long and somewhat involved. But it indicates that the Catholic doctrine concerning man's justification is a primary source for the understanding of an abundant section of New England thought and history. To most modern readers, be they Catholic or Protestant, these theological speculations are arid and uninteresting. But this modern judgment cannot be referred back to colonial times in New England. To the Puritans and their contemporaries it was exceedingly important to determine and define the process of justification and the nature of God's salvific will. It was of the utmost consequence to exclude from power and, at times, even from physical presence in the community those who held opposing views and thereby taught a different way of life. A modern student who would honestly evaluate the stormy arguments of William Perkins, John Cotton, Anne Hutchinson, William Ames, and Jonathan Edwards, among others, must in the end go back to the beginning of the argument. He must return to a study of the Catholic doctrine of justification, which antedates the Reformation.

The discussion thus far has resulted in the sketching, from three major theological tenets, of the derivation and the relationship of many confusing factors in New England history. The underlying assumption has been that there was a theological basis for many of the movements in western Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and in New England from the beginning of its history. This assumption is not meant, however, to exclude or deny the sociological, social, political, or economic factors then operating. Rather it suggests that these factors cannot be adequately evaluated unless they be properly placed in their own historic milieu, for none can deny that the times were surcharged and saturated with religious speculation and argument.

From this, one can proceed logically to a consideration of the fourth basis suggested above for analyzing and studying New England history: the political implications of Catholicism as understood and combatted by New England colonials. It is well known and has been commonly remarked that a feeling of hostility toward Catholic governments and Catholic political relationships marked the early New England mind. This was

a product of the age and was matched by a similar Catholic antagonism toward Protestant governments and political alliances. The modern period which was taking form showed a radical change from the Middle Ages, during which a theory and practice of living, a civilization, had been attained by the action and reaction of secular leaders and the religious organization of the Church. In a wide view of western civilization Constantine's Edict of Milan ended the ancient period of history and began what is called the Middle Ages. Imperial toleration of the Catholic Church inaugurated a period of development in which the Christian Church, with its specific doctrines and practices, and the secular state, with its worldly purposes and activities, sought to attain a mutual adjustment and balance.

Constantine's decree had ended one period and begun another. But the old did not immediately disappear, nor did the new immediately take form. In a similar manner the beginning and development of the modern period came with the formulation and reduction to practice of the maxim of the Peace of Augsburg (1555): *cuius regio, eius religio.* A new theory and practice of living, a new civilization began. But in the beginning the old theory still persevered and sought restoration, and the new theory fought vigorously in its own interest. The New England Protestants, for example, dreaded the possibility that they would be forced to submit to the rule of a Catholic England, a Catholic France, or even, in a remote possibility, a Catholic Spain. They had sought a haven in New England because, among other reasons, they sought escape from the Catholic tendencies in England or France; they labored to keep this a haven from such dreaded movements.

As a matter of fact, this fear of Catholic governments and tendencies was brought to New England at the very outset. The Pilgrims left Holland because, among other reasons, they knew that the existing truce between Holland and Spain would expire in 1621; and they feared the Catholic forces would win in the impending struggle and so introduce the Spanish Inquisition into the Low Countries. Later, the Catholic government of France was held responsible for the St. Bartholomew's Day "Massacre" in which sixty thousand French Huguenots were said to have been slain. English history provided the story of the persecution of John Wyclif, forerunner of the English Reformation, and the more recent memory of Mary Tudor's repressive activities. In their own day the emigrating New England Puritans had been witnesses of the Catholic tendencies of Archbishop Laud. With this as a partial background and with the memory of other repressive efforts on the part of Catholic governments against early reformers, it is not to be wondered that the New England Protestants

viewed with alarm every tendency toward Catholicism evident in the Anglican Church, every show of might on the part of New France, and every attempt to establish Anglicanism or impose its routine in New England. The gradual trend toward Catholicism among the Stuarts, the final reception into that faith of James II, and the frequent attempts of the later Stuarts to regain the lost throne were other occasions for this fear. Both the return of Louisbourg, so dearly won, to a hated France and the quasi-establishment of Catholicism by the Quebec Act in the conquered realm of their dreaded enemy were, to the New England Protestants, clear evidences that they were being betrayed by Protestant England into the Catholic camp. Even at the time of the American Revolution there was a vocal fear that alliance with Catholic France was extremely dangerous. The interlocking features of these political happenings have not yet been sufficiently analyzed to determine their complete effect on New England thought. Here is a problem for the future dispassionate historian, for it cannot be approached with present-day conceptions. Full understanding requires a survey which shall begin with the political theory of the Middle Ages and thence proceed to our local history.

From what has been said, it seems that a fairly strong case can be presented for the necessity of an understanding of Catholicism in the study of New England colonial history. Just as the history of Harvard University cannot be properly studied without a deep knowledge of the English universities and their derivation from the medieval universities, so the evolution of the New England mind must be presented from a background of the period in which it originated. It is obvious that twentieth-century ideas must not be read back into this period. On the other hand, the starting point of Puritan or Protestant doctrines themselves is inadequate, almost axiomatically so. In short, for a true historical approach there must be a deep appreciation of the notes or marks of the Church as it existed in pre-Reformation days, whether this church be accepted as true or false. The organization which displayed a unity of doctrine and practice in that pre-Reformation period was, regardless of the explanation posited for that unity, the Roman Catholic Church. The present-day student may or may not accept the doctrines or claims of that church. But if he be a historian, he cannot blind himself to the historic fact that western civilization did once accept those doctrines and claims; there can be no legitimate denial of the fact that Catholicism was the thought of the period. What that thought was is historically ascertainable and must be the starting point of any broad investigation of New England colonial history. If that study begins with a later date, there will necessarily be confusion and chaos. If, however, it begins with the original unity before division, all subsequent

developments will fall into focus; order and historical perspective can be attained. It is in the hope that such studies will be made and such historical perspective be attained that the ideas advanced here have been presented for consideration.

Mr. Morison communicated by title the following document, with an introduction prepared by Mr. Paul Fullam and Mr. George M. Elsey:

More Hints from Joseph Hawley, January, 1776

Joseph Hawley of Northampton, River God and Son of Liberty, was the leader and spokesman of Connecticut Valley radicals during the American Revolution. Elected by the General Court a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1774, he refused to serve for reasons of health, and John Adams was chosen in his stead. On this occasion Hawley sent to Adams a paper of his composition entitled "Broken Hints, to be communicated to the Committee of Congress for the Massachusetts."[1] This subsequently became famous as a trenchant statement of the New England radical position and as a prophecy. Nine months before the storm broke at Concord, Hawley stressed the inevitability of war. Accepting as a *sine qua non* of a peaceful settlement the elimination of "British taxation, all revenues, and the constitution or form of government enacted for us by the British parliament," he pointed out that Parliament was committed to a contrary course of action which there was no expectation of its renouncing without a fight. Common sense demanded recognition of this fact and preparation for an irrepressible conflict. "We must fight," the refrain of "Broken Hints," was profoundly shocking to the majority of Congress, who hoped either to evade the issue or to appease the radicals.

For the next two years Hawley served in the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, where he sat on the important committees, studied finance, corresponded with the "fourteenth colony" of Quebec, concerned himself with the organization of the Massachusetts army, solicited aid from other colonies, and came into frequent and close contact with General Washington. Hawley managed to keep in touch with local as well as provincial

[1] Printed in John Adams, *Works*, IX. 641–643, and Hezekiah Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America* (New York, 1876), 107–108.

affairs, and by frequent trips to his home to consult and advise other radicals he became "the mainspring of the revolutionary movement in western Massachusetts."[1] Through these manifold responsibilities the ardor expressed in "Broken Hints" still burned, and although his letters of 1775 seem somewhat less radical for that year than the "Hints" were for 1774, he was not hedging but waiting for events to have their effect. For many months before July 4, 1776, his letters to the Massachusetts delegates at the Continental Congress urged a declaration of independence and the establishment of a unified colonial government.

One of the most important of these letters was written to his young friend and political ally Elbridge Gerry after Gerry's election to Congress in January, 1776. In the same form as "Broken Hints," this letter is entitled "Hints for the consideration of Mr Gerry and Such others of the Honble Congress as he Shall judge proper to advise with thereon." It is a summary of the program that Hawley would have advocated had he been in Gerry's shoes. It contains the substance of Hawley's political philosophy, the result of months of deliberation and the fruit of his recent experience. Taken together, "Broken Hints" and "Hints for Mr Gerry" measure the development of thought of a frontier radical from 1774 to 1776.

When the "Hints for Mr Gerry" was written, the radicals in Massachusetts were proceeding cautiously; independence was still discussed only in closed circles. For this reason Hawley did not advocate separation from England in so many words. But his program must not be mistaken for mere administrative reforms designed to meet the exigencies of the moment, for his proposal to establish a confederation with full control of the currency and the military would inevitably require independence.

A few weeks later, Hawley wrote to Gerry: "I beg leave to let you know that I have read the pamphlet entitled Common Sense, addressed to the inhabitants of America."[2] Thereafter he was no longer afraid to write frankly and openly for independence; the favorable reception of Paine's pamphlet was the signal for casting all reserve to the winds.

The "Hints for Mr Gerry" is in private possession. The document is undated, but Hawley referred to it in his letter to Gerry of February 18 as "the minutes which you was pleased to accept of me as you was setting out on your journey to Congress."[3] Gerry left Boston on January 25, 1776. The letter, therefore, was probably written a few days earlier. The document is entirely in Hawley's hand. It covers four pages of

[1] E. Francis Brown, *Joseph Hawley, Colonial Radical* (New York, 1931), 154.

[2] Hawley to Gerry, February 18, 1776, in James T. Austin, *Life of Elbridge Gerry*, I (Boston, 1828), 161.

[3] *Id.*, 160.

a single foolscap sheet which bears no address. It must therefore have been handed to Gerry personally at Watertown (where the Provincial Congress was sitting), as the passage quoted from Hawley's letter of February 18 suggests.

Hints for the consideration of Mr Gerry and Such others of the Honble Congress as he Shall judge proper to advise with thereon

Dear Sir.

It appears plain to me that no vigorous and effectual operations for general defence will be carried on until a firm and well digested Confederation be formed and communicated by the Congress to all the colonies and the Same be Adopted and ratified most Solemnly by them all and a Supreme Legislative and Executive instituted in a Just proportion from all ye colonies and the most Solemn acts instead of Recomendations from time to time passed by such legislature which Shall bind the whole and every part with Subordinate legislatures for each Colony —these Subordinate Legislatures, or legislatives, will grow to perfection gradully but the Supreme ought to be made as perfect as possible immediately and be fully operating without any delay

I begg leave to Suggest that the Earliest and most effectual care must be taken to Secure and defend the colony of Canada whether Quebec Shall be taken by the colony Troops or not, for if the Ministerial Troops Should drive us out of Canada all the French and Indians northward of Missisippee River will be gaind by them, who will prove worse to the colonies if armed and furnished with amunition, than all the regulars who can be imported—For God's Sake therefore let the utmost attention be afforded to that part—ample and Sufficient establishmts must be made for that part and fully executed

I most earnestly begg that Congress would be indefatgable in their attention and exertion for a most effectual defense without Sparing any cost which Shall appear Necessary—To this interest I think it is Necessary again to exhort all the colonies to establish and equip their Militia effectually and to form good magazines

I think As our people must always be Inlisted only for certain and Short terms at present not for more than a year at once It will be absolutely Necessary that reasonable care should be always taken that a New establishmt should be filld against ye expiration of the old one—and lest there Should be any failure a Well appointed and organized Militia in every part of the continent should be ready to befriend us

Another Matter promises to be absolutely Necessary and to claim the early attention of Congress Namely a Continental authority for regulating the Paper Currency through the colonies—without it We Shall soon be in confusion with respect to it—if every colony is permitted to emit what Sum they please to Set ye times of redemption or sinking them as they please, and to postpone the times of sinking as they please—We Shall be deluged with paper Currency—The Bills will Depeciate to little or no value—different values will be set on the Bills of

different colonies—Infinite frauds will take place between Crditors and Debtors and in short without a general regulation—Paper currency will fail as a medium Whereas under a general Superintending good regulation Paper currency Might Serve as a pretty steady Medium and a good fund for the greatest operations—No particular colony ought to be Suffered to emit any Bills without permission of the Gen[l] Congress who ought to order the sum of the emission and the time of payment for whenever there is enough in the continent for a medium of which the Supreme Legislature Must be Judge—the Several Colonies Should Supply their Treasuries by borrowing and every Colony ought to be obliged Sacredly to keep their faith and Never to postpone their payments

A larger Consideration of this Matter is Necessary than the limits of this Sheet will admit But Sure I am It must have a Speedy and thoughrough consideration and discussion and all the colonies Must Submit to Some Just and Superior regulation or all paper Credit will soon come to Nothing—which with good regulations (as I could demonstrate) would enable us to carry on a War forever

Further I conceive it to be of immediate Necessity that Congress or the Supreme american Legislature Should effectually provide against their armies or any part of them invading private property and that their Troops Should in No case be quarter[d] on private houses without the consent of the owner or in cases of absolute Necessity under the direction of some Comittee of the General assembly of the colony where the troops shall be or a Civil Magistrate

Pray attend Minutely to the State of Canada and at all events let it be Maintain[d] & Secured by us against all foreign armies It is I conceive More than time Now that the establishments for Canada and New York were made for the Next Spring and Summer Campaign and that the same were filling up and I trust that Congress will not think of taking the like Method with respect to officers for the filling Such establishments as they have done for the Army here the experiment or trial of that Method I think has been more than Sufficient already

But to return to the Confederation—Can congress hesitate a moment about it? will not all be in confusion without it? will not every step be languid and ineffectual without it? Can the Credit of the continental currency or emissions of paper Bill have any foundation without it? Have not Tories sense enouh to know it? Will they fail to infuse the conviction into the Minds of others? We know without a Confederation the Credit of Such Bills stands on Nothing, in fact, they have No Basis at all. Tell it not in Gath &c[1]

as soon as a Confederation is formed and ratified Will it not be Necessary to enact all such resolves as Shall appear Salutary

Indulge Me one thought more To wit That one article of the Confederation ought expressly to be that the General Supreme legislative Should have full power and authority absolutely to order and direct all the Currencies of every colony—this Must be done—The Medium of Trade was always directed by the Supreme legislature—the Nature of the case Makes it abolutely Necessary

If we retain possession of Canada pray let a free civil Government be formed

[1] 2 Samuel, i: 20.

there as soon as possible—and May the Next Com^{tee} Sent that way be e[x]pressly order^{d} to proceed farther than Ticonderoga, and I hope will consist of More than three J. H.

Full possession of the Rivers of St Lawrence Lake Champlain Hudson's are of More consequence to us than Tongue can utter or heart conceive

February Meeting, 1941

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON, at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 27, 1941, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death of SAMUEL HENSHAW, a Resident Member, on February 5, 1941, and that of CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN, a Resident Member, on February 20, 1941.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. THOMAS HERBERT JOHNSON, accepting election to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

Mr. ELLIOTT PERKINS of Cambridge was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. ROBERT E. PEABODY read the following paper:

A War Refugee of 1800[1]

NO one who studies the period of the Napoleonic Wars can help being struck with the similarity between that time and the present and between the problems created by the activities of two insatiable conquerors separated by a distance of a century and a quarter. Although one does not, perhaps, often think of it, the devastation of the Napoleonic Wars created a refugee problem paralleling that of today, and many people at that time sought to escape from war-torn Europe to start life anew in this country. Thus there came to the United States at the beginning of the last century, even as is happening today, many people of different nationalities, people from various walks of life, good and bad, educated and uneducated. Everyone is aware that the present influx of fugitives has brought to our shores many artists, musicians, scientists, and

[1] The material for this paper has been obtained from the following sources:
Derby business papers, Essex Institute.
Edward B. Allen, *Early American Wall Paintings* (New Haven, 1926).
George C. Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport* (Newport, 1884).
Article by Joseph Northam in the *Newport Daily News*, December 31, 1895.

people of talent, and it can be assumed that the Napoleonic exiles included a like portion of such persons.

In April, 1937, I read before this Society a paper on the voyage of the Salem ship *Mount Vernon* to the Mediterranean in the years 1799–1800.[1] At that time one of the things that especially interested me was the fact that the *Mount Vernon* brought back to Salem one such refugee from the Napoleonic Wars, an Italian artist who soon created quite a reputation in this country as a marine painter and an interior decorator. His name was Michaele Felice Corné, and all that I knew of him when I first wrote was that he came over in that ship and that some of his pictures hang in the Marine Room in the Peabody Museum in Salem. Being myself a would-be marine artist, I became intrigued to find out more about him, and I now give the story as I have been able to piece it together.

In July, 1799, the ship *Mount Vernon*, Captain Elias Hasket Derby, Jr., sailed from Salem for the Mediterranean on one of those trading voyages which formed the basis of New England commerce at that period, and after a passage of seven weeks, which included a stop at Gibraltar, she anchored at the port of Naples. For a year previous to her arrival Naples and the surrounding country had been the scene of revolution and much bloodshed. King Ferdinand of Naples, alarmed at the growth of the French republican movement and fearing that it would extend to his kingdom, made so bold as to declare war on France, hoping to obtain aid from England and Austria. This rather imprudent move of his resulted in the French quickly turning on him, and in January, 1799, a French army, aided by the Neapolitan Republicans, captured Naples. The King and Queen fled to Palermo, and the city remained in the hands of the French for several months until Nelson, returning with his fleet from the Battle of the Nile, stopped in at Naples and took up the cause of King Ferdinand. With the encouragement of this assistance a Neapolitan army was organized amongst those who had fled from the city, and after much fighting, while Nelson's fleet attacked from the sea, Naples was finally recaptured in June, 1799, and the French driven out. A few weeks later the *Mount Vernon* arrived from Salem with a cargo of Cuban sugar. In view of the devastation caused by the war there was a great demand for this commodity, which gave Captain Derby the basis for the successful trading that he carried on at Naples and other Italian ports during the next few months, enabling him to purchase a return cargo not only for his own ship but for three smaller vessels as well.

As one might expect, the ravages of the fighting around Naples left many people homeless, ruined, and disillusioned, and when the *Mount*

[1] Our *Publications*, XXXII. 505–514.

Vernon was ready to leave for home, it can well be imagined that there were many who would have liked to take passage on her for America to escape from war-torn Italy. At any rate, when the ship was about to sail, Captain Derby was approached by a Neapolitan artist, Michaele Felice Corné, who, weary of his service in the Neapolitan army, was anxious to get away from it all and come to America. He had been drafted into the forces raised to repel the French, and, although in no way a military man, had risen to be a captain of the King's Life Guards. However, with the expulsion of the French and the restoration of peace, he was only too glad to give up military service and try his fortune in the United States.

On her eastbound passage the *Mount Vernon* had had an exciting encounter with a French fleet off the southern coast of Spain and another lively brush with a couple of French feluccas as she was approaching Gibraltar. In the Peabody Museum at Salem there are many paintings of the *Mount Vernon* by Corné, including several depicting these incidents. One can surmise that, knowing of these two engagements and Captain Derby's great pride in the manner in which the *Mount Vernon* came through them, Corné made some of these paintings even before the ship sailed for home, and offered them to Captain Derby, thus getting the Captain to bring him to America. However this may have been, when the *Mount Vernon* sailed from Naples in April, 1800, she had on board as passenger Michael Felice Corné, and on July 7 he arrived on board of her at Salem.

The *Mount Vernon*, if one may judge from the number of paintings of her known to be in existence, must have been Corné's favorite subject, for, in addition to those he did for Captain Derby, he made others, either on the voyage across or after his arrival in Salem, for Captain Luther Dana, First Officer of the *Mount Vernon*, whose descendants have a set, and for various of the men who were on the ship at the time. The result was that Corné arrived in Salem with a reputation as a marine artist, and in a shipowning community he soon obtained orders from shipowners and captains for paintings of other ships. Thus there is today a goodly number of examples of his work in the Marine Room of the Peabody Museum, where most of the pictures of the Salem ships of the past have found a safe resting place.

I have been unable to discover anything of Corné's early history and background except that he was born in Elba in 1762. Captain Derby, with whom he lived for a time after first coming to Salem, used to say that Corné was of a noble family and the brother of a count. This, however, did not prevent him, soon after his arrival in this country, from opening a confectioner's shop, from which he obtained some income to

The Ship Mount Vernon
By Michaele Felice Corné

supplement that derived from his artistic endeavors. It is not known whether he was originally a painter of marine subjects or only took up this form of art on account of his voyage on the *Mount Vernon*. While some of his ship paintings have merit, they are not by any means in a class with those of his contemporaries, the Roux family of Marseilles, whose ship paintings are among the best of the time. His work does not show the innate understanding and feeling of ships and sails, of winds and seas, which one finds in the paintings of the Roux.

Corné was, however, a man of energy, and, seeking a wider field than that offered by ships, he apparently soon began to take orders for interior decoration of houses, doing such things as wall paintings, frescoes, and ceilings. For Captain John Derby, the brother of the man who brought him to America, he painted a fine picture of various Derby ships on the cupola of the Captain's house. This cupola is now to be seen in the grounds of the Essex Institute in Salem. A fireplace cover done by Corné is in the Peabody Museum, showing the godowns at Canton, which he evidently copied from one of the old Chinese paintings which were then being brought to Salem. Another sample of his work in the same place is a decorative panel or sign with the name "East India Marine Hall," and a ship under full sail flying the Derby flag, evidently departing from Salem for the East Indies. But the finest examples of Corné's work to be found in Salem until recently were the painted wall decorations in the Barnard Andrews house on Essex Street. The subjects were all country landscapes and pastoral scenes: a waterfall, for instance, a thatched cottage with figures, and a lively hunting scene. The paintings were on thin paper pasted to the plaster walls and covered with a varnish wash which in the passage of time gave the pictures a warm glow as on the works of old masters. The subjects were interesting, and the whole effect most charming. Unfortunately, when the house was sold a few years since, the interior woodwork was removed, and the wall paintings have disappeared.

Another house decorated by Corné at about the same time was the Oak Hill mansion in nearby Peabody. Here Corné made two mural paintings, both depicting what was apparently a family group gathered about a cottage door. While perhaps not remarkable from an artistic point of view, they were extremely decorative, the general effect being one of browns and greens. This house, too, was sold some years since, and the paintings are gone.

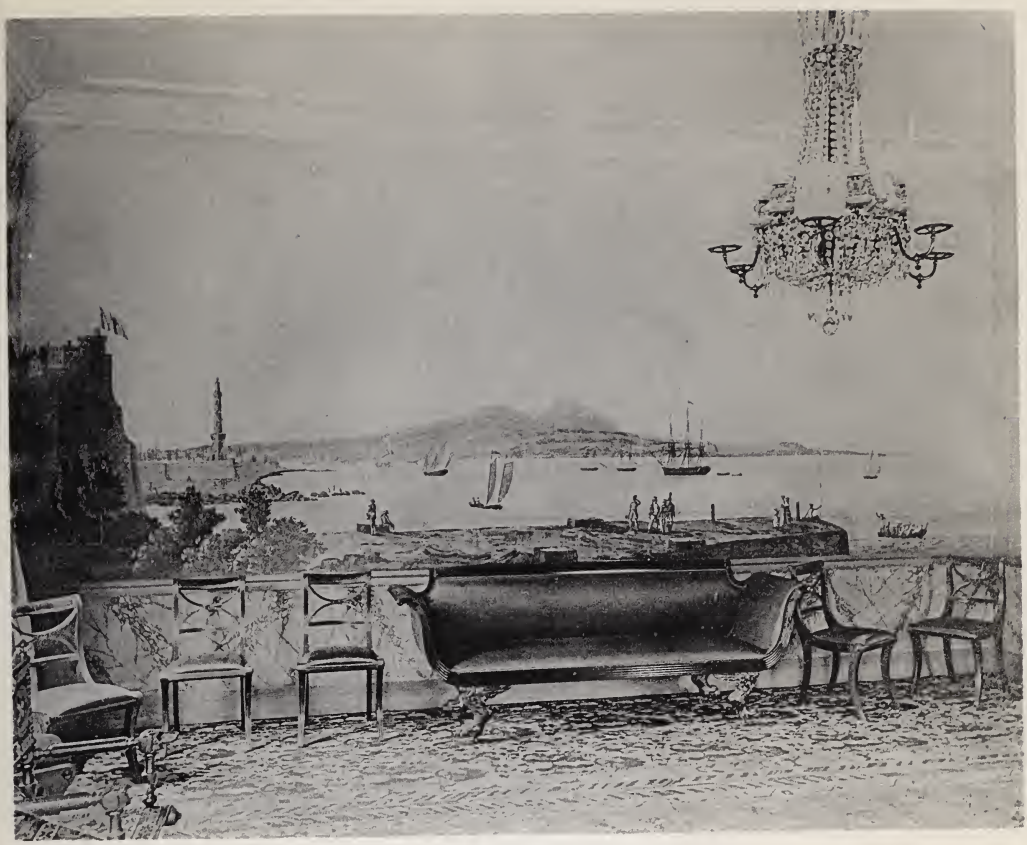
Such work as this soon began to give Corné a reputation as an artist and interior decorator, and, wishing a larger field for his efforts, he moved to Boston, which was then becoming a center of wealth and culture. Here

he painted frescoes and wall scenes for various houses, the most famous of which was the Hancock house. This building having been demolished long ago, there is nothing left to show of this work of his, nor can I find that there is any of his interior decoration to be seen in Boston today.

However, soon after completing his work at the Hancock house, and no doubt as a result of his reputation derived from that undertaking, Corné received an order to decorate the house of Sullivan Dorr in Providence. This work was done about 1812, and as the house, fortunately, is still standing, one can see today what was probably Corné's best and most important decorative painting, and what is as well one of the finest examples of early American wall painting left in this country. The paintings, covering the walls of the parlor and upper and lower halls, depict a variety of subjects. There is a tropical scene, with palms and lush foliage, on one wall; a New England snow scene, with sleighs and a frozen river, on another. He did several views of ancient castles and classical ruins; there are pastoral scenes, a hunting picture, and pictures of a waterfall and of cliffs by the seacoast. Finest of all is a painting of his native Bay of Naples, with Vesuvius in the background, an American frigate lying in the roadstead, and many interesting figures of people in the costumes of the time shown in the foreground along the waterfront. In fact, it is the numerous figures and their gay costumes which give so much decoration and interest to Corné's wall paintings. They appear in all his pictures: women in costume, children, soldiers in uniform, huntsmen in red coats, farmers, and fishermen.

One who knew him in his later years relates that it was usually Corné's custom not to paint directly on a wall but to cover the surface with wide strips of white paper, joining the edges neatly, and putting the whole on like ordinary wallpaper. He first would sketch his subject in charcoal and then wash it in with water colors, using in the foreground opaque colors laid on with sizing. When doing one of these large decorating commissions he had for an assistant another Italian refugee, Botomore by name, a native of Bologna. Botomore was originally a confectioner, but Corné took him up, and under his instruction the assistant could wash in some of the simpler parts of a decorative scheme, mix the colors, and make himself generally useful. Eventually Botomore became so indispensable to Corné that he lived with him during the remainder of his life as his man Friday. Under the influence of America, Botomore became known as Billy, and so he was always called.

Thus Corné apparently eked out a fair living, doing interior decorating and occasionally making a ship painting and other odd sketches, until the War of 1812 began, in which the United States was successful in numerous



Wall Painting by Michaele Felice Corné
In the Sullivan Dorr House, Providence, Rhode Island

"*The* Constitution *and the* Guerrière"
By Michaele Felice Corné

naval combats. When word reached Boston of the victory of the *Constitution* over the *Guerrière*, there was tremendous excitement, and Corné, taking advantage of this situation, secured a large canvas, as big a one as he could get into an exhibition room, and quickly made his picture of this famous battle. People flocked to see it, paying an admission fee for the privilege, and the success of this exhibition led Corné to paint "The Surrender of the *Java* to the *Constitution*," "The *United States* and the *Macedonian*," "The Battle of Lake Erie," and a number of other pictures which were exhibited to crowds. Book publishers soon took advantage of this situation, and Abel C. Bowen, a Boston engraver, entered into a deal with Corné to publish a history of the United States Navy, Bowen writing the narrative and Corné furnishing the illustrations. For this book, entitled *The Naval Monument*, Corné made about twenty-five paintings of all the important naval engagements of the War of 1812, and from these Bowen made wood engravings for the illustrations. The book was published in 1816 and was a great success. Unfortunately, Bowen's engravings are rather crude and do not really do justice to Corné's paintings, most of which have long since disappeared. However, the original of Corné's "*Constitution* and *Java*" is in the Addison Gallery at Andover, Massachusetts, and his "Battle of Tripoli" is at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. Moreover, the New Haven Colony Historical Society has a fine set of four of his paintings of the battle between the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière* which are said to have been done for the *Constitution's* commander, Captain Isaac Hull, and were given by him to Yale University. Two of these paintings are reproduced in *The Naval Monument*. Although copies of this book are now only in the hands of collectors and a few libraries, Corné's original illustrations are still found reproduced in history books of the present day.

After a few years, as is the way with such things, interest in the victories of the War of 1812 was forgotten for matters of more immediate importance, but Corné had made hay while the sun shone. Although the demand for pictures of naval battles had disappeared, he found himself in far more comfortable circumstances than he had ever expected to be, and in 1822, having taken a liking to Newport, Rhode Island, he purchased a piece of land there, with a stable on it which he refashioned into a dwelling house for himself and Botomore. The latter revived his talents as a confectioner and set up a shop in the front room. For the last twenty-three years of his life Corné lived in Newport, where he soon established a reputation as a local celebrity. He was fond of company and was, in turn, apparently a favorite with all people in Newport. He was a great raconteur, and his stories and anecdotes, told in his peculiar accent and dialect—for he never

fully mastered the English language—were apparently famous. He still indulged his art and made many sketches. In fact he completely covered the walls of his little house with his pictures, but he seems to have done no more serious work after he came to Newport. The Redwood Library and the Newport Historical Society have a number of his sketches of groups of people in costumes of his time, which he must have made at this period.

A resident of Newport who knew Corné in his latter years wrote of him as follows:

> Mr. Corné was a native either of Italy or France, but passed his early manhood in Boston, coming to this city in his mature age. He was by profession an artist of real merit, which was proved by the portrayal, sometimes in crayons, on the plastered walls of his chambers. The perspective of many of them was admirable, and the representation of flame and smoke belching from the cannon's mouth was startlingly realistic. The wooden well-curb on his limited lawn was painted in brightest hues, and the depicture of water coming from the mouth of a dragon with outspread wings was gazed at for hours by passers-by, and received the intense admiration of the children in the town.
>
> Mr. Corné was a chef of high ability; his soups and a certain preparation of macaroni linger even now, like a sweet savor, in the memory. His delicacies, made from Newport quince into choice marmalade, were duly appreciated by the housewives of the town, and they easily commanded what was then considered extravagant prices.
>
> Mr. Corné talked with an intermingling of the French and English languages which sounded so musically and euphoniously that one never tired of listening to him. He was fond of giving special prominence to the final syllable of every word, and his whole bearing and manner were so elegant and even courtly that he seemed a French count in disguise. He was unmarried, but found in his friend, Mr. William Bottomore, a genial companion, they for a score of years residing under the same roof.
>
> Mr. Corné was the fortunate possessor of an annuity which assured him the comforts of life and possibly some of its luxuries. At his death his residence became legally the property of his adopted son, Mr. Bottomore.

Oddly enough, one of the reasons for Corné's fame today is to be found in the fact that he is said to have been the man who introduced the tomato to America. Although this familiar fruit of today was an ordinary staple of diet in Italy in Corné's time, it apparently had never been cultivated in this country and, in fact, was considered poisonous and not fit for human diet. Whether Corné brought some seeds with him is not known, but even soon after his arrival in Salem the Reverend Doctor Bentley, in his diary, speaks with amazement of the fact that Corné ate tomatoes without suffering any dire effects and recommended them to everybody. In New-

port, likewise, Corné cultivated a large garden of tomatoes and gradually interested his neighbors in this fruit. From this small beginning their use as a food gradually spread over the country.[1]

Thus Corné spent the declining years of his life in Newport, a popular and picturesque figure in the community. Much of the time he worked in his garden over his tomatoes, while he lived comfortably on his macaroni, tomatoes, olive oil and chianti. He was quite a sportsman and loved nothing better than a day of fishing or duck shooting, on which expeditions he was usually accompanied by Botomore and some of the younger sportsmen of Newport, with whom he was a great favorite. Occasionally he painted on the walls of his little house scenes of his earlier years in Italy—glimpses of the high Italian hills, picturesque peasants, and fishermen along the shore. He died in 1845 at the age of eighty-three.

Corné was not by any means a great artist, and he was modest enough not to claim any such distinction, but his wall paintings, such as those in the Sullivan Dorr House, are among the best remaining in America, and his naval paintings, although not of great merit, are familiar to school children all over the country. If he was, as has been claimed, the one to introduce the tomato to America, certainly that is something to be remembered for. Thus the refugee from Napoleon's wars made his contribution to the country of his adoption even as, a century and more later, many of the refugees from another war are making theirs to American civilization today.

President Murdock spoke briefly about American place names, with particular reference to Mount Cardigan in New Hampshire.[2]

The Editor communicated by title the following paper by Mr. George M. Elsey:

John Wilkes and William Palfrey

IN 1765 the radical merchants of Boston organized the Sons of Liberty to lead local resistance against the Stamp Act. Bold though they were in opposition to it and to the Townshend Acts, the Sons of Liberty lacked the self-assurance which would have come from the knowledge

[1] Frederick M. Kimball, "Corné and Tomatoes," *Canco* (the trade journal of the American Can Company), v (April, 1939), 6.

[2] The substance of Mr. Murdock's remarks is printed in *Appalachia*, vii (June, 1941), 344–354.

that their work was respected by men whom they admired. In 1768 they made a bid for outside support by writing to the idol of liberals on both sides of the Atlantic, John Wilkes. The tone of deep respect and humble courtesy in their first letter, dated June 6, is amazing to those familiar with the later careers of its signers, Benjamin Kent, Thomas Young, Benjamin Church, John Adams, and Joseph Warren. After the great Wilkes replied to this first letter of the group, the Bostonians took heart and wrote personal letters to him describing their grievances and begging for his assistance.

Two of the letters of this correspondence were, for political reasons, soon printed. Wilkes's first two replies to the Sons of Liberty were published by him in August, 1771, as evidence in an attempt to disprove charges that he was an enemy of the Americans.[1] He stoutly defended his friendship for the colonies in the *Political Register*: "The cause of Liberty in America received every assistance I could give on late important occasions, by the feeble productions of this pen. In no other way could I be useful in a prison."[2]

Several others of these letters have been printed from time to time by Wilkes's biographers, but the bulk of the correspondence was not published until 1914 when Worthington C. Ford edited seventeen letters to Wilkes from the Boston Sons of Liberty and two replies by Wilkes.[3] Eight additional items in this correspondence have been found recently, and they are now printed here in their entirety for the first time.

Four of these are addressed by Wilkes to William Palfrey. They are important for their indication of Wilkes's interest in the American radicals and his responsiveness to their appeals. Although he was busy directing London politics from his cell in King's Bench Prison, Wilkes kept the colonists in mind, corresponded with at least one of them informally and personally, and gave advice and encouragement. The other four letters,

[1] *Political Register and Impartial Review*, IX (London, 1771), 81–83.

[2] *Id.*, 81.

[3] The first biographer of Wilkes to use the American letters was John Almon. In his *Correspondence of the Late John Wilkes* (5 vols., London, 1805), Almon printed four letters from the Sons of Liberty. Two recent biographies, Raymond Postgate, *That Devil Wilkes* (London, 1930), and O. H. Sherrard, *A Life of John Wilkes* (London, 1930), have quoted these and other American letters from the Wilkes papers in the British Museum. All these letters were printed by Worthington C. Ford in *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XLVII. 190–215.

Two other American letters to Wilkes are available in print: from the Sons of Liberty, November 4, 1769, in John G. Palfrey, "William Palfrey," *Library of American Biography*, 2nd Series, VII (Boston, 1845), 358–362; from William Palfrey, March 13, 1770, describing the Boston Massacre, in 1 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 480–483.

from Palfrey to Wilkes, are much longer, for Palfrey took to heart Wilkes's request for information. As a business partner of John Hancock and as Secretary of the Boston Sons of Liberty, Palfrey was a daily associate of the radicals and was in the thick of their activities. He wrote his letters carefully and self-consciously, and their interest lies in the reasonably detached account of the political events of 1770 in Massachusetts which the young merchant thought would interest Wilkes while in his London prison.

The texts of the Wilkes letters are from the original manuscripts, unless otherwise noted. Those of the Palfrey letters are from his corrected drafts. With the exception of the letter of September 27, 1769, which is in the Harvard College Library, the manuscripts are owned by John G. Palfrey, Esq., who has kindly given his permission for their publication.

John Wilkes to William Palfrey

King's Bench Prison
April 14, 1769

Sir,

I thank you for the favour of your letter of the 21st of February, which I received yesterday.[1] I am always happy to hear from the friends of liberty, and I know no part of the world, which has more distinguished itself in support of that best of causes, than the capital of the Massachuset's Bay.

If America can furnish an answer to the Farmer's letters,[2] it is more than Europe has yet been able to do. I shall certainly read, as soon as I can get a few hours leisure, what you have sent me,[3] and I wish to know all that can be stated by the advocates of the two parties.

I shall be much obliged to you for the American Newspapers by any Captain, who would take the trouble of delivering them to my brother Hayley,[4] for otherwise the postage would be enormous.

The cause of liberty in America as well as here shall always have in me a zealous advocate, and where my little influence extends, it shall be employed in the promotion of it.

I beg you, Sir, to believe me your obliged, and obedient,

humble Servant,
John Wilkes

[1] Printed in *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XLVII. 196–197.

[2] John Dickinson, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1768).

[3] Palfrey had sent Wilkes copies of the *Boston Evening Post*, which began on February 6, 1769, to publish a series of letters containing a "full answer to the Farmer's." *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XLVII. 196–197.

[4] George Hayley, Palfrey's commercial correspondent in London and Wilkes's brother-in-law.

JOHN WILKES TO WILLIAM PALFREY[1]

King's Bench Prison
July 24, 1769

SIR,

I am greatly obliged to you for the favour of your letter, dated June 13,[2] & the several papers which accompanied it. You will see by the newspaper enclosed that I not only took care to have the affidavit published, but likewise it should be ushered in a proper manner into the world here.[3]

The pulse of this nation never beat so high for liberty as at the present moment, & all the true friends of it applaud exceedingly the late proceedings of the patriots in America. Most of our counties, cities, & boroughs are petitioners, & nothing can exceed the noble spirit & the high style of the addresses to the crown.

I shall be very glad to see your newspapers, & any particular curious papers which appear among you. I desire you to let the friends of freedom know that I will always cooperate with them as far as my poor abilities & small influence can extend. I beg my best compliments to Mr Hancock in particular. His late persecution[4] I consider as a consequence of his known zeal to the cause of his country, which our common enemies desire to punish, when they cannot suppress it.

I am, Sir, your faithful & obliged

humble servant,
JOHN WILKES

JOHN WILKES TO WILLIAM PALFREY[5]

King's Bench Prison
Sept. 27, 1769

DEAR SIR,

I am particularly to thank you for the acquaintance of Mr Samuel Eliot, who was so obliging as to call upon me with your letter the day after his arrival, and whom I found a very sensible and amiable gentleman.[6]

Captain Hood gave me your favour of the 26th of July, and sent me two very fine turtles.[7] I desire you to make my most gratefull acknowledgements to the

[1] Copy by Anna R. Palfrey, corrected and endorsed by John G. Palfrey: "Original given by J. G. P. to Mrs. [George] Ticknor May 15, 1873."

[2] *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XLVII. 200–202.

[3] Palfrey had sent Wilkes a copy of a deposition by Sampson Toovey, clerk to James Cockle, Collector of Customs at Salem, stating that Cockle received bribes and shared them with Governor Bernard. Wilkes published this, with a short introduction, in the *London Daily Advertiser and Morning Chronicle*, July 22, 1769.

[4] Hancock's sloop *Liberty* was condemned in 1768 after several months of litigation. See *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LV. 239–284.

[5] Printed by permission of the Harvard College Library. Excerpts from this letter are printed in *Library of American Biography*, 2nd Series, VII. 365*n*.

[6] Eliot visited Wilkes on September 14 and 20, 1769. Anna Ticknor, *Samuel Eliot* (Boston, 1869), 32.

[7] In his letter of July 26 Palfrey had written: "The society of the friends of Liberty have

friends of liberty for so obliging a mark of their regard, and to assure them of all the services in my power for the common cause we have at heart.

Governor Bernard is looked on with horror by all true Englishmen. We are frequently meeting together with our American friends to concert measures to punish him in Westminster Hall for having dared to quarter Troops contrary to an express act of Parliament. We shall have the best law advice, and proper powers for this purpose must be sent over to your agents here. Serjeant Glynn[1] will give us his advice gratis in all the steps to be pursued. Petitions to the King and Parliament are useless, altho' necessary forms. They are both determined against you. The secret history of the Stamp Act would give you the real sentiments of the Court. Westminster Hall will do you justice, and a great number of separate actions against him will make your late proud, despotic governor tremble. You have many warm friends here, who will never give up your cause, nor rest till the *declaratory bill*, as well as *all the late duties*, are absolutely repealed. I am proud to be one of the foremost in that cause. You will soon hear more fully from us. We lose no time, but at present our friends are much dispersed on account of the vacation, and this week we are particularly busy on account of the election of a Lord Mayor.

It is believed that the Parliament will not meet till after Christmas. I send you everything of the kind, which has been printed in 8vo. As soon as the rest appears in the same form, you shall have it. I beg you freely to mention in whatever I can be usefull to you. My best respects attend Mr Hancock, and the other patriotic gentlemen.

I am,
Dear Sir,
Your obliged, humble
Servant,
John Wilkes

William Palfrey to John Wilkes

[*March* 5, 1770][2]

Dear Sir,

A severe fit of sickness which confin'd me upwards of three months & had well nigh carried me to "that unknown Country from whose Bourn no traveller returns," prevented my answer^{g} your obliging favour of Sep^{t} 27 last so soon as I ought to have done. I am now thank God & our friend Doct^{r} Jeffries,[3] so well

directed me to forward you two Turtles. . . . They are now in fine order, one weighs 45 lb., the other 47, making in the whole 92 lb. which is the Massachusetts patriotic number." *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XLVII. 206.

[1] John Glynn (1722–1779), London politician and lawyer, who took the lead in defending Wilkes in numerous suits.

[2] Palfrey's draft bears no date. However, the supplement to this letter, printed in 1 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 480–483, indicates that it was written on March 5, 1770.

[3] John Jeffries (1745–1819), after graduating from Harvard in 1763, studied medicine in England for several years. At first an ardent patriot, he lost the respect of the radicals

recover'd as to be able to thank you for your genteel present of the North Britons, which I shall carefully preserve in memory of the donor.

It is so long since I wrote you last, together with my confinem^{t} by sickness that I can't recollect many intervening occurrences. You have doubtless seen our public prints tho' I have not been able to send them. [The punishment of Governor Bernard is an event devoutly wish'd for by every Friend of Freedom on this Continent, and they would gladly strain every nerve to cooperate with you in promoting so desirable a purpose and would esteem it a singular favor if you would signify to them in what manner they may be useful. I expected to have heard further from you on the subject agreeable to the kind intimation in your last. We have had a rumor that Gov Sr Francis was arrested.][1]

The Grand Jury of the last Superiour Court indicted Sr Francis, The Commissioners, Comptroller Hallowell, & Collector Harrison for falsely & maliciously misrepresenting the Province to his Majesty's Ministers but the Attorny General never brought any of them to trial. Prosecutions of Crown Officers tho' ever so justly founded, have never ended in the punishment of the delinquents, every chicane of Law has been practis'd to screen them from justice, and when every other method has fail'd they have been openly protected by the force of what they call the prerogative of the Crown. I send you a Copy of Sir Francis's indictment for your amusement.

The Soldiers still continue their insults upon the inhabitants tho' they are generally well rewarded for their trouble. There has scarce any skirmish of that kind happen'd in which they have not been well beaten tho' three to one to the inhabitants this has almost cool'd their courage, and our Scotch Commanding officer[2] begins to think it a more difficult matter to sweep the whole Continent before him with only his Regiment than he at first imagin'd.

You will see in the public prints an acco^{t} of a murder committed by one Richardson[3] a fellow of a most infamous and abandon'd Character, who has for many years been employ'd as a Spy and informer by Mr Paxton the Commissioner, this fellow tho one of the most abject miserable wretches upon earth, & a notorious Knight of the Post[4] was by Governor Bernard dignified with the title of Esquire to give a better grace to certain depositions of his which were taken ex parte & transmitted by him to the Ministry. he has enter'd warmly into all the Commissioners measures, & to shew a Zeal for their service endeavour'd to destroy a pageant which was exhibited by a few Boys in ridicule of a person who had imported Goods contrary to the agreement, he afterwards endeavor'd to excite a tumult by abusive language, and at last charg'd a reputable housekeeper who was passing by with being guilty of perjury the Man pursued him & Richardson

by testifying for Captain Preston in October, 1770. During the war he moved to England where he subsequently became famous for the first crossing of the Strait of Dover by air.

[1] The passage in brackets is canceled in Palfrey's draft.

[2] Lieutenant Colonel William Dalrymple. [3] Ebenezer Richardson.

[4] "Knight of the Post" was a term of contempt for a perjurer or one who got his living by giving false evidence.

ran into his own house which was near, to which he was follow'd by the Boys, it seems he was prepar'd for the purpose for in a few minutes he fir'd a Musquet loaded with Swan Shot & kill'd one Boy on the Spot & wounded another, tho' no violence had been offer'd to him. The house was soon surrounded & he was taken together with another man in the Commissioners Service who was arm'd with a loaded Musquet & a Cutlass. The whole complection of the affair evidently shew'd it was pre-concerted to begin the Shedding of Blood. While he was in custody of the Sheriff a person endeavour'd to throw a noose over his head but fail'd in the attempt otherwise he would have been murder'd on the Spot by the Enrag'd populace.

Our house of Assembly has been adjourn'd from time to time in order I suppose to prevent their meeting early enough to lay their petitions before the Parliament, this is one of the political mainoevres of Governor Bernard. They are now prorogued to Cambridge ab^{t} 8 Miles from the metropolis to prevent any altercation about removing the Main Guard from the State house. Our Governors pay more attention to the accomodation of twenty Soldjers than 120 Senators, it was not so in old Rome—and even in these days of Ministerial Tyranny & Corruption it is not so in Old England. . . .[1]

The friends of freedom here intend to celebrate the day of your liberation[2] in social festivity, we hope before that time to have the News of the repeal of the revenue Acts, which will afford double occasion to rejoice. the last Accounts from England seem to be very encouraging, and the little regard shewn to Governor Bernard seems to bode him no good; I pray God he may meet with his deserts. I have been personally afronted by him, and he has injur'd, greatly injur'd my native Country for which Reasons I would with pleasure cross the Atlantic to have the satisfaction of waiting upon him to Tyburn.

I should be extremely glad to hear from you oftener, but would by no means encroach upon your more important avocation. I am afraid when you launch forth into the world of business again, you will scarcely find time to write me a line, but I beg you would sometimes think of me and that I may know where to direct my Letters I should be much oblig'd to you to favour me with your address

Dear Sir you would always consider me as
Your obliged Friend
and most obedient Servant
W P

[1] One paragraph, describing the Richardson affair in words similar to those above, is here omitted.

[2] Wilkes's term in the King's Bench Prison ended on April 18, 1770.

JOHN WILKES TO WILLIAM PALFREY[1]

Princes Court, near
Storey's Gate, Westminster
July 24, 1770

DEAR SIR,

I sincerely regret that the multiplicity of my affairs has prevented my writing to you before as I ought to have done, and as I wished to do, in return to your kind favours. Ever since I have been a *freed*-man, the necessary duty of the City, and the arrears of business in my own ward,[2] have almost engrossed my time. I beg you however to do me the justice to believe that whenever I can be of real service to the noble sons of liberty in America, or can contribute to restore their rights, or to relieve them from the variety of oppressions under which they labour, I will strain every nerve, and dedicate my time to their service. Pray assure all our friends that I will live and die in these sentiments.

I love to read the Boston papers, and you will greatly oblidge me by transmitting them regularly to me by private hands, and let me know whatever you wish from this side the Atlantic, and I will send it to you.

I am very grateful for the intelligence you have sent me, and I will in return give you from time to time the most interesting news of this country. Be so kind to write to me regularly, and you shall find me a punctual correspondent.

My best respects attend Mr. Hancock, and all the other friends of liberty.

I am, Dear Sir, your affectionate,
and obliged, humble servant,
JOHN WILKES

WILLIAM PALFREY TO JOHN WILKES

[*October* 23–30, 1770][3]

DEAR SIR,

I very readily admit your apology for not writing me sooner, & am sensible that the arrears of the business of your ward must engross a great part of your time, and that your numerous friends in England claim a great share of your leisure hours; considering these circumstances I must acknowledge myself under the highest obligations for your favor of July last. more especially as I had so long been without a line from you that I was almost led to imagine you had entirely forgot me. Your kind promise of keeping up a punctual correspondence in future gives me inexpressible pleasure. You may be assured I shall do everything in my power to render it agreeable to you.

I sincerely wish it was in my power to give you a favorable Account of the state

[1] Copy by Anna R. Palfrey, endorsed by John G. Palfrey: "Copy of a letter of which I gave the original to Miss Arnold."

[2] Wilkes was sworn in as alderman on the day of his release from prison.

[3] Palfrey's draft is undated. The two paragraphs describing Governor Hutchinson's character were printed in *Library of American Biography*, 2nd Series, VII. 368–372.

of our public affairs, but everything here seems to be tending fast towards that stupid senseless state of Slavery which commonly follows a long but unsuccessful struggle for Liberty. Even the most animating examples have lost their usual effect, and the people seem to be quite borne down by the powerful opposition of their enemies. I shall give you a few instances of the management of the Ministerial faction, which I shall leave with you to make your own reflections upon.

Before I begin it may not be amiss to give you a Short Sketch of the Character of Mr Hutchinson the Present Commander in chief of this Province the particulars of wch perhaps you have not yet been acquainted with. He is descended from a Family who were among the first settlers of this Province, some of whom had fill'd the first places of honor in it. The paternal inheritance being many times divided among large families, was near exhausted when a small portion of it descended to him. He was educated at Harvard College in Cambridge after which he practis'd Merchandize, and was for many Years in the Holland trade, where he constantly practis'd all the various methods of Smuggling. He inherited from his ancestors a strange kind of attachment to what is call'd the Kings prerogative, but being a man of the greatest duplicity, he had art enough to conceal it from the public, & about 30 years ago he was chosen Representative for the Town of Boston and afterwards Speaker of the house, here he had an opportunity of distinguishing those great abilities he had acquir'd by long Study & close application, & which might have been employ'd to the great advantage of his Country, if an unbounded ambition, & a desire to promote the grandeur of his family had not eradicated every other consideration. He was soon mark'd out as a proper person to promote the *purposes of government*, or in other words the Tyranny of administration. He was appointed a Judge of Probate of Wills &c for this County, In which office by an affected humility of deportment, & real distribution of impartial justice, he gain'd the universal esteem of the public. Upon a Vacancy in the Bench of Judges in the highest Court of Judicature in this Province, he was appointed Chief Justice by Governor Bernard to the great disappointment & mortification of some of the old practitioners at the Bar, among the first of whom was Mr Otis's father,[1] a Gentleman who had long been in the practise of the Law, & who from his fortune, connections & great interest in the County where he dwelt, thought himself intitled to that honor before Mr Hutchinson. hence originated that bitter enmity which has ever since subsisted between the Otis & Hutchinson families in this province. Mr Hutchinson had for some years before held a seat at the Council board & even after he was appointed Lt Governor, he was several times elected Councellor, & still retain'd his other Offices. the impropriety of which was never call'd in question 'till Mr Otis was elected Member for Boston. In the time of the Stamp Act he was exceedingly zealous to have that odious & oppressive tax carried into execution, and by his connections with, & influence over Govr Bernard he procur'd the Office of Stamp Master for his Brother Oliver. In resentment of which, the populace destroy'd his dwelling house & furniture. It happen'd the next day the Superior Court was to be held.

[1] Colonel James Otis (1702–1778).

he appear'd there without his Robes, and in a most pathetic & artful speech to the Grand Jury so wrought upon his audience that not a man who was present could refrain from tears. The loss he sustain'd by the tumult of that Night, was afterwards amply made up to him by the House of Representatives, & he went upon the Floor & thank'd them in person. In all public steps taken by Sir Francis it is confidently said he has been his secret adviser, and you may remember that in a Letter from Sr F. to Ld Hillsboro, he says he can depend upon M^r H^ns firmness & Resolution as much as he can upon his own, & no person ever yet doubted the truth of his declaration.

When Sr Francis embark'd for England the Government naturally devolv'd upon him, he immediately cast off the Mask, and appear'd the avow'd advocate of Ministerial oppression, This you will easily perceive by the tenor of his speeches, & the general conduct of his administration. But an anecdote which I am confident you have never heard will serve to convince you of his arbitrary principles. He one day last spring din'd at a Gentleman's house where the conversation turn'd upon the propriety of Great Britain's taxing the Colonies. M^r H[?] turning to the Lt Govr said. Pray Sir do you think if the Parliament of Great Britain should pass a Law to deprive me of my Estate without my having been guilty of any crime to forfeit it that I should be bound in duty & loyalty to comply. M^r H[utchinson] answer'd very solemnly & seriously Without doubt Sir.

By Govr Bernards rash and very precipitous conduct in negativing a large number of Councellors he had rais'd & continued annually to keep up such a powerful opposition in the house, as that he never was afterwards able with the few friends he had left to carry any point even of the smallest consequence. At the first election of Councellors after Mr Hutchinson was in possession of the Chair, he admitted every member (but two) who had been proscrib'd by Bernard, by this artful piece of policy he took off a number of the leading Members from the lower house, some of whom from what they call a principle of gratitude, but rather a versatility of disposition; prov'd stanch friends to him in the upper house. The Election was carried on at Cambridge, contrary to the express words of the Charter, and the house after protesting against the precedent refus'd to proceed to business, & were prorogued to July last at which time they again met at Cambridge.

The House of Assembly met but being determin'd not to proceed to business at a place remote from the public records, and where they still consider'd themselves as under duress, the Lt Govr adjourn'd them to the 27th day of Sep^t last, then to meet him again at Cambridge, previous to this Meeting, the Castle which had always been supported by this Government at a very great expense, was by an order of the Minister deliver'd into the possession of the K^gs 14 Reg^t commanded by the Scottish Coll^o Dalrymple. The operations of the Military in taking possession of this Fortress, was equally ridiculous with their other Manoeuvres. The utmost secrecy was observ'd, 'till the K^gs Centinel mounted upon the Ramparts and a guard was plac'd at the door of the appartments of Mr Phillips who commanded under the Lt Governor. The old Garrison was allow'd two days to march off with their baggage without arms. The Lt Governor think-

ing the house would still persist in their resolutions not to proceed to business at Cambridge, was determin'd to strike a stroke which would at once alarm & intimidate them. By a Law of this Province if the house does not make provision to discharge the public debts, the Governor has a right to direct the Treasurer to issue his Warrant for the whole debt. during the altercation for two years past, the Tax Bill, among many others had been neglected & the Province debt very considerably increas'd. The Treasurer, by direction of the Govr issued his Warrants for the whole Province debt which amounted to the enormous Sum of £96000 Lawf^{l} Money equal to £72000 St^{g}. these Warrants were artfully distributed to the several Counties just before the Meeting of the Assembly & had such an effect upon the Country Members that when they met a Majority appear'd for proceeding to business. The Lt Govr open'd the Sessions with a Speech in which he lamented his not being able to adjourn them to Town & pleaded his instructions. he represented the State of the province in very deplorable colours, the disadvantage which would arise from the state of several Laws of great consequence which were expir'd, and declar'd his readiness to concur with them in any measures which might tend to ease the Province Tax. The Members who were against proceeding to business finding a Majority against them, and that many members had not yet arriv'd, propos'd to adjourn the Question for a few days, and appointed a day of fasting & prayer, in the Meantime they sent expresses to the absent Members & were in hopes by that means to increase the Minority. The Revd Mr Cook Uncle to Mr Hancock was appointed to preach the Sermon, which he did & made a most excellent political discourse from the follow^{g} text in Nehemiah 9th Chap^{t} which I shall recite at large. "Behold, we are Servants this day, and for the Land that thou gavest unto our fathers, to eat the fruit thereof, and the good thereof, behold we are Servants in it. And it yieldeth much increase unto the Kings *whom thou hast set over us because of our Sins*: also they have dominion over our bodies, and over our Cattle at their pleasure and we are in great distress." This text, (tho' a Sermon in itself) & the consequent discourse, had no effect upon the Mercenary Members, The Question was put, & carried in favour of doing business by a Majority of 59 to 29. They however protested against an establishment of the precedent, & declar'd that their proceeding to business was from mere necessity. The Minority call'd upon them for their reasons for this extraordinary alteration of Sentiment, and a Committee was appointed to prepare & report them. These have not been yet publish'd. perhaps they may before this Vessell Sails:

The operations of the merchants have been no less extraordinary than those of the House. The Town had suffer'd greatly by the non-importation agreement, and the late defection of New York furnishd them with an opportunity, which had been long wish'd for by persons who were interested in the importation of Goods to break thro' the whole agreement. At a large Meeting it was Voted to send a Letter to Philadelphia to propose a general congress for the purpose of *relaxing* the agreement. Before this Letter arriv'd at Phil^{a} the Merchants there had agreed to a general importation, & had dissolved their Committee. When this news reach'd Boston the Merchants here call'd a Meeting at which the Non-importation agreement underwent a final dissolution. It's true the Article of Tea

was excepted, but such is the strange infatuation of people, attach'd to the foolish and pernicious custom of Tea drinking, that I greatly fear it will be impossible to prevent the importation of it. The House have laid an Impost of £5 per Chest on that Article tho' it is generally imagin'd the Lt Govr will not assent to it.

After repeated delays, the Trial of Capt Preston & the Soldiers concern'd in the Massacre of the 5th of March, was fix'd for the 23^d^ ins^t^ but the day has now elapsed & the Judges have not appear'd, what reason they may have for thus deferring the trial from time to time I know not, but certain it is, our Judges are posess'd with a great degree of the courtly disposition of the *Pale Mansfield* and are most obsequiously devoted to the will of their *Creator*.

Mr Temple[1] one of the Commissioners takes passage in Capt Scott. This Gentleman has made himself obnoxious to his Colleagues in office here, & in consequence thereof to the Ministry at home by a firm & unshaken attachment to the cause of constitutional Liberty. Tho' all his dependance for support is upon the Office he holds under the Crown, yet that consideration has never had the least weight with him when brought in competition with his duty to this his native Country. From his acquaintance with, & dependance upon Lord Temple,[2] I dare say you must have known him when formerly in London, & I am sure from the similarity of his disposition to that of the noble patriot before mention'd, you must esteem & value him. He is furnish'd with many curious particulars relating to my very good friend Sr Francis whose conduct while in the administration of Government in this Province he will set in a proper point of light in the view of his Superiours. I imagine he intends to prosecute the Cockle affair as it was from him (entre nous) that I had Tooveys deposition.[3]

Another person of a quite contrary character intends for London by the first opportunity. I mean the worthy Justice Murray who from a Councellor of another Province sunk to an acting Justice in this,[4] purely to forward Governor Bernards loyal plan of reforming the Magistracy. Sr Francis has not been dissapointed in the great expectations he had form'd from Mr Murray's Zeal and abilities. He has been constantly employ'd in taking depositions against the Town & individuals ex parte & in the most secret manner to be transmitted to the Secretary of State. The circumstance of his going to England at this Juncture, with many others who have distinguish'd themselves as *Friends of Government* is I imagine by the direction of L^d^ H[illsborough] & G[overnor] B[ernard] to be present at the next meeting of Parliament in order to contribute their mite towards dissolving the Charter of this Province, which has long been the darling object of those choice Spirits. It may not perhaps lessen your opinion of Mr Murrays good Qualities to inform you that he is a Scotchman & has continually caball'd with his loyal Countreymen in this Town, and the other Governmental tools against the Charter & liberties of this Province.

[1] John Temple (1732–1798), Surveyor General of the Customs.

[2] Henry Temple, second Viscount Palmerston (1739–1802).

[3] See page 414, *n.* 3, above.

[4] James Murray (1713–1781) was President of the Council of North Carolina before he moved to Boston in 1765.

I have given you this detail (tedious as it may seem) that you may be able to form some Judgment of the Character of Men, whose information the Parliament may possibly avail themselves when the affairs of this Province shall hereafter come under their consideration, and what can be expected Sir from their decision when they build their proceedings upon the recommendation of a despotic & bloody Ministry & support them by the most infamous of all their Tools—believe me Sir there is not a more sordid groveling, obsequious dirty or infamous fellow upon Earth than this same Justice Murray and I would venture to lay my life he is introduc'd to the Parliament & Ministry by Govr Bernard as a Gentleman of the first Character in the Province. The other persons who are doubtless to make a considerable figure as witnesses at the next Parliament, are Mess^{r} Henry Barnes, Wm Jackson, & McMasters[1] who have been long stigmatiz'd as Importers the two last of these are so extremely ignorant as to be almost incapable of doing much mischief. The other is a sensible artful man & *capable of anything.*

The impost of £5 per Chest on Tea which I mention'd in the former part of this Letter as having past the house, has since been non-concurred by the Council, and is one instance among many others which might be produc'd to prove that the Council is not under the influence of the house as has frequently & falsely been represented. It is true that in some instances they have conducted agreeable to the minds of the house & their constituents, but this has only happen'd when they could do no otherwise without notoriously flying in the face of all Law & Justice.

I broke off writing to attend the trial of Capt Preston which came on this 24th of Octr. I shudder with horror & indignation at the strange perversion of Justice which I have this day been witness to. By a Law of this Province the Jurors are return'd by the Selectmen, after the choice has been made by the Town. The Method of chusing them is the most fair & impartial that the wit of man could possibly devise. The freeholders names are roll'd in a Box in the same manner that Lotteries are usually drawn, & the first who are drawn out are return'd. In this manner the Jurors on Capt Preston's trial were chosen & return'd. but when any are challeng'd the Sheriff has a right to return Talesmen. Capt Preston on his trial challenged twenty two of the Pannel, a number of his friends & most intimate acquaintances stood ready & were accordingly return'd by the Sherriff, among whom was a person that had been first drawn out by Lot by the Town & was excus'd because he alledged he was so much prejudic'd in Capt Preston's favour, that he could not return an impartial verdict, yet this very person intimately connected with Capt Preston was return'd as a Talesman by the Sheriff. By this kind of management the last blow has been given to the expiring liberties of America. I have had occasion to mention the Sheriff to you as a person entirely devoted to the will of his Superiors, and in all his transactions he has discover'd himself a most infamous tool to Sr F. Bernard, & the other *Friends of Government* in this Prov^{ce}. The Court was fill'd with Officers of the Army, Navy, & Customs & Capt Preston appear'd perfectly unconcern'd, as if conscious that the event would not prove

[1] These Boston and Marlborough merchants had aroused considerable animosity by their violations of the nonimportation agreement. See *Publications* of this Society, VIII. 98*n.*; XIX. 226, 226*n.*, 232, 233*n.*

prejudicial to him. The trial is likely to take up a long time, tho' in effect nothing but a mere farce.

I send you by this opportunity the news papers you desir'd, & am extremely oblig'd to you for your kind offer to send me anything in return. I have but one request to make at present, which is, that you would be kind enough to send a print of you, the best likeness that is extant, as I am depriv'd of the happiness of seeing the original, I should Chuse to be furnish'd with the nearest resemblance. In one of your dear deceas'd Friend Churchill's[1] Letters I find mention made of one which he then says he tho't very like you, & which he underwrote with a few Lines from Pope beginning "A Soul supreme in each hard instance tried" if one of these could be procur'd it would be doubly agreeable from his recommendation. however I shall leave it entirely with you to send such an one as you like. Dr Jeffries & others who have seen you tell me the generality of Metzotint prints bro't here are not like you.

I would beg leave to remind you of another promise you generously made to furnish me with the News of your Country. I should be extremely glad to hear from time to time your opinion of American Affairs and it would give me the highest pleasure to hear that the Friends of Liberty in G^t^ Britain had baffled the malicious opposition of their implacable enemies.

Our house of Assembly are this day to proceed to the choice of an Agent, & I imagine Dr Lee[2] will be the person chosen. Mr Adams tells me he is the Author of the Letters sign'd Junius Americanus. If so I am sure the Province is under the highest obligations to him, & ought to take the first opportunity of shewing their gratitude.

Octr 25: I happen'd to be mistaken in my judgment yesterday with regard to Dr Lee: The house have made choice of Dr Franklin for their agent, a Gentleman who you well know holds a considerable lucrative post under the Government, & whose Son is now Governor of the Jersies. Can it be suppos'd such a person will promote the cause of Liberty? Capt Preston's trial continues to-day & is likely to take up a long time, only 5 Witnesses out of near fifty have yet been examin'd.

I should have been extremely glad to see the whole of the correspondence between the Duke of Cumberland & Lady Grosvenor.[3] The few Letters that have appear'd here have given me the highest entertainment. How much is the Nation indebted to the Persons who superintended the Prince's education, and what noble prospects of advantage may we not form from the Learning & Genius of the Royal Gallant. He has certainly given the Tars of the Navy a specimen of epistolary correspondence equal to any of the most elaborate of the productions of a Boatswain's buffer.

The trial of Capt Preston after repeated delays, begun last Wednesday the

[1] Charles Churchill (1731–1764), English poet.

[2] Arthur Lee of Virginia (1740–1792).

[3] Numerous pamphlets were printed in England and America in 1770 claiming to contain the complete love letters of the Duke and Lady Grosvenor. At a trial on July 5, 1770, at King's Bench, Lord Grosvenor was awarded £16,000 "for a criminal conversation between the Defendant and the Plaintiff's wife."

24th and continued 'till this 30th of Octr when the Jury returned a verdict not Guilty. After the Jury was empannell'd Capt Preston challenged 22 out of 26. A number of his friends and most intimate acquaintance attended at the trial who were well known to the Sheriff and were picked out by him as talesmen to compleat the Jury. Two of these were persons who from the time of Capt Preston's confinement had interested themselves in his behalf, and had been extremely busy in procuring evidence in his favour. One of these Mr Phillip Dumaresq had repeatedly declared in presence of divers witnesses that he believed Capt Preston to be as innocent as the Child unborn, & that if he happened to be upon the Jury he would never convict him if he sat to all eternity. If I have time before this Vessell sails I will procure depositions to prove the truth of this fact & transmit them to you. It must however be confessed that the confusion of that unhappy night was so great that the Witnesses both for the Crown & the prisoner differed materially in some parts of their testimony, and even in my own mind there still remains a doubt whether Capt Preston gave the orders to fire, as the two Witnesses who swore to that point, declared also that Capt Preston had on a Surtout Coat, which he proved was not the case. The Court were unanimous in their opinion that the Soldiers were a lawful assembly, and as such had a right to defend themselves if assaulted, tho' they did not pretend wholly to Justify the firing upon the people. One of the Judges, Mr Trowbridge, who had formerly been Attorny Gen[l] when speaking of the propriety of sending troops into the Town, said that he had not the least doubt but that his Majesty had a right to send his troops into any parts of his dominions, but that in his opinion there was not the least *necessity* for sending them into this Town as some had pretended.

The management to pack the Jury was evident to every impartial spectator. By a Law of this province the Jurors are chosen by the Town, & returned into the Clerk's Office. The method of choice is the most fair and impartial that can possibly be devised. The names of all the Freeholders who have not served within three Years are roll'd up and put in a Box in the same manner Lotteries are usually drawn, the first 36 who are drawn out are return'd. Mr Dumaresq, who I mentioned before, was drawn in this manner by the Town, and when he was notified of it by the Constable he went immediately to the Town meeting & desired to be excused as he was an intimate acquaintance of Capt Preston's & therefore consider'd himself as an improper person to serve upon the Jury, he was accordingly excused, notwithstanding which he was returned as a talesman by the Sheriff and served upon the trial. If the prisoner challenges so many, that there are not sufficient left to make up the Jury, The High Sheriff may make up the deficiency from the bystanders, which was the case at Capt Preston's trial. I have frequently had occasion to mention the High Sheriff to you as a Person entirely devoted to the will of his Superiours, and that in all his transactions he has discover'd himself a most obsequious tool to Sr F. B. for one instance of which I need go no farther than the affair at the Manufactory house when the Troops first Landed.

There is one circumstance attended this trial, which I cannot forbear mentioning, and which I hope you will take proper notice of. Mr Justice Murray who I mentioned before attended constantly at the trial and employ'd a Scotch under-

ling of Mein the Bookseller's to take down in Short hand all the Witnesses said in favor of Capt Preston, and the arguments of the Council in his behalf, without noticing anything that was offer'd on the other side the question. These I suppose he intends to make use of when he arrives in England in order to fix the odium upon the inhabitants as the first aggressors. But I hope Junius Americanus or some other good hand will clip his wings. The Chaplain of the Salisbury & many officers both of the Army & navy attended constantly at the trial and seemed greatly pleased with the verdict, as they look'd upon it as a kind of Sanction for them to murder the inhabitants at their pleasure. The trial of the Soldiers & others concern'd is put off to the next Court.

During the whole trial the greatest order and decorum was observed by the Spectators, and as soon as it was over they all departed very quietly. Capt Preston went immediately out of Court and waited upon Commodore Gambier after which he went to the Castle, among the Commissioners &c.

The House still continues sitting, but have done no business of any great consequence except chusing Dr Franklin their Agent. I was in hopes Dr Lee would have been the person, who Mr Adams tells me is the Author of the Letters signed Junius Americanus. I am sure this Province is greatly indebted to that Author for his spirited exertions on their behalf. They have also chosen a Committee to take into consideration the Grievances we labour under, and transmit a state of the same to their Agent to be laid before his Majesty. One would think the fate of the remonstrances from Middlesex & the other Counties in England would discourage them from another attempt.

The defection of New York from the non importation agreement render'd it impractible for the Merchants here to continue it any longer without doing an irreparable injury to the trade of this province, which at the same time would not favour the common cause, for as long as the importation continued open at New York & New Hampshire the Goods would find the way here, to our great loss & their proportionate advantage. The Non importation agreem^{t} was therefore solemnly dissolved here much about the same time that it underwent a like fate at Philadelphia without being previously acquainted with each others sentiments. The Ministry have now completely conquered America. The Colonies have strengthened their hands & must take the consequence.

[William Palfrey]

William Palfrey to John Wilkes

Dear Sir,

I wrote you a few days since very particularly by Capt Lyde, since which Capt Hall has arrived, and brought us the very agreeable News of great preparations making for a Spanish War. Will the present Ministry be able to carry it on? Will they be supported by the City of London after the infamous treatment they have so illiberally bestowed upon them? I fancy not, and that their downfall must be the inevitable consequence to the great joy of the much abused & long injured Nation. They have lately exhibited an incontestible proof of their profound policy in the appointment of Mr Hallowell to the Office of Commissioner of the Cus-

toms here in the Room of Mr Temple. It is not in the power of nature to form a greater contrast than there is between those two persons. Mr Temple a Gentleman bred & born, of Learning & great abilities—The other a man of no family and as ignorant and illiterate as the Duke of Cumberland, has recommended himself to the present ministry thro' the medium of Govr Bernard, by a mulish & blundering opposition to the Cause of liberty here, and is now advanced to a disagreeable office, because he is a man most justly hated and despised by the whole Province. This Elevation is undoubtedly owing to Sr F B & serves in some measure to gratify his resentmt against Mr Temple who is his bitter enemy; and no circumstance whatever could have occasion'd Mr Temple greater mortification than to have Mr Hallowell placed in his Room. This extraordinary person who is so judiciously placed at the Head of the Customs here is so far from being able to judge of any Law relating to the King's Duties that I would pawn my life he could not read one through without spelling. This is another instance of the judgement of your precious sett of Ministers.

Capt Scott is now getting under way which obliges me to break off. Do let me hear from you by all opport[unity].

I am Dear Sir

Your oblig'd friend & humble Servt

[William Palfrey]

[*Endorsed:*]. . . Novr 20, 1770

William Palfrey to John Wilkes

Dear Sir,

Agreeable to my promise, & your obliging request I take this first opportunity to acquaint of my safe arrival after a very agreeable passage of 35 days from London.[1] The Weather was so pleasant & my Shipmates so agreeable I was scarce sensible of the inconveniencies which generally attend a Sea Voyage and had the happiness at my return to find my family & friends in good health.

Mr Otis is perfectly recover'd of his late indisposition of Mind and was unanimously elected one of the representatives of this Town, a circumstance which evidently shews that the holy spirit of Freedom is not entirely *quench'd* here though much pains have been taken to make it so believ'd on your side the Atlantic.

We are extremely anxious to hear the events of the late arbitrary attack upon the franchises of the City of London There has been a report that Mr Sawbridge[2] was committed to the Tower. Have you yet taken up lodgings at Newgate? Or have the Ministry through abject cowardice avail'd themselves of that pitiful subterfuge that you are beneath their notice?

Mr Adams will write you after our General Assembly is open'd when he hopes to [be] better able than at present to inform you of the true state of our political affairs. Notwithstanding all the pains which the *Friends of Government* have taken

[1] Palfrey had been in England from February 3 to April 3, 1771.

[2] John Sawbridge (1732–1795), Sheriff of Middlesex, who five times returned Wilkes as duly elected to Parliament in defiance of the House of Commons.

to prevent it it is certain we shall have a House well affected to the cause of Freedom.

Be pleas'd Sir to acquaint Mr Churchill[1] I hate him as sincerely as he does Mr Hayley, and that I wish for an opportunity to convince him of it. Whenever Ministerial Tyranny obtains a conquest over the Liberties of the People of Great Britain (which God forbid should ever happen) the friends of Freedom may depend upon finding an Asylum in America. I don't much expect to see either you or m^r Church^l in N E^d till that event takes place.

I beg Sir you would present my Compliments to Miss Wilkes—and to the choice Spirits the Elect at Appleby's.

I am with the greatest esteem
Your oblig'd friend &
most hble Servt
[WILLIAM PALFREY]

[*Endorsed:*] . . . June 1771

[1] Unidentified, but not Charles Churchill, the poet.

April Meeting, 1941

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., at the Signet Club, No. 46 Dunster Street, Cambridge, on Thursday, April 24, 1941, at half after eight o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death of WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, a Corresponding Member, on March 7, 1941.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. ELLIOTT PERKINS, accepting Resident Membership in the Society, and letters from Mr. LINCOLN COLCORD and Mr. WILLIAM GURDON SALTONSTALL, accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. GEORGE LEE HASKINS of Cambridge was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Mr. MICHAEL JOSEPH WALSH of Hyde Park was elected an Associate Member.

The Chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. ROBERT EPHRAIM PEABODY, RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, and FRED NORRIS ROBINSON.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS and HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE.

Mr. FRANK W. C. HERSEY read the following paper:

Tar and Feathers: The Adventures of Captain John Malcom

I

CAPTAIN JOHN MALCOM was cursed with a fiery temper which under the slightest provocation flamed into ungovernable rage. The only thing that could quench this heat was more heat—hot tar. But there were only two occasions on which this remedy was available

and was actually applied. His irascible nature led him into quarrels with his own brother, Captain Daniel Malcom, with Governor Hutchinson, with his fellow officers in the Customs, with people in Boston, Portland, Newport, and North Carolina; and the only reason why he did not quarrel with King George III was that he wished the King to create him a Knight of the Tar.

Malcom's hot temper was a part of his inheritance from Clan Malcolm and centuries of Highland feuds. I can speak from intimate knowledge, for Malcolm blood is coursing in me. What is more, John Malcom was my great-great-great-uncle. His brother, Captain Allen Malcom, was my great-great-grandfather. The hot temper, with other Scottish gifts, has persisted in various branches of the family for several generations, and I know of many instances where parent and daughter or brothers and sisters have burst into furious quarrels which have ended in permanent estrangements.

John Malcom was the son of Michael Malcom, a descendant of Clan Malcolm whose ancient home was in Lorne in Argyll. In the seventeenth century some of the Malcolms were among the Scotch Presbyterians who emigrated to Ulster. With other Scotch-Irish pioneers Michael and his wife Sarah arrived in America in 1721, stayed in Boston a short time, and then settled in Georgetown, Maine. John, the boy who grew up to be the hated Tory, was born in Boston, May 20, 1723. The next child, born in Georgetown, November 29, 1725, was Daniel, who grew up to be the esteemed patriot, Captain Daniel Malcom, whose services are celebrated on his gravestone on Copp's Hill: "A true Son of Liberty, a Friend to the Publick, an Enemy to oppression, and one of the foremost in opposing the Revenue Acts in America."[1] Another son, Allen, grew up to be a soldier in the Revolution.

Like several of his brothers, John Malcom became a mariner. He owned many vessels and sailed as master on many voyages. In addition, during the 1740's, 1750's, and 1760's he had an active military career. In 1745, at the age of twenty-two, he served as an ensign in the Second Massachusetts Regiment, commanded by Colonel Samuel Waldo, at the siege of Louisbourg; and this same year he was captain of a vessel which carried dispatches from Louisbourg to Boston. In a later petition to George III he declares: "I have had thirteen Different Commissions in your Majesty's Land Service in North America the two last French and Spanish warrs that is Past. I have Serv'd from a Ensign to a Colonel. I have been

[1] Mr. George G. Wolkins has written two valuable articles on the exploits of Captain Daniel Malcom: "The Seizure of John Hancock's sloop *Liberty*," *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LV. 239–284; and "Daniel Malcom and Writs of Assistance," *id.*, LVIII. 5–84.

in all the Battles that was Fought in North America those two warrs that is Past except two and at every Place we Conquerd and Subdued our Enemys to your Majesty." One wishes he had named the two battles he did *not* fight in! As to his marine enterprises, he says: "I have Commanded 12 Different Merchant Vessels abroad to Different Parts of the World and some of them I have own'd Mostly Part of them."

Fortunately it is possible to find more evidence in support of this second assertion than of the first. At the Public Record Office there has been preserved a list of vessels[1] entering and leaving the Port of Boston during the years 1750–1765 which gives the dates, the names of vessels, masters, and owners, the tonnage, the size of the crews, the cargoes, and the ports. During these years the vessels owned or commanded by Captain John Malcom number four: the sloop *Ranger*, fifty tons; the sloop *Sally and Polly*, sixty tons; the sloop *Sarah*, sixty tons; and the sloop *Sally*, forty tons. The ports mentioned are St. Martin's, Newfoundland, the West Indies, North Carolina, New York, and Louisbourg. Here are two of the entries: "Aug. 8, 1753, Sloop Sarah, Master—John Malcom, Tons—60, Guns—0, Men—6, Owner—John Malcom, Cargo—65000 Lumber, 20 Horses, hh^{d} 20 Fish, For West Indies"; "Feb. 1, 1758, Sloop Sally, Master—John Malcom, Tons—40, Guns—0, Men—4, Owner—John Malcom, Cargo—hds Molas 1, bb Sugar 8, hds Rum 1, bb Rum 4, Cask Coffee 1, Cask Wine 2, hds Salt 8, hds Lime 20, 1 chest European goods, For No. Carolina."

The *Sally and Polly* was lost at sea in 1755 after she had sailed to North Carolina and was on her passage thence to Cork. This disaster led to a bitter quarrel between John and his brother Daniel, who also had become an owner of ships and took them on voyages to Lisbon and London. John owned three-eighths of the *Sally and Polly*, and presumably Daniel owned the other five-eighths. John accused Daniel of neglecting to have John's three-eighths share insured for £90 during the voyage, after promising to do so. In his anger John invoked the law. First, on July 23, 1756, he had a writ issued against Daniel for £25 because Daniel had not paid him on demand a note of hand for £20. He followed this three days afterwards with another writ against Daniel for £130 damages for the loss of the insurance.[2] The next day, July 27, the Deputy Sheriff attached a dwelling house of Daniel and gave him a summons. Then Captain Daniel got into action and returned a broadside. On the twenty-eighth he had a writ issued against Captain John for £70 because John had refused to pay a promissory note for £66 13*s* 4*d*. Captain John had now run out of ammunition, and the guns cooled off, for three days later, July 31, the doughty

[1] C.O. 5:849. [2] Massachusetts Superior Court of Judicature, No. 76273.

mariners met at the Sheriff's office and agreed to settle the matter out of court. Each signed an order that the writs be withdrawn and not served.[1]

Meanwhile, Captain John Malcom had overhauled and run down another sort of prize: he married Sarah Balch in Boston, the intentions being filed May 24, 1750. Their children were baptized by the Reverend John Moorhead of the First Presbyterian Church, Federal Street, as follows: Ann, September 29, 1751; John, August 12, 1753; Daniel, March 2, 1755; Sarah, February 6, 1757; and Michael, December 18, 1758.

In the latter part of 1769 Malcom gave up his seafaring career and became an officer of the Crown, being appointed Tide Surveyor at Newport, Rhode Island. He moved there with his family and, now entitled to be called "Esquire," kept up his state by attending the First Congregational Church. He wished to go a step farther and partake of the Lord's Supper, but that was refused him. Fortunately this episode was recorded by the Reverend Ezra Stiles, then living in Newport, in his diary, February 24, 1770:

> I am told that Mr. Malcom last week signified his Desires to some of the Brethren of the first Cong. Chh. here to partake with them in the Lord's Supper last Lord's day. His motion was declined. He is an officer in the Customs here: lately removed from Boston & settled here, & with his Family attends that meeting. Tho' a Congregationalist, yet not Member in Communion with any Congreg^a Chh: yet to qualify for an office had received the Sacrament at an Episcopal Chh., I think in Boston. It is the declared principle of our Churches to receive to occasional Communion, any *sober* Communicants from any protestant Chhs., as Epis^o, Bapt., &c., if they should desire it. He pleaded this right. But the scruple arose on his Morals, which are exceptionable.[2]

Stiles's last sentence is significant: it reveals the fact that already in 1770 Malcom's reputation was unsavory. This rebuff did not deter him from continuing to go to church: indeed, he transferred his allegiance to the Reverend Mr. Stiles's own church, the Second Congregational. His name appears in a list of families in this parish entered in Stiles's diary, January 1, 1771. The figure "6" after it indicates the number of visits made by Mr. Stiles.

Malcom's devotions did not, however, make him pay all his bills: the law had to be called in for that purpose. A Newport butcher, Samuel Smith, sued him for a bill of £3 0*s* 11¾*d* on December 19, 1770.

[1] Litigation was Captain John's favorite pastime while on shore. During the twenty years 1750–1770 he was frequently suing somebody or being sued. Writ after writ is to be found in the files of the Superior Court of Judicature.

[2] *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D.*, Franklin B. Dexter, Editor (New York, 1901), I. 39.

Bill of Sam[l] Smith[1]

1770 *John Malcomb to Sam[l] Smith* Dr

			£	s	d
Sept	22	To 15 Veal 4[d]		5	
Oct		To 13½ Beef		3	3½
Nov[r]	18	To 25½ D°		5	9
	23	To Mutton & left to pay 1[d]		0	1
	26	To 5 D°		1	2¾
Dec[r]	1	To 15 Beef		3	4½
	8	To 196 D°	2	2	3
			3	0	11¾

On the back of the writ the constable made the following report:

Boston Dec 19th 1770

I have Attached the Body of the within named John Malcom & took the Rev[d] John Moorehead as Bail for the Defdt.

EDW[d] BLAKE *Constb[l]*

Some time later, July 16, 1772, a baker, Godfrey Wainwood of Newport, brought suit for £10 for nonpayment of a bill of £2 14*s* for 262 loaves of bread. The indorsement on the writ reads tersely: "John Malcom paid the plt. as above."

II

Early in the year 1771 a new chapter in the adventures of Captain John Malcom began: he was appointed Comptroller of His Majesty's Customs at Currituck, North Carolina. He arrived, much to his delight, in time to play a vigorous part in the War of the Regulation.[2] Malcom joined the expedition led by Governor William Tryon against the Regulators. On May 15, the day before the Governor's forces came into con-

[1] Superior Court of Judicature, No. 90105.

[2] "The War of the Regulation occurring in North Carolina . . . has often been regarded as a part of the general revolutionary movement. In reality it was rather a 'peasants' revolt' against the hard conditions then prevailing; and most of the 'regulators' were tories a few years later. Professor Bassett, whose detailed article in the American Historical Association's *Reports* (1894, pp. 141–212) is by far the best study that has yet been made, says (p. 211): 'This investigation leads to the view that the Regulation could have no direct connection with the Revolution. I can see no continuity of influence. The Regulation did not make the later struggle inevitable.' Although, as Professor Bassett states, there is no direct connection between the War of the Regulation and the American Revolution, and although most of the regulators were tories, these disturbances were doubtless influential in adding to the general spirit of unrest which was rising throughout the continent." Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, III (New York, 1920), 122*n*.

tact with the enemy, Tryon's order book records the promotion of the fiery Captain. "Alamance Camp Wed. May 15th 1771. Captain Malcolm appointed an additional Aid de Camp to his Excellency with the rank and pay of a captain."[1] The next day Malcom had a chance to display his energy on a stage where two armies could watch him. The best eyewitness account is in a "Journal of the Expedition Against the Insurgents in the Western Frontier of North Carolina, Begun the 20th April, 1771."

Thursday, 16 *May*.

The Army marched soon after 7 o'clock this morning leaving the Guard for the Camp as directed in the orders yesterday. The Barrels of Flour and Pork were made use of to strengthen the Barricade formed by the Waggons.

Note.—The discharging three pieces of Artillery was the signal ordered for forming the Army into two Lines in order of Battle agreeable to the plan.

About two miles from the Camp the whole were ordered by the above signal to form the line, to see if the several Detachments knew their stations. This being performed in good order, the Lines were reduced into a column and continued their march, and before 10 O'Clock came within half a mile of the Rebels' Camp, where the Army formed in line of Battle. The Governor then sent Capt. Malcolm, one of the Aides-de-Camp, and the Sheriff of Orange, with his Letter, requiring the Rebels to lay down their Arms, surrender up their Outlawed Ringleaders, &c. . . . About half past ten Capt. Malcolm and the Sheriff returned with the Information that the Sheriff had read the Letter four several times to different Divisions of the Rebels who rejected the Terms offer'd with disdain, said they wanted no time to consider of them and with rebellious clamor called out for battle. As the Army kept moving on slowly during the absence of Capt. Malcolm and the Sheriff, when they returned the Army was within 300 yards of the Van of the Rebels, who had also advanced towards the Loyalists, waving their hats and daring them to come on. An engagement being then inevitable both Lines were ordered to advance nearer; and they even drew upon the ground upon which the Van of the Rebels first shewed themselves, the latter retreating back to their main body as the Lines advanced.

About this time the Officers petitioned the Governor for an exchange of prisoners in lieu of the two gentlemen taken over night. After some messages passing on both sides, it was agreed that all the prisoners taken by the Loyalists, (number seven) should be restored for Mr. Walker and Lieutenant Ashe. But the Rebels delaying upwards of half an hour to send back the two Gentlemen, under pretence that they were a distance in the rear, and the Governor being suspicious that they were only protracting the time that they might outwing his Flanks by the superiority of their numbers, sent them word by an Aid-de-Camp he should wait no longer for the prisoners, and cautioned the Rebels to take care of themselves, as he should immediately give the signal for action. Accordingly the Artil-

[1] *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, VIII. 583.

lery began the fire which was instantly seconded by a discharge from the whole of the first Line. The action was hot on both sides tho' the Rebels soon took to the Trees, from whence they kept up a brisk fire for near two hours, at the expiration of which time their fire slackened considerably. The Artillery was ordered to cease and the Army to advance in the best order the Circumstances would admit of. The left wing of the first line having turned upon the second line of the said wing, threw both into much disorder, tho' by the spirited behaviour of the Officers they were again brought into the Field and moved forward with the right wing. This soon drove the Enemy from the Trees and the whole Rebel Army fled in great confusion leaving behind them near 20 prisoners taken in the Field, seventy Horses with saddles, provisions and a small quantity of Ammunition.

The Army pursued not more than half a mile beyond the Field of Battle, thro' the Enemy's Camp to a House where were found in a Garret, Mr. Walker and Lieut. Ashe, who had been left to shift for themselves in the hurry of the action; the night they were taken they were stript and tied to a tree and both most severely whipt with small Hickory Sticks.

It being now half past two o'clock, the Enemy entirely dispersed and the Army five miles from Camp, it was thought advisable to lose no time, but to return immediately to the Camp to Alamance.[1]

How much Captain John enjoyed this battle can be gathered from his proud boast in his petition to George III:

I have been in the time of Peace a Cheif Aid de Camp to the Brave Governor Tryon and there we Subdued and Brought Near Seven Thousand Men to Obedience to your Majesty's Laws and Commands. In that Battle in North Carolina with the Brave Governor Tryon I had two Horses Killd under me but I Escaped that Battle in North Carolina saved your Majesty or the Nation more than one Million and Half Sterling for if Governor Tryon had not then Subdued them it would have Cost more than that to have Subdued them and Brought them to the same Obedience they was by us brought to.

The news that Captain Malcom had played such a dramatic part in the suppression of the Regulators was soon published in Boston and increased the public animosity toward him, for, as John Adams pointed out, "the Regulators were thought in Boston to be an injured people." Thus, in the popular estimation, Malcom had placed himself on the side of tyranny.

At the end of the campaign against the Regulators Governor Tryon was transferred to New York and was succeeded by Governor Josiah Martin. During the rest of the year 1771 John Malcom unscrupulously used the powers of his office as Comptroller at Currituck for his own

[1] *State Records of North Carolina*, XIX. 843–845. The expedition ended on June 21, when Governor Tryon left to sail for New York.

benefit and engaged in various malpractices and extortions. When complaints about these offences came to Governor Martin's attention, he began an investigation. By February 6, 1772, he had gathered enough evidence to write this excoriating letter to Samuel Johnston:

I am favored with your letter of the 25th of last month by Sir N. Dukenfield, & would have acknowledged its receipt by the same hand if ye time of his stay here had afforded me opportunity to consider of the offences committed by the Collector & Comptroller of the Port of Currituck, & to examine my Documents with respect to Officers of the Customs.

As Mr Pierce informed my Secretary that he was authorized by the Commissrs of His Majesty's Customs at Boston, to remove the Custom House of Currituck, I am desirous to know the latitude of their instructions to him, as well as of the Powers delegated to this hair brained Comptroller, before I proceed to extremities with them. I cannot help being of opinion that if the former has committed violence or been guilty of irregularity it has been owing to pusillanimous submission to the influence & intimidations of the Bully Drawcansir[1] Comptroller whose powers derived from the Commissrs of Customs I understand to be of very extraordinary nature & extent. I am persuaded however at ye same time that they will not justify the extortions & depredations & violence he exercises over His Majesty's subjects under colour of performing his duty, as I am that the Collectors confederacy, & participation of his inequity is equally indefensible, from whatsoever motive proceeding. That I may be fully informed of their power & authority & get to the perfect knowledge of their malpractices I have written to Mr Pierce a letter, wch I take ye liberty to transmit now through your hands, directing him forthwith to repair hither & to lay before me his Instructions & those of his Comptroller, and to answer for their conduct in the cases of wch you make complaint, that seems well supported by the Affidavits you have sent me. . . .

P.S. I shall be glad to be furnished as soon as may be convenient wh the further proofs you mention of the misconduct of Pierce & Malcom.[2]

Four months later Governor Martin suspended Malcom and on June 5 informed the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies, of his action:

Mr Malcom Comptroller of the customs for the Port of Currituck having been charged upon Oath by sundry persons of venality and corruption as well as extortion in Office, I have thought it for his Majesty's service to suspend him of which I have informed the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs at Boston and have transmitted to them the sundry depositions made of the misconduct of that officer.[3]

Lord Dartmouth, who meanwhile had succeeded Lord Hillsborough,

[1] The name of a fierce swashbuckler in the dramatic burlesque, *The Rehearsal* (1671), by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

[2] *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, IX. 236–237. [3] *Id.*, 300.

replied on November 4 expressing his doubt that the Governor had the power to suspend an officer of the Customs.

The charges exhibited against the Collector of Customs for the Port of Currituck are of a nature that certainly seemed to require that he should be suspended from the Execution of his Office; but from what I have learned of the nature of that Officer's appointment and from a comparison of it with the powers of suspension vested in you by your Instructions I very much doubt of the validity of the step you have taken and therefore cannot signify to you my commands from the King on that head until I have talked with Lord North on the subject.[1]

To this letter from Lord Dartmouth Governor Martin replied on March 31, 1773:

I must acknowledge, my Lord, that when I suspended Comptroller Malcom I had no more question that the powers vested in me by His Majesty's Royal Commission warranted such a step than that the nature of his offence demanded it, but since I have been honored with your Lordship's sentiments on that measure, and that I have reviewed my authorities as to this point more attentively, I incline to your Lordship's opinion, that if such power over the officers of the customs was designed to be given to His Majesty's Governor it does not anywhere clearly appear, except in the 25th Article of the King's Instruction relating to Trade, in the particular case of neglect or connivance, with respect to ships coming from the East Indies.

But lest I should be deemed to have exceeded my powers in that case, I have thought it proper, my Lord, since I have been favoured with your Lordship's letter to refer some complaints of no less atrocious complexion, made to me against Mr John Pierce, Collector of the same Port of Currituck, to the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs, whose authority he has set at defiance. Upon this subject I think it my duty to observe to your Lordships that if His Majesties Governors in the Colonies have not power to suspend officers of the Customs, it may be expedient to vest them with it, for if there is no controlling power over them in Provinces so remote as this is from Boston, the seat of the Board of Commissioners, great mischief may accrue to His Majesty's Service before they can interpose, as it can hardly be less than four and will be often six months before they can be informed of delinquencies here, and apply proper remedies. This measure I only mean most humbly to offer to your Lordship's consideration.[2]

Malcom, however, came north again and was made Comptroller at Falmouth (now Portland), Maine. The odor of tar is now mingled with the tang of the sea.

III

In October, 1773, the brigantine *Brothers*, John Walker master, arrived in the Sheepscut River from Cowes, Isle of Wight. Captain Walker

[1] *Id.*, 351. [2] *Id.*, 618–619.

did not have a register. The old one had been taken from him in South Carolina owing to a change in the partnership which owned the vessel, and the new one had not yet reached him. An informer notified John Malcom that Captain Walker had no register, whereupon Malcom immediately seized the vessel. A detailed narrative of this case, including a picturesque account of Malcom's activities, appeared in the *Boston Gazette*, February 14, 1774. It was signed "A Friend to the Liberties of Mankind."

Feb. 4

MESSIEURS EDES AND GILL,

In Mill's and Hicks's Gazette of Monday last, I find the following piece of intelligence, viz.

"Last Week sailed from Portsmouth, bound to White Haven, the Brigantine Brothers, John Walker, Master, who had been seized (*on account of an information given by the noted* John Malcom, *for which he in November last received a* Reward *from the Sailors at Sheepscut River*) by one of his Majesty's Vessels, and cleared by Order of the Hon. Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs."

Now that the Publick may be acquainted with that whole Procedure, I beg you will publish the following Narrative, which I doubt not will be satisfactory to the bigger part of your Readers. . . .

The Brigantine Brothers, commanded by John Walker, was owned in Whitehaven in England, by several merchants of character and fortune, one of whom sold his part to another gentleman, who thinking his property in the vessel not entirely secure, while the sellers name remained in the register; inadvertently erased the name of the gentleman of whom he purchased, and inserted his own. With the register thus altered, Capt. Walker made several voyages to Sheepscut river, loaded the said brig with timber, cleared her at the custom house at Falmouth, Casco Bay, where it was not once suggested to him that his register was in any shape irregular; but about twelve months since, Capt. Walker was ordered to South-Carolina for a freight of rice for Zealand, where having loaded his brig, he applied to the custom-house for a clearance, and the collector being absent, who had cleared his vessel with the same register on a former voyage; his deputy . . . told him that his register was forged, and refused him a clearance, and upon his replying that the legality thereof was never questioned in any office before, the said officer with some warmth tore the said register and told him to take out a new one: he answered that as he was no part owner, nor could take upon him to swear who were the owners, it was impracticable for him to obtain a new register, and therefore demanded the old one; the officer, obstinately refused to let him have it, telling him to get a new one in England or elsewhere, but finally granted him a clearance, and he proceeded on his voyage. . . . [When Captain Walker returned to Cowes, England, the owners promised to send him a new register by a vessel that was to sail soon after him. Captain Walker cleared out his brig at Cowes and sailed in ballast only for Sheepscut River, where he arrived some time in October, 1773.] Having got his vessel nearly loaded, he went to

Falmouth by land, and cleared out the brig and cargo at the custom-house there for Whitehaven. But during his absence, a dirty scoundrel at Pownalborough, a native of Whitehaven, who was under the greatest obligations to the owners of this vessel . . . had the ingratitude to send a letter fifteen miles to the—famous John Malcom, acquainting him that Capt. Walker had no register, and courting him to come over and make a seizure of the brigantine.

Malcom, without the least delay, sets out for the Informer's house, and demands a guard to protect him from insults; (he, I must beg pardon of the public for dubbing the Informer a dirty scoundrel, for in truth he holds a Captain's commission under the Governor of this province.) This informing Captain immediately orders his four serjeants to furnish themselves with such arms and ammunition as the law requires, and thus equipped, they set out to escort the great Malcom to Capt. Walker's brig, and having made the seizure he dismissed his guard; what pay they received for this very extraordinary military manoeuvre, has not transpired, but they soon became ashamed of their conduct. The heroic Malcom made a mark upon the mast, and commenced sole commander of the brig, ordered the laborers to desist from loading, heartily damned the sailors, menaced the mate, and behaved with great insolence to the gentleman who furnished the cargo, and who happened then to be on board; threatened to sheath his sword in the bowels of any one who dared dispute his authority, and in fact cut some tackling with which some timber was hoisting, by which means three or four people narrowly escaped instantaneous death. The brig's crew could not be reconciled to the treatment they received from their new commander, but soon told their grievances to about forty or fifty sailors then in the river, a council was held among the tars, and if common fame speaks true, Capt. Malcom verily received some inadequate reward.

Capt. Walker returned from Falmouth with his clearance, expecting to proceed on his voyage, but was told that his brigantine was seized by Malcom, and by him delivered to the custody of one Lieut. Mowit, commander of his Majesty's armed ship the Canceaux; Capt. Walker shewed his clearance from the office at Falmouth, and demanded his vessel, but Mowit told him, he would not deliver her unless he produced an order from the board of commissioners or from Admiral Montagu, and advised him to proceed immediately to Boston, and lay the matter before the board. . . .[1]

An account of Malcom's "inadequate reward" is given in a letter published in the *Boston Gazette* of November 15, 1773:

As I have heard it said, that a certain John Malcom was an Epitome of the whole Board of Worshipful Com——s; that they may see what special regard would be paid them, even in a remote part of the Province, were they personally present, I desire you would publish the following Extract of a Letter from Pownalborough, dated November 2, 1773.

"Yesterday about 12 o'Clock, we were saluted with three Cheers at a distance, when approaching the Window to investigate the Cause, we saw about 30 Sailors,

[1] *Boston Gazette*, February 14, 1774.

surrounding an Object which had more the appearance of the D——l, than any Human being; but in Truth it was the Infamous J——N M——M, Esq; who had render'd himself obnoxious to the Sailors by being an Informer. They surrounded Mr. Bradbury's House, where Malcom was. After a stout resistance John Irish was taken, being disarm'd of Sword, Cane, Hat & Wig, he was genteely TARR'D and FEATHER'D; then after marching thro' the Streets an Hour, was dismissed. *We hope the great Rogues, will not send a Fleet to protect him!*"

The seizure of the brigantine *Brothers* led to a bitter quarrel between Malcom and his superior, Francis Waldo, who was Collector at Falmouth. The quarrel was carried to England when three years later, in London, Captain Malcom made various charges against Waldo in a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury. Waldo, hearing of these charges, asked permission to submit the following answers.[1]

Mr Malcoms Memorial

That your Memor having received Information that the Brigantn Brothers Jo Walker Master from Holland had clandestinely landed her Cargo of Tea, Glass, Painters Colours &c at Wichcassett in the Port of Falmo in the Province of Massachusetts Bay—did in consequence of such Information Seize the sd Brigtn on or about the 21st of Octo 1773, which Seizure was made at the risque and hazard of his Life.

Answered

The Brigtn Two Brothers Jo Walker Master was owned at Whitehaven—was admitted to an Entry in the Books of the Collr & Comptroller of Falmo per Manifest on Oath from So Carolina in Ballast. At So Carolina the Officer detained the Vessells Register on account of an Interliniation of One Owner instead of another obliterated as Captn Walker declared on Oath—that Officer however permitted the Vessell to proceed on her Voyage to Falmouth—therefore Mr Malcom's ingenious Fiction of a Voyage from Holland with Tea &c is an Untruth.

Mr Malcom

That as soon as your Memor made the Seizure, the Master of the sd Brigtn set out for the Port of Falmouth & made Application to Fras Waldo Esqr Collr of that Port, who contrary to Law granted to the sd Master clearances for the sd Brigtn then under Seizure, and for what Lumber she had taken on board in order to Screen the said Brigtn from being prosecuted to Condemnation, tho the said Brigtn had no English papers either Register or Clearance when seized.

[1] Waldo's letter to the Lords of the Treasury (T.I. 525, f. 119) is dated November 21, 1776, and is addressed to John Robinson, formerly one of the Commissioners of the Customs in Boston. Waldo had come to England after the burning of Falmouth, Maine, by the British in October, 1775. In the destruction of the town he lost his dwelling house and its contents, his distill house, and his storehouse, not to mention the customhouse, which was his own property. Treasury In-letters, 525, f. 125 (Public Record Office).

Answered

This Vessell frequented the Port of Falmouth for Timber and generally came from & return'd to Whitehaven, direct—as did a Number of other British Vessells there Owned—her Register was Recorded in the Custom House Books at Falm°—her departure from S° Carolina was by permission of the Officers there—no clandestine running of Goods could be suspected from her Voyage—the Master was in no fault, but in a trade with Great Britain that claimed every encouragement & assistance that a Crown Officer could afford—above all other reasons & Motives that induced Mr Waldo & the D Comptroller to avoid a Seizure of this Vessell, was the great ferment in respect to political Matters that then prevailed in the Country, that render'd it dangerous to Exert powers that had become disputed, & the Exercise of which would tend to increase the ferment & produce riot & Insurrection—the Event shew'd the Truth of this Opinion.

Mr Malcom

That immediately upon Seizing the said Brig^tn^ your Memorialist acquainted Mr Waldo the s^d^ Coll^r^ with the grounds of doing so—but Mr Waldo instead of supporting your Mem^or^ in the Execution of his Duty, took means for preventing the Seizure being prosecuted, by furnishing papers from his Office as aforesaid, and as your Mem^or^ has been informed by some Composition the said Mr Waldo made with the said Master.

Answered

It is not true that Mr Waldo granted clearance or any Dispatches to this Vessell after he was made acquainted that Mr Malcom had seized her. And It is base & Villainous to insinuate that any Composition was Entered into between the Master & Mr Waldo—whereas he and the D Comptroller (whose Conduct in respect to this Transaction was passed upon by the Comm^ners^ of the Customs) were not chargeable with or even suspected of any undue Motives to influence them—by a prudent & temperate Conduct they Aimed to preserve peace & Quiet in the critical State that public affairs were then in.

Mr Malcom

That your Memorialist stated by Letters to the Comm^ners^ at Boston the nature of the Seizure & of an Intention there was of resqueing the said Brig^tn^ on which the Comm^ners^ applied to Cap^tn^ Mowatt of the Canso Man of War Sloop then at that Port to detain the said Brig^tn^ 'till further Orders—which was done. She was afterwards carried to Portsmouth in N. Hampshire where a Valuation was put upon her. Security was given for the amount of the said Valuation, which was afterwards Condemned to be paid by a Court of Admiralty.

Answered

The Vessell being condemned in the Court of Admiralty on the Strict Letter of the Law for being without a Register, Mr Malcom received ab^t^ £100 Sterl for his proportion of the forfeiture.

Mr Malcom

That by this Interference of Mr Waldo your Memor power as an Officer of the Customs to make Seizures became disputed, and in consequence thereof his person was exposed to the Resentment of a cruel Mob there, who Tar'd & Feather'd him, break his Sword & Cast it into a River, Extorted a promise from him never to make any more Seizures there, & otherways Illtreated him upon which I immediately went to Boston, where a second time endeavouring to do my Duty in getting the Tea landed, was barbarously & inhumanely treated, as set forth in my Memorial to his Majesty & the Lords of the Treasury—whereby your Memor was obliged to quit America, leaveing a large family behind him to receive his Sallary for their Support.

Answered

Mr Waldos Clearance being previous to his having information of Mr Malcoms Seizure—Mr Waldo is in no degree chargeable with the treatment Mr Malcom met with, nor is Mr Waldo affected by a new Matter here introduced viz. that Mr Malcom went to Boston and brought upon himself a second Taring & Feathering—he has not however assigned the true Cause of this last Misfortune, which happened some time after the India Companys Teas were destroyed, & was occasioned by his beating a Boy in the Street in such a manner as to raise a Mob.

Mr Malcom

That the sd Francis Waldo Esqr Collr of Falmouth has detained your Memor Sallary as an Officer of the Customs in said Port for near two Years to the great Distress of your Memor Family, & for no other reason that he knows of except that of Seizing the before mentioned Brigtn.

Answered

The State of Mr Waldos Office is laid before the Treasury—The Ballance of the revenue of the Port of Falmouth was left in the hands of Mr George Lyde the D Collector, who at Midsummer 1775 paid Mr Malcoms Sallary to Mr Dommett Attorney to Mrs Malcom—to what time it has been since paid to her, is not known.[1]

IV

Now comes the most melodramatic event in this tumultuous history. Malcom had returned to Boston from Falmouth and was living in his house in Cross Street, North End. Sunday, January 23, 1774, was so severely cold that Boston Harbor had frozen over. John Rowe even entered in his diary: "The Ink Freezes as I write." On Tuesday, the twenty-fifth, about two o'clock in the afternoon (as is stated in the graphic narrative in the *Massachusetts Spy* of January 27, 1774),

[1] T.I. 525, f. 117.

. . . Mr. George-Robert-Twelves Hewes was coming along Fore-Street, near Captain Ridgway's, and found the redoubted John Malcom, standing over a small boy, who was pushing a little sled before him, cursing, damning, threatning and shaking a very large cane with a very heavy ferril on it over his head. The boy at that time was perfectly quiet, notwithstanding which Malcom continued his threats of striking him, which Mr. Hewes conceiving if he struck him with that weapon he must have killed him out-right, came up to him, and said to him, Mr. Malcom, I hope you are not going to strike this boy with that stick. Malcom returned, you are an impertinent rascal, it is none of your business. Mr. Hewes then asked him, what had the child done to him. Malcom damned him and asked him if he was going to take his part? Mr. Hewes answered no further than this, that he thought it was a shame for him to strike the child with such a club as that, if he intended to strike him. Malcom on that damned Mr. Hewes, called him a vagabond, and said he would let him know he should not speak to a gentleman in the street. Mr. Hewes returned to that, he was neither a rascal nor vagabond, and though a poor man was in as good credit in town as he was. Malcom called him a liar, and said he was not, nor ever would be. Mr. Hewes retorted, be that as it will, I never was tarred nor feathered any how. On this Malcom struck him, and wounded him deeply on the forehead, so that Mr. Hewes for some time lost his senses. Capt. Godfrey, then present, interposed, and after some altercation, Malcom went home, where the people gathering round, he came out and abused them greatly, saying, you say I was tarred and feathered, and that it was not done in a proper manner, damn you let me see the man that dare do it better! I want to see it done in the new-fashioned manner. After Malcom had thus bullied the people some time, and Mr. Usher the constable had persuaded him into the house, Mrs. Malcom threw up a sash, and begged the people to go away, and Malcom came suddenly behind her and pushing his naked sword through the opening, pricked Mr. Waddel in the breast; the bone stopping its course, which would otherwise have reached his vitals. Mr. Waddel on this made a stroke at the window with his cane, and broke a square of glass, through which breach he again made a pass, and slightly wounded Mr. Waddel, who a second time returned the blow, and Malcom withdrawing the people dispersed.

Mr. Hewes after having his wound taken care of, went to Justice Quincy and took out a warrant for Malcom, and gave it to a constable, who went to Malcom's house to serve it, but found the doors shut against him, and was told by him, from a window, that he would not be taken that day, as he should be followed by a damned mob, but would surrender to-morrow afternoon. Here the matter appeared to subside, till in the evening the people being informed of the outrages he had committed, the threatnings and defiances he had uttered, and among other things, that he would split down the yankees by dozens, and receive 20/ sterling a head for every one he destroyed, they mustered and went to his house, which being barred against them, and he menacing with his loaded pistols, which he declared he would fire upon them if they came near him, they got ladders and beating in an upper window, entered the house and took him without loss of blood, and dragging him out put him on a sled, and amidst the huzzas of thousands, brought

him into King-street. Several Gentlemen endeavoured to divert the populace from their intention, alledging that he was open to the laws of the land which would undoubtedly award a reasonable satisfaction to the parties he had abused; they answered he had been an old, impudent and mischevious offender—he had joined in the murders at North-Carolina—he had seized vessels on account of sailors having a bottle or two of gin on board—he had in office, and otherwise, behaved in the most capricious, insulting and daringly abusive manner—and on every occasion discovered the most rooted enmity to this country, and the defenders of its rights—that in case they let him go they might expect a like satisfaction as they had received in the cases of Richardson and the soldiers, and the other friends of government. With these and such like arguments, together with a gentle crouding of persons not of their way of thinking out of the ring they proceeded to elevate Mr. Malcom from his sled into a cart, and stripping him to buff and breeches, gave him a modern jacket and hied him away to liberty-tree, where they proposed to him to renounce his present commission, and swear that he would never hold another inconsistent with the liberties of his country; but this he obstinately refusing, they then carted him to the gallows, passed a rope round his neck, and threw the other end over the beam as if they intended to hang him: But this manoeuvre he set at defiance. They then basted him for some time with a rope's end, and threatened to cut his ears off, and on this he complied, and they then brought him home.

See reader, the effects of a government in which the people have no confidence!

Let those who pretend to dread anarchy and confusion at length be persuaded to join in the only measure to be depended on for their prevention, viz. to put the administration into the hands of men reverenced and beloved by the people.

The same issue of the *Massachusetts Spy* contains a number of letters giving bloodthirsty anecdotes of the ferocious Captain:

Boston, 26th *January*, 1774, *three o'clock* P.M.

You may inform the public that John Malcom yesterday afternoon declared that if he should kill as many (certain) people as he could he should receive thirty pounds sterling each for them, and that in case of prosecution for the same he would repair over to the governors (meaning as the informant understood Governor Hutchinson at Milton) and he the said Governor would grant him protection.

The above informant says that she was chiding Malcom for stabbing such a pretty man as Mr. Waddel. I wish said he I had run him through the heart and killed him, and then I should have had thirty pounds sterling reward for doing it.

N.B.
A.R.

You may be assured that the difficulty the Gentlemen in Boston found in rescuing Malcom from the modern mode of punishment preparing for him last evening, in consequence of his stabbing a seaman arose from his falling into the hands of a number of sailors, from the Eastward and other parts, whom he had

so often exasperated that nothing could soften them. When they were told the law would have its course with him, they asked what course had the law taken with Preston or his soldiers, with Capt. Wilson or Richardson? And for their parts they had seen so much partiiality [*sic*] to the soldiers and customhouse officers by the present Judges, that while things remained as they were, they would, on all such occasions, take satisfaction their own way, and let them take it off.

A.Z.

A Lady of reputation in this town says, that she has heard John Malcom repeatedly declare, that he was to have one hundred pounds sterling each for eight or ten persons in this town which he should kill or take off. And added that besides that he was to be protected: The Lady asked by whom? He answered, that was best known to himself.

The same Lady seeing Capt. W. Macky passing by, said to Mr. Malcom, there goes your friend Mackay. Damn him said Malcom, I would as soon shoot him as any man in Boston.

N.B.
A.R.

Several more details of this episode are furnished by Mr. Hewes himself, whose reminiscences were published some sixty years later.

They started for Henchman's Wharf, and there took in a quantity of *tar*. . . . Thence they carted him to *Butcher's Hall*; (The popular title of the Custom House on King Street (State); thence to Shubael Hewes', who kept a butcher's-market at that period on Main Street, in a wooden house near the Old South Church, with a jutting upper story. . . . Here, as in King Street, a flagellation was tried. Then they drove to Liberty-Tree—to the gallows on the Neck—back to the Tree—to Butcher's Hall again—to Charlestown ferry—to Copp's Hill,—flogging the miserable wretch at every one of these places, if not some more. . . . Hewes states that when they left him at the door of his own house, after a four-hours' torture, the poor creature was almost frozen, and was rolled out of the cart like a log. Dr Gardiner, who met Hewes soon after, told him that it took three days to get his blood into circulation again. . . .

The assault [on Hewes] was unprovoked and outrageous; and the wound so serious that the indentation it made in his skull is as plainly perceptible to this moment [1835] as it was sixty years ago. Indeed, as the Doctor [Joseph Warren, who was a relative] told him when he dressed it, it was within one of his life. "Cousin Hewes," said he, good-humoredly, "you are the luckiest man I know of, to have such a skull—nothing else could have saved you"; and nothing else did. . . .

Nor was he accessory in any way to the disgraceful treatment which Malcom received; so far from it, that when he first heard of his miserable situation, his instant impulse was to push after the procession as fast as he could, with a *blanket* to put over his shoulders. He overtook them at his brother's house and made an effort to relieve him; but the ruffians who now had the charge of him about the cart, pushed him aside, and warned him to keep off.

Malcom recovered from his wounds, and went about as usual. "How do you do, Mr. Malcom?" said Hewes, very civilly, the next time he met him. "Your humble servant, Mr. George Robert Twelves Hewes," quoth he—touching his hat genteelly as he passed by. "Thank ye," thought Hewes, "and I am glad you have learned *better manners at last*."

Nor was that the only benefit which accrued to this unfortunate politician. The frost caused an affection which caused a considerable portion of the skin to peel off. This, with a quantity of the Tar and feathers that adhered to him, it is understood he carefully preserved, boxed up, and carried with him to England, as a testimonial of his sacrifices for the royal cause. . . .[1]

Now let us hear Malcom's own narrative of the events, dictated on January 30 as he lay in bed, and sent to Governor Hutchinson and the General Court.

> To His Excelency Thomas Hutchinson Esqr Govr &c^{a} the Honble His majestys Council, and the Honorable the House of Representatives of this Provience of the Massachusetts Bay in General Court Assembled

The Memorial of John Malcom Esqr of his Majestys Customs Most Humbly Sheweth,

That in the afternoon of the 25th Inst a Number of People assembled at the House of your memorialist in Boston and after insulting him with opprobrious Language, under a False pretence of his haveing the Same day used a Boy Ill in the Street, they Broke his windows and endeavourd forcibly to Take him out of his House, but from the Natural Opposition he made, or Some friendly Interposition they thought Proper to Desperse—

That about Eight OClock in the Evening of the same Day a vast Concourse of people again beset the House of your memorialist, Who were Armed with axes Clubs &c^{a} and Broke open the door and Windows of the Lower appartments on which he Retired to an upper Chamber to make what Deffence he Could but One Mr Russell Declareing himself to be the friend of your memorialist, Came Into the Room with all the appearances of Friendship, shook hands and at same Time Desired he might be permitted to Look at the sword of your memorialist which was the only weapon he had for his immediate Deffence, which request being granted he siezed the sword and Calling out to the people assembled as afore said, they immediately Rushed in, and by violence forced your memorialist out of the House, and Beating him with Sticks then placed him on a sled they had Prepaird and Draged him before the Custom House where they gave three Huzza's they afterwards Took him out of the sled and put him into a Cart, and Notwithstanding the severitty of the weather, Tore of his Clothes, and Tarrd and Featherd his Naked body, and in that setuation Carried him before the Provience House and ordered him to Curse The Governor and say he was an Enemy to his Country

[1] Benjamin B. Thacher, *Traits of the Tea Party; Being a Memoir of George R. T. Hewes* (New York, 1835), 130–133.

but your Memorialist Refused—from thence they prosceeded with him to Liberty-Tree so Called, where they again ordered him to Curse the governor and the board of Commissioners, and say they were Enemyes to this Countrey, and Commanded him also to Resigne his Commission; all which he Refused.

that your Memorialist asked the People what he who was their friend had Done to Desplease them, they answered he was an Enemy to the Countrey and that they would soon serve all the Custom House officers in Like manner—

that from Liberty Tree they Carryed your Memorialist to the Gallows, put Round his Neck a Rope and threatned to Hang him if he would not Do as they had before ordered him, but he still Refused Desiring and praying they would put their threats in Execution Rather than Continue their Torture, they then Took the rope off his Neck and Tying his hands Fastned him to the Gallows, and beat him with Ropes and Sticks in most savage manner, which Compeled him to Declare he would do any thing they Desired, upon which they unbound him, and obliged him to Curse the governor and the Board of Commissioners, and Declareing at the same Time they would serve the governor in the Same manner, and Extorted a promise from him to assist &c[a]

and Returning with him to Liberty Tree then they made him Repeat several oathes, among which one was that he would not Discover any of the persons then present; and Carting him through the Town stopd before the Provience House and made him Repeat the above mentioned oathes. Dureing these Transactions several Humane gentlemen at Divers Times offerd him gairments to Cover him but his Tormentors would not suffer that Indulgence, at Length they Carried y[r] memorialist to his House, in a most mizerable setuation Deprived of his senses

that your Memorialist is now Confined to his bed, in a most Deploreable and Dangerous Setuation in Consequence of the afore said Treatment,

Wherefore your memorialist most Humbly prays that your Ex[y] and Honors would be pleased To Take his unhappy Case into Consideration and Enable him To Take such measures for his Immediat Relief and procure a suitable Redress for his unparalelled wrongs as your great Wisdom shall judge Proper, and your Memorialist as in dutty shall Ever pray &c, &c, &c[a]

his

A Coppy—Signd John × Malcom

mark

Witness Present

Daniel Malcom

Mary Dodge

Certificate of the Magistrate and Resolves
of the House of Representatives
Carried over

Suffolk ss: *Boston* 30 *January* 1774

John Malcom Esq[r] personally appearing after being Duly Cautioned, made solemn Oath to the Truth of the several Facts in the foregoing Memorial by him subscribed

Cor: Joseph Gardner *Just[c] Peace*

In Council Feby the 1st 1774. Read and sent down.

In the House of Representatives 1st February 1774. Read and Ordered the Petitioner have leave to withdraw his Petition.

Sent up for Concurrence
T CUSHING *Sp^{kr}*

In Council Feby 1st 1774
Read and Concurred.
JN^{o} COTTON *D Secretary*

London 16th June 1774, a True Coppy from the original.
ISAAC MACNEIL[1]

Already, two days before this memorial was prepared, Governor Hutchinson had written his report of the episode to the Earl of Dartmouth, enclosing the account which was printed in the government paper, the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter*, January 27, 1774.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM GOV^{r} HUTCHINSON
TO THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
DATED BOSTON 28th JANUARY 1774

I met the Assembly the 26th & endeavoured to make such a Speech to them, as should shew I had no Inclination to dispute with them upon any point whatever. In general I have recommended an Exertion of Power in promoting Order.

I am sorry that I must acquaint Your Lordship with a barbarous & inhuman Act of Violence upon the Person of John Malcom the Night after the 25th instant by a great number of Rioters in the Town of Boston; Mr Malcolm is a preventive Officer from the Port of Falmouth in Casco Bay, & lately seized a Vessel in that Port for want of a Register. I have heard no Complaint of any Irregularity in this execution of his Office, but a great number of Persons in that part of the Province thought fit to punish him by tarring & feathering him, and carrying him about in Derision. As he was not stripped, and the chief Damage sustained was in his Cloaths, upon his making complaint to me I only sent for one of the principal Justices of the Peace for the County, & directed him to make Inquiry into the Affair, and to oblige such of the Actors as he should have Evidence against to find Security to answer at the next Assizes for the County, or to commit them. He has, since his being at Boston, made frequent Complaints to me of his being hooted at in the Streets for having been tarred and feathered, and being a passionate Man, I have as often cautioned him against giving way to his Passion, or making any other return than neglect and contempt. But having met with a Provocation of this sort in the Afternoon of the 25th from a Tradesman, who he says had several times before affronted him, he struck him with his Cane. The Tradesman

[1] Dartmouth MSS., Patshull House, Wolverhampton, Shropshire.

applied to Justice, who issued a Warrant to a Constable, but the Constable not being able to find him, a Mob gathered about his House in the Evening and having broke his Windows, he pushed through the broken Window with his Sword, and gave a slight Scratch with the Point to one of the Assailants; soon after which the Mob entered his House, and treated him in the manner related in the News Paper which I shall inclose. This Account is given to me by the Relations of Mr Malcolm, who are Persons of good Characters in the Town. He has for some time past been threatened by the Populace with Revenge for his free & open Declarations against the late Proceedings and has, I believe, sometimes indiscreetly provoked them, which it is pretended may be some Excuse for such an outrageous Action.

I am informed today, that altho' he is terribly bruised, it is probable he will recover. I will do every thing in my power to bring the guilty Persons to condign Punishment. I have not heard of any, except the lowest Class of People, suspected of being concerned in this Riot. The next Night there was an Attempt made to raise another Mob to search for Ebenezer Richardson, lately found guilty for Murder, but Judgment being suspended, His Majesty's Pardon was applied for & obtained. He is now in some very inferior Employment in the Service of the Customs in Pensilvania, and it is thought a Report of his being in Town was spread for the sake of raising a Mob. Some of the more considerate People appeared & opposed the Leaders in the beginning of the Affair and put a Stop to it. I am the more particular in these Accounts because I have heretofore been thought negligent in not transmitting the earliest Advice of every Attack upon the Officers of the Customs, though of the lowest Rank. The Town continuing in this State, the Friends of the Consignees of the East India Company judge it unsafe for them to appear there, tho' they are sensible that any further Compliance with the Demands of the People could not have been justified, and that the whole Proceedings with respect to them, have been unjust & tyrannical. There is no Spirit left in those who used to be Friends to Government to support them, or any others, who oppose the prevailing Power.[1]

The account in the *Massachusetts Gazette* was as follows:

Last Tuesday Afternoon as Mr. John Malcom was passing along Street, a Lad with a Sled ran by him, and the Sled hitting his Feet, he pursued the Boy with a Cane in his Hand to give him a Blow, a Person near endeavoring to persuade him from it, upon which Malcom struck the Man, and the People gathering together he got a Sword, and made several Pushes with it, and graz'd one Man in his Breast. A Warrant was issued out by a Magistrate against Malcom for a Breach of the Peace, and the Constable went to his House to apprehend him, but he had confined himself, however he went to the back of the House, and begged of the Officer to let him alone till the next Morning, as he was afraid to venture out, so many People being enraged against him.—The Officer then went away. In the Evening a Number surrounded his House, and entering found him in an upper

[1] Dartmouth MSS.

Chamber, they got a Rope and lowered him out of the Windows into a Cart which they had prepared, then tore his Cloaths off, and Tarr'd his Head and Body, and feathered him, then set him in a Chair in the Cart, and carried him through the main Street into King-Street, from thence they proceeded to Liberty-Tree, and then to the Neck as far as the Gallows, where they whipped him, beat him with Sticks and threatned to hang him; having continued under the Gallows above half an Hour, they returned in the same Manner, surrounded by a vast Concourse of People, and was carried to the extreme Part of the North-End of the Town; and returned to his own House just before Midnight: It is said he was near four Hours in the Condition above-mentioned, and that he was so benumb'd by the Coldness of the Weather and his Nakedness, and bruised in such a Manner that his Life is despaired of.

It having been reported that the noted Ebenezer Richardson, was seen in Town, a Number of People were in Pursuit of him last Evening, but could not find him.

In the issue of February 3, 1774, the *Massachusetts Gazette* corrected some errors in the earlier account.

As the Printer was not able to go out to make Enquiry into the Circumstances of tarring and feathering J. Malcom on Tuesday Night the 25th ult. there were some Mistakes in the first Part of the Account published last Week, tho' not very Material, nor designed; particularly that he was let down from the Chamber Window into the Cart, &c. Whereas the People went up a Ladder and Entered the Chamber Window, brought him down Stairs then put him into a Sled and carried him into King-Street, there they strip'd, tarred and feathered him and put him into the Cart, then proceeded as we mentioned: It is said his Bruises are not likely to prove Mortal.

The account written on January 31 by Miss Ann Hulton, sister of Henry Hulton, Commissioner of Customs at Boston, in a letter sent home to England, adds further particulars:

But the most shocking cruelty was exercised a few Nights ago, upon a poor Old Man a Tidesman one Malcolm he is reckond creasy, a quarrel was pickd wth him, he was afterward taken, & Tarrd, & featherd. Theres no Law that Knows a punishment for the greatest Crimes beyond what this is, of cruel torture. And this instance exceeds any other before it he was stript Stark naked, one of the severest cold nights this Winter, his body coverd all over with Tar, then with feathers, his arm dislocated in tearing off his cloaths, he was drag^{d} in a Cart with thousands attending, some beating him wth clubs & Knocking him out of the Cart, then in again. They gave him several severe whipings, at different parts of the Town. This Spectacle of horror & sportive cruelty was exhibited for about five hours.

The unhappy wretch they say behavd with the greatest intrepidity, & fortitude all the while. before he was taken, defended himself a long time against Numbers, & afterw^{ds} when under Torture they demanded of him to curse his Masters The

K: Govr &c which they coud not make him do, but he still cried, Curse all Traitors. They bro^{t} him to the Gallows & put a rope about his neck say^{g} they woud hang him he said he wished they woud, but that they coud not for God was above the Devil. The Doctors say that it is impossible this poor creature can live. They say his flesh comes off his back in Stakes.

It is the second time he has been Tarrd & featherd & this is look^{d} upon more to intimidate the Judges & others than a spite to the unhappy Victim tho' they owe him a Grudge for some things particul^{y} he was with Govr Tryon in the Battle with the Regulators & the Governor has declared that he was of great servise to him in that Affair, by his undaunted Spirit encountering the greatest dangers

Govr Tryon had sent him a gift of ten Guineas just before this inhuman treatment. he has a Wife & family & an Aged Father & Mother who they say saw the Spectacle wch no indifer^{t} person can mention without horror.

These few instances amongst many serve to shew the abject State of Governm^{t} & the licentiousness & barbarism of the times. There's no Majestrate that dare or will act to suppress the outrages. No person is secure there are many Objects pointed at, at this time & when once mark'd out for Vengence, their ruin is certain.[1]

A new note—that of mordant humor—was sounded in an article printed at the end of the year 1774 in several Boston papers. The story came in a dispatch from London dated October 8 and contains many picturesque and dramatic details not reported by any previous witnesses.

A Correspondent says he has been informed, by a Gentleman lately arrived from Philadelphia, that when Mr. John Malcomb, an Officer of the Customs at Boston, was leading, tarred and feathered, to the Gallows, with a Rope about his Neck, he was asked by one of the Mob whether he was not thirsty, which was natural to a Man expecting to be hanged. The unfortunate Officer of the Customs, as well as he could speak, answered yes; and immediately a large Bowl of strong Tea was put into his Hands, with Orders to drink the King's Health. Whether it was owing to Loyalty or Thirst is not material; poor Malcomb Half emptied the Bowl. He was then told he must mend his Draught, and drink the Queen's Health. Though he had done his utmost for the King, he found he must do something for the Queen; and having taken off Half the Remainder of the Bowl, he presented it back to the Persons from whom he had received it. Hold! hold! cries his Friend, you are not to forget the rest of the Royal Family; come, drink to the Prince of Wales. Replenish, replenish, cries the loyal American; and instantly poor Malcomb saw two Quarts more of what he was heartily sick of. Make Haste, cries another loyal American; you have nine more Healths to drink before you arrive at the Gallows. For God's Sake, Gentlemen, be merciful, I am ready to burst; if I drink a Drop more, I shall die. Suppose you do, cries one of the

[1] *Letters of a Loyalist Lady* (Cambridge, 1927), 70–72.

Mob, you die in a good Cause, and it is as well to be drowned as hanged, and immediately the drenching Horn was put to his Mouth, to the Health of the Bishop of Osnabrug; and, having gone through the other eight, he turned pale, shook his Head, and instantly filled the Bowl which he had just emptied. What, says the American, are you sick of the Royal Family? No, replies Malcomb, my Stomack nauseates the Tea; it rises at it like Poison. And yet, you Rascal, returns the American, your whole Fraternity at the Custom house would drench us with this Poison, and we are to have our Throats cut if it will not stay upon our Stomachs. The merciful Americans desisted, and the Procession was continued towards the Gallows.[1]

The picturesque episode thus narrated appealed to the dramatic eye of an English artist, Philip Dawe, who made a mezzotint, here reproduced, depicting the event with just that touch of sardonic humor which he had learned from his master, Hogarth. This print, published by Messrs. Sayer & Bennett, is entitled "The Bostonian's Paying the Excise-man, or Tarring & Feathering."[2]

In this cartoon Dawe displays many of the qualities of Hogarth emphasized by Charles Lamb in his essay on that artist—the quantity of thought crowded into the picture, the attention to detail, the strongly charactered faces. Here is a rapid review of the ten years of controversy, including the Stamp Act and the Boston Tea Party. Five men are forcing Malcom to drink from a teapot; one of them holds a rope which is tied round his neck. They are grouped under the Liberty Tree, from a branch of which dangles a noose. On the tree is a placard inscribed "Stamp Act," but it is turned upside down to indicate that the Act had long since been repealed. The presence of the placard calls to mind the fact that the Stamp Act was the primary cause of the quarrel between Great Britain and America. In the background, on the left, is a ship, from which masked men are emptying tea chests into the water. Malcom was not involved in the Boston Tea Party, though later in London he tried to make people believe that his punishment by the mob was the result of his performing his duties as a customs officer on that occasion.

The widespread interest in Malcom's sensational adventure is evidenced by the fact that two other prints relating to him were issued by a different publisher, Carington Bowles, one appearing nearly three weeks before Dawe's print (see illustration opposite page 454), the other some months later (see illustration opposite page 456). The earlier of these is called

[1] *Boston Evening-Post*, December 5, 1774; *Massachusetts Gazette*, December 8, 1774; *Massachusetts Spy*, December 8, 1774.

[2] The imprint reads: "London Printed for Robt Sayer & J. Bennett, Map & Printseller, No. 53, Fleet Street as the Act directs 31, Octr 1774."

The BOSTONIAN's Paying the EXCISE-MAN, or TARRING & FEATHERING

Plate I.

London Printed for Rob.t Sayer & J. Bennett, Map & Print-seller No.53 Fleet Street as the Act directs 20 Oct.r 1774

"A New Method of Macarony Making, as Practised at Boston."[1] The other has a similar title: "A New Method of Macarony Making, as Practised at Boston in North America."[2] Both carry the following explanatory verse:

> For the Custom House Officers landing the Tea,
> They Tarr'd him, and Feather'd him, just as you see,
> And they drench'd him as well both behind and before
> That he begg'd for God's sake they would drench him no more.

In the first of the Bowles prints the careful delineation of Malcom's face without comic exaggeration makes it highly probable that this is an actual portrait. Indeed, the artist would have had many opportunities to see him during the summer of 1774. The frayed end of the rope which is tied round Malcom's neck is held by the American on the right, and a broken rope is hanging from the gallows at the back. These details indicate that an attempt has been made to hang him. The man on the right wears a cockade on his hat, showing that he is one of the Sons of Liberty. The American on the left holds a large teapot and is ready to make Malcom drink. His hat is ornamented with the numerals 45, the symbol of Liberty, popular both in England and America, derived from Number 45 of the *North Briton* (April 23, 1763), in which John Wilkes had attacked the King's speech at the opening of Parliament. The title, "A New Method of Macarony Making," is a humorous allusion to the rumor that Malcom, on account of his sufferings, was to be made a King's pensioner.[3] In the language of the day the word "macarony" was applied to a fop or exquisite, and hence had become a term of contempt.[4]

Bowles's second print, a folio line engraving, shows a scene of great animation.[5] Here Malcom is in the cart which has been driven under the gallows. It will be noted at once that he is kneeling in the same position as in the other picture, but the whole figure is exactly reversed. The rope

[1] The imprint reads: "Printed for Carington Bowles, at his Map & Print Warehouse, No. 69 in St. Paul's Church Yard, London. Published as the Act directs, Oct. 12th, 1774." The print was Number 306 in Bowles's series of folio mezzotints.

[2] The imprint is the same except for the date, June 2, 1775.

[3] Two months later the *London Chronicle*, December 17, 1774, contained a news item confirming this expectation: "The Exciseman who was tarred and feathered at Boston and lately arrived in England has obtained a pension of 200£ per annum."

[4] R. T. H. Halsey, *The Boston Port Bill as Pictured by a Contemporary London Cartoonist* (New York, 1904), 93.

[5] I first became acquainted with this print through the copy of it in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia. My thanks are due to Charles L. Chandler, Esq., of Philadelphia for his kindness in securing a photograph of the print for me. I have subsequently come across a copy of the print in the Harvard College Library.

round his neck has been thrown over the crossbeam of the gallows, and the executioners stand ready to hang him. Another man in the cart is trying to induce him to resign his commission. The mob is around with clubs. All these details correspond with the facts given in the narrative of Malcom himself and by Hewes. One of a group of sailors at the foot of the cart points to the Tea Party at the right.

The fame of Captain John Malcom even spread to France. His ordeal had made such a dramatic appeal to the French people that in 1784 a representation of it (see illustration opposite page 458), engraved by F. Godefroy, with the title "John Malcom," was included in a book of engravings portraying the principal events of the American Revolution: *Recueil d'Estampes Représentant les Differents Événemens de la Guerre qui a Procuré l'Indépendance aux États Unis de l'Amérique*. Malcom is being lowered by ropes from the upper window of his house into the cart. The men in the cart are beginning to undress him, and one of them is plunging his ladle into a kettle of melted tar. The artist has forgotten, however, that this event occurred on a bitter winter night, and has introduced two ladies on the right, both of them wearing summer dresses and one of them carrying a parasol.[1]

A final account of Malcom's misfortunes to be cited is that given in John Rowe's diary.

> Jan. 25 [1774]. John Malcom having done some violence to a man with a Sword, enraged the Multitude that they Took him & put him into a Cart, Tarr'd & feathered him—carrying thro' the principal streets of This Town with a halter about him, from thence to the gallows & Returned thro' the Main Street making Great Noise & Huzzaing. I did not see the numbers attending but tis supposed by the People that did, there were upwards of twelve hundred people—tis said that Malcom behaved with Great Fortitude & Resolution. This was looked upon by me & every Sober man as an act of outrageous Violence & when several of the Inhabitants applyed to a particular Justice to Exert his Authority & suppress & they would support him in the Execution of his Duty, he Refused. B.N.[2]

While Captain Malcom was recovering from his wounds, he issued several bulletins reporting his progress. The *Boston Evening-Post* of February 14 and the *Massachusetts Spy* of February 17 printed this notice:

[1] The explanation of the scene given below the engraving is as follows: "Le 25 Janvier 1774 la populace irritée pénétra sans armes dans sa maison. Il blessa plusieurs personnes à coups d'épée: mais les Bostoniens, modérés jusques dans leur vengeance, le saisirent, le descendirent par la fenêtre dans une charrette; ensuite il fut dépouillé, goudronné, emplumé, mené sur la place publique, battu de verges, et obligé de remercier de ce qu'on ne le punisait point de mort: puis on le ramena chez lui sans autre mal."

[2] *The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, Boston Merchant, 1759–1762, 1764–1779*, Anne L. Cunningham, Editor (Boston, 1903), 261.

A New Method of MACARONY MAKING, as practised at BOSTON.

For the Custom House Officers landing the Tea.
They Tarr'd him and Feather'd him as you see
And they drench'd him as well both behind and before,
The tea tasted so sweet they would drench him no more.

Published as the Act directs 1st Nov.

Monday, February 14 *Boston*

Yesterday se'nnight the following *Note*, it is said, was sent to several Churches in this Town, viz. "John Malcom desires Prayers of the Christian People of this Congregation, that the vile abuse received on the *25* Day or Evening of January last past, from a vile rebellious Mob, without Provocation, may be sanctified to him and his Family; and that he may bless God that his Usefulness is still spared, and that he is greatly recovered from his dreadful Wounds and Bruises he then received from the bloody and cruel Hands of these cruel Mortals here below.—May God forgive them!"

A month later, March 17, the *Massachusetts Spy* gave the following grateful announcement:

Last Sunday se'nnight, the following curious note was sent to several churches in this town, and we hear was read at one of them, viz.

"John Malcom returns thanks to Almighty God, that again he is able to wait on him again in the public worship, after the cruel and barbarous usage of a cruel and barbarous savage mob in Boston, on the 25th evening of January last past confined him to house, bed and room.

March 6, 1774."

As early as February 3 someone had written a letter to the editor of the *Massachusetts Gazette* condemning the barbarous treatment of the Captain, but the editor refused to print it:

Veritas, his Observations on the Method of Punishment inflicted on J. Malcom, in a Place professing the Christian Religion, cannot be inserted. He concludes "I would have every one punished that is deserving of it. But would not have it to be said by the INDIANS, We are SAVAGES."[1]

A more remarkable protest, which is a masterpiece of irony, appeared in the *Boston Evening-Post* of April 4. There is every reason for believing that the author of this document, signed "A. Z.," was John Malcom himself. It is full of the mannerisms of style and erratic sentence structure that are displayed in petitions of a subsequent date known to have been written by him.

Messi'rs Fleets,

Pownalborough, March 26, 1774

Be pleased to insert the following in your next Paper, if possible, and you will oblige your constant Reader, A. Z.

There has of late been abundance of talk in the town, and in the public papers, relative to one *John Malcom* of Boston, being treated very ill, as some says, others says not ill enough; pray now what has he done for all this very ill treatment to

[1] *Massachusetts Gazette*, February 3, 1774.

him done in the town of Boston by his own countrymen? I will tell you the truth what he has done for it; in the first place he has when he the said Malcom was last in London, about five years ago he stood up for his town and country what he well could do in all companies, both high and middling sort of men; and in the next place he refused a Captain's Commission on the establishment from the then Lord Granby, General of the King's Army, in one of the Irish regiments then order'd out to Boston, but he refused it in order not to take up arms against his native town of Boston, this he has done for truth, and he has at three different times received the public thanks of the town of Boston by the Selectmen thereof in behalf of said town, for being a good soldier and a friend to his town & country; and has at another time, when the two Houses of Assembly was sitting in General Court, assembled with Governor Shirley at their head, he then received the public thanks of both Houses, and the Governor's thanks in behalf of his Majesty, for being a good soldier, and being the chief instrument of saving and defending Fort William Henry, now called Fort George, on the 18th day of March 1758, against the French and Indian enemy, who came there about 2500 of them, totally to destroy it, and they did destroy almost every thing about the Fort, except the said Fort, (which we bravely defended with about 300 men) this he has done under God and received the public thanks accordingly, not regarding his life for the good of this province, and had no standing pay for it at the same time for that whole affair; and he has had eleven different Commissions in the Army in this country, even from an Ensign's to a Colonel's Commission in the King and Country's service, and ever was reckoned a good soldier for his country's good; none could go further in the field of battle when the bullets flew thickest, he was then in his element, and came out of the field of battle with honour; and now last of all, he has had three different Revenue Commissions in his Majesty's Revenues in America, and what damage has he done therein, but endeavoured to guard the King's Revenue the better, that he might get the more duties from it, and to prevent prohibited goods being run into the colonies, which is a damage to all fair traders: now those are the reasons that he was treated so cruelly and inhumanly of late in Boston, no other things surely was the reason.—Oh! ungreatful inhabitants of the town of Boston to stand still and see and permit such an inhuman thing to be done in your streets, and through them carried such a man as that has been! tell it not Gath nor publish it in the streets of Askelon, least it should hereafter upbraid your consciences.

A friend to John Malcom and to the community.

A. Z.

Surely this is the fiery Captain speaking, boasting of his heroic exploits and pouring scorn on his enemies. Here are his peculiarities of expression. Here, indeed, is the identical phrase, "from an Ensign's to a Colonel's Commission," which he used later in his petition to King George. Here are many intimate biographical details of his service in the army and in the customs. Here is his personal exultation in the delight of battle: "None

Custom House Officers landing the Tea
A New Method of MACARONY MAKING,
as practised at BOSTON in NORTH AMERICA.

could go further in the field of battle when the bullets flew thickest, he was then in his element."

But does the boastful soldier boast too much? His spirited account of the defense of Fort William Henry, which lasted from March 18 to March 23, 1757 (not 1758 as stated by "A. Z."), agrees with all the facts in the official report except one—his own part in the action. Major Eyre, the commandant, in his detailed report on March 24 to the Earl of Loudoun, the commander in chief in America, says not a word about Malcom's "being the chief instrument of saving and defending" the fort.[1] Nor is there any mention of this spectacular deed in the letter from Fort William Henry, March 26, 1757, printed in the *Boston Gazette* of April 11, 1757, the *Boston Evening-Post* of the same date, and the *Boston News-Letter* of April 28, 1757. Parkman, in *Montcalm and Wolfe* (I. 417ff.), sums up Major Eyre's report and has nothing to say about Malcom. Nor has it been possible to find any record of the alleged vote of thanks by the General Court, who, incidentally, could not at the time have had Shirley "at their head," since Shirley had returned to England in October, 1756. The printed records of the Boston selectmen are equally silent about the three votes of thanks on behalf of the town. None the less, in view of the fact that Malcom's statement about his prowess at the Battle of Alamance is verified by the records, and since he did receive a captain's commission from Governor Shirley, I am quite willing to believe that Malcom was present at the defense of Fort William Henry. No doubt in later years his memory magnified his exploits in retrospect.

V

On May 2, 1774, John Malcom sailed for England as a passenger on the man-of-war *Active* to conduct in person a campaign to gain redress for his sufferings. The story of his efforts is told in a series of petitions to Lord North, to Lord Dartmouth, and even to George III himself. The King had already heard about this famous case even before Malcom's first petition was submitted. When Governor Hutchinson was received by His Majesty on July 1, King George said: "I see they threatened to pitch and feather you." Hutchinson replied: "Tar and feather, may it please Your Majesty; but I don't remember that I was threatened with it." On this, Lord Dartmouth, who was present, immediately exclaimed: "Oh yes! When Malcom was tarred and feathered the committee for tar and feathering blamed the people for doing it, because it was a punish-

[1] The complete report of Major Eyre is in the Parkman Transcripts, Massachusetts Historical Society.

ment for a higher person. We suppose you was intended."[1] Lord Dartmouth was here referring to the manifesto issued by Joyce, Junior, four days after the torture of Malcom:

Yesterday morning the following Hand-Bill was seen pasted up on the most public Places in this Town. viz.

BRETHREN, AND FELLOW-CITIZENS!

This is to Certify, That the modern Punishment lately inflicted on the ignoble JOHN MALCOM, was not done by our Order—We reserve that Method for bringing Villains of greater Consequence to a Sense of Guilt and Infamy.

JOYCE, Junr
(*Chairman of the Committee for* Tarring *and* Feathering)

If any Person should be so hardy as to tear this down, they may expect my severest Resentment. J. jun[2]

Upon arriving in London, Malcom lost little time before submitting a petition to Lord North.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD NORTH FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER OF HIS MAJESTY'S TREASURY &c. &c. &c. &c.

The Petition of John Malcom Humbly Sheweth

That your Lordships Petitioner for several Years past hath been an Officer of the Customs in America, and otherways employ'd in the Kings Service, That he hath (by a faithful execution of his Duty) suffer'd much Fatigue, and incurr'd much expence, his long Journies from Boston to North Carolina necessarily amounting to a sum considerably more than his allowance from the Crown.

That your Petitioner after returning from the Fatigue and Dangers of the expedition which he chearfully embark'd in under Governor Tryon, was again employ'd as an Officer of the Customs in the District of Falmouth, where he had made a Seizure of a Vessell laden with illicit Goods, & pursuing the Prosecution of the said Seizure, was attack'd and seiz'd by a large Mob, in Boston, from whom after the most creuel Treatment for some hours, he escap'd with his Life only, as hath been fully stated to your Lordship in a memorial the 16th June last. In consequence of this Attack, your Petitioner hath suffer'd in his House furniture and Cloaths, upwards of One hundred Fifty pounds, besides laying under the Doctors hands for Eight weeks for the recovery of his Health.

That by these services and sufferings, he hath become indebted to different People in the sum of One hundred and Ten pounds, a part of which hath come against him here, your Petitioner having been compell'd to execute a Bond payable to one Levey, a Jew, at New York, for a Judgment obtain'd against him at

[1] *The Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.*, Peter O. Hutchinson, Editor (London, 1886), I. 164.

[2] *Boston Gazette*, January 31, 1774.

Dessiné et Gravé par F. Godefroy de l'Académie Imp.le et R.le de Vienne &c

JOHN MALCOM.

Le 25 Janvier 1774 la populace irritée pécha sans armes dans sa maison. Il blessa plusieurs personnes à coups d'épée : mais les Bostoniens, modérés jusques dans leur vengeance, le sauverent, le descendirent par la fenêtre dans une charrette; ensuite il fut dépouillé, goudronné, emplumé, mené sur la place publique, battu de verges, et obligé de remercier de ce qu'on ne le punissait point de mort : puis on le ramena chez lui sans autre mal.

ORIGINE DE LA RÉVOLUTION AMÉRICAINE.

Les Provinces de la Nouvelle Angleterre, jouissant du droit de s'imposer elles-mêmes dans leurs assemblées : les officiers du gouvernement et les juges étaient nommés par le roi, mais aux gages du peuple. L'Angleterre épouvantée des besoins de finances, et voulant les faire partager aux Américains, fit paraître un bill le 4 avril 1764, et l'effet de les taxer, au mépris des chartres sur la foi desquelles les émigrants de Lancien monde s'étaient établis dans le nouveau. Cette démarche était d'autant plus inconsidérée, que pendant la guerre précédente, le ministere envoyant chaque année un mémoire des besoins publics à ses colonies, et la crédulité de ces besoins étant discutée dans leurs assemblées, les secours d'hommes et d'argent surpassaient toujours ce qu'on attendait de leurs facultés. C'est ce dont les actes de la chambre des communes font foi : ils rendent aussi témoignage que les succès de cette guerre dont l'Angleterre se glorifie sont dus presque tous au zele et à la force de ses colonies.

Après de longs débats, l'Angleterre y établit des douanes le 29 juin 1767 pour faire exécuter des prohibitions de commerce sous l'inspection de commissaires nommés et gagés par le roi. Partout on s'opposait à l'exercice de leurs fonctions, et le 18 mai 1770 la populace de Boston arrêta un commis pour avoir saisi un petit bâtiment sous prétexte de contrebande : elle le dépouilla et l'ayant barbouillé de goudron et couvert de plumes, le promena par la Ville. John Malcom, officier des douanes, fut traité de même en 1773 pour le même motif; mais on eut le ménagement de ne le point dépouiller. Ce fier mutinier ayant dit que le roi et le parlement le vengeraient bientôt de cette canaille, la multitude attendit qu'il lui fournît l'occasion de le punir avec plus de sévérité, ce qui arriva le 25 janvier 1774.

A Paris chez M.r Godefroy rue des France bourgeoise, Porte S.t Michel
Et chez M.r Pence, rue S.t Honoré N.o 19. A. P. D. R.

Quebeck, in his absence for upwards of Forty pounds, the same hath been lately put in suit, and your Petitioner, Is now in custody by reason of his inability to satisfy the same.

Your Petitioner therefore most humbly prays that your Lordship will be pleas'd to take his case into consideration, and afford him such present relief, as your Lordship in your Wisdom, and Goodness, thinks meet, and your Lordships Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

JOHN MALCOM[1]

28th *July* 1774

[*Endorsed:*] Memorial of Mr Malcolm. Rd July 31, 1774.
Read 3d Augt 1774. Nil.

The petition was followed two months later by a letter.

MY LORD

I would by no means give your Lordship Unnecessary Trouble by repeated Applications and therefore beg leave to submit to your Lordships Consideration, My Whishes to Obtain the following Employments in the Customs at the Port of Falmouth which from long Residence is become (as it were) Natural to me these Appointments will very Sufficiently compensate my Severe Sufferings in America &c. I humbly hope for your Lordships Approbation of the Proposal I flatter myself that your Lordship will think it but Reasonable, that the Loss of Property which I sustained in Consequence of the Riot in Boston to the Amount of £150 an Account of which has Already been laid before your Lordship be made good to Me; and I wou'd also solicit a Continuance in my Present Office at the Port of Falmouth as Preventive Officer the Sallary annex'd to which is £40 Anually and also that your Lordship wou'd be pleas'd (in Addition to the Above) to Appoint me surveyor and searcher at the same Port upon a like Establishment to that at the Port of Philadelphia with a Sallary of £80 pr Anum together with the Command of such a Vessel as is pointed out & Recommended to the Board by the Inspector General in his Report upon the Business of that District, with an Alowance of £80 pr Anum amounting in the whole to £200 pr Anm which I trust (after Considering my Large Family Consisting of a Wife and five Children two of whom are Unfortunately Denied the Blessing of Speech and Hearing and Consequently Dependant in a great Measure on me) your Lordship will think but a Moderate Support. The shortest sketch of the Nature & Situation of this District will be sufficient to prove the Utility and Necessity of these Appointments it extends itself about 80 Leagues along the Coast & Comprehends the finest Number of Harbours on the Continent at no greater Distance than three Leagues from each other its Situation being open to the sea ev'ry smugler comeing on that Coast may and do land their Cargoes in these Harbours without interuption. this & New London District are the Principal Ports that receive foreign Manufactures and are Places of Rendezvous for all Smugglers but particularly the Dutch and French. Thus I have Presum'd to throw myself on your Lordship

[1] T.I. 510, f. 49.

for the Means of Present as well as future Support & as I wou'd gladly be expeditious in returning to my Family and find it difficult to defray the Expences of a long Continuance in England I humbly hope your Lordship will Consider my Case and afford me such timely Aid as my Exegences May Require

I am with the Greatest Respect
My Lord
your Lordships much Obliged Obedient Servant

Westminster JOHN MALCOM[1]
14 *of Septr* 1774

While waiting for a reply to the petition and the letter, Malcom engaged in a little diversion: he stood for Parliament. He and Major Robert Rogers of the Rangers had the blithe audacity to run against John Wilkes and Serjeant Glynn, respectively, in the election of knights of the shire for the county of Middlesex. John Wilkes, the friend of Liberty, was looked up to with intense admiration by the patriots in America. Indeed, John Adams and other Sons of Liberty had addressed him in terms of glowing devotion. Wilkes had been repeatedly elected by Middlesex and, by the express orders of George III to Lord North, had been repeatedly expelled from Parliament. Public opinion was so incensed by this violation of constitutional law that the City of London had retaliated in 1770 by electing Wilkes an alderman, and in this very autumn of 1774 was to make him lord mayor. Now Wilkes was again presenting himself as a candidate for Parliament in a critical election. The King was exultant over the enactment of the Boston Port Bill, the punitive measures changing the charter of Massachusetts, and the sending of English troops to Boston. What a neat stroke of revenge and strategy on Malcom's part if he could defeat the great agitator, who was the ally of his persecutors at home and the hated opponent of the King! The manifesto announcing the candidacy of Rogers and Malcom was dated London, October 15, five days before the election. It sets forth their appeal for votes with a robust bravado that savors of the camp and the trail:

TO THE WORTHY FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

Major Rogers and Capt. Malcom, just arrived from America, being encouraged by a very numerous and respectable Body of their Friends, to offer their Services to represent you in Parliament, beg leave to solicit your votes and interest at the insuing Election: They can with Truth assert, that should they be so happy as to be made the objects of your choice, it will be their constant care to defend the rights and liberties of their fellow subjects in general, and that they will pay a particular attention to the Interests of this county. As they are credibly informed that the MOCK PATRIOTS, Mr. Wilkes, and Serjeant Glynn, are to be as-

[1] Dartmouth MSS.

sisted by a strong MINISTERIAL MOB on this occasion, they beg the favour of such of the Freeholders and Inhabitants as served with them in America, to attend with their friends on the Hustings, armed with their *tomahawks* and *scalping knives*, well sharped, in order to defend themselves against any attacks that may be made by the supporters of those two *hypocritical hirelings*.[1]

The election took place on October 20. The result is given in the following news item from London dated the same day:

This day came on at Brentford, the Election of Knights of the Shire for the county of Middlesex, Mr. Wilkes and Serjeant Glynn, the two avowed Candidates, set off about eight in the morning in the Lord Mayor's coach and six, accompanied by his Lordship and a very large train of voters in carriages and on horseback. No other Candidates appearing to oppose them, the Sheriffs declared them duly elected.[2]

Malcom and Rogers, who had thundered so loudly in the prologue, did not even show themselves at the hustings. Wilkes was elected. The force of public opinion was now so powerful that his enemies did not dare expel him from the House of Commons again, and he was allowed to take his seat. He held it until 1790. It is interesting to know that John Malcom played a part, even if a fantastic one, in this constitutional crisis.

If Captain John Malcom could not enter Parliament, he would enter St. James's Palace. Since he had received no reply from Lord North, he resolved to make a direct appeal to King George. On January 12, 1775, he attended the levee at St. James's, knelt before the King, and gave his petition into His Majesty's own hands.

To His Most Gracious Majesty, George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c, &c, &c, &c

The Petition of John Malcom a Customhouse Officer in the Boston Government in North America that so Cruelly suffered there in that Country for Nothing but being a Faithfull Officer of the Customs there for your Majesty and for Endevouring to do my Duty in some small measures as Much become Me so to do as a Faithfull Man and Officer to your Majesty as will Plainly appear by all your Majestys Good Subjects in Boston in New England and Here that was there and I Sufferd Cheifly because I would not give up your Majestys Cause and My Commission that I had in the Customhouse altho they themselves offerd Me Double the sallary I had then in your Majestys Customs there for doing the worst of Duty in the Face of all Oposition that is Doing such Duty that was Necessary to be done that No other Officer in the Customs there Dare to do that is to say the

[1] *Massachusetts Gazette*, December 8, 1774.

[2] *Id.*, December 16, 1774.

Stoping Large Quantitys of the Dutch and French East India Companys Tea from being Landed in that Government which I have often done at the Risk of My Life and Limbs, and May it Please your Majesty I have had thirteen Different Commissions in your Majestys Land Service in North America the two last French and Spanish warrs that is Past. I have Serv'd from a Ensign to a Colonel but Cheifly all My Commissions was from Governors and Commanders in Cheif of your Majestys Army so that I Never as yet had any Half Pay Alowance but was Paid only when in Actual Service and on Expeditions against the Enemys of your Majestys Countrys. I have been in all the Battles that was Fought in North America those two warrs that is Past except two and at every Place we Conquerd and Subdued our Enemys to your Majesty and Besides this I have been in the time of Peace a Cheif Aid de Camp to the Brave Governor Tryon and there we Subdued and Brought Near Seven Thousand Men to Obedience to your Majestys Laws and Commands this is not yet four years ago I was then in the Customs in North Carolina as a Comptroler of the Customs which afterwards I threw up or laid it Down. In that Battle in North Carolina with the Brave Governor Tryon I had two Horses Killd under me but I Escaped that Battle in North Carolina saved your Majesty or the Nation more than one Million and Half Sterling for if Governor Tryon had not then Subdued them it would have Cost more than that to have Subdued them and Brought them to the same Obedience they was by us brought to, and I have had four Different Deputations or Commissions in your Majestys Customs and soon Expect the fifth from the Right Honourable Lord North and I have Commanded 12 Different Merchant Vessels abroad to Different Parts of the World and some of them I have own'd Mostly Part of them but have since been Reduced or Near Next to Failing in Trade and Navigation, and also was at Boston by the Bostonians in that Cruel Mob of People Strip'd and Rob'd of upwards of £150 Sterling in My Clotheing both in the House and out of the House both Me and My wife and four Children that was with Me in the House Rob'd and Plunder'd of almost every thing we had left in the world and the House almost Torn to Peices and Destroy'd and I have Never been Paid for that Damage as yet not one Farthing. It is true I have been better than Seven Months in London waiting on your Majesty and the Right Honourable Lord North, it is true Lord North has Generously Orderd Me Cash to Support Me ever Since I have been in London and has Promised to Provide for Me for Time to Come in the Boston Goverment in New England which Suits Me Much as I have there a Wife and Five Children two of which it has Pleas'd God was Born Deaf and Dumb and ever I suppose will Remain so. Now my Good King whom I Love and am Ready to Spill my Blood for Consider all those things as Truths and Facts that I have Now set forth to your Majesty and I can Prove them all when Call'd upon, Now am not I entitled to that Honour of Kneeling and Kissing your Majestys Hand, and some small BADGE of Honour done to me by your Majesty, that I have suffer'd so Much for. I Question wether a Subject you have in the whole Realm ever suffer'd so Much and Defended your Majestys Cause so Honourably even My Life was Offer'd up for it Rather than your Majestys Honour should fall to Ground. Now will your Majesty give Orders Imedeatly

for Me to be paid the above £150 Sterling and for the Right Honourable Lord North to give Me the Place I ask'd him for and His Lordship very Readily Promised Me that I should have it for His Lordship Thought that I was very Moderate and as Little as I could Live upon and that He would not desire me to have Less Sallary than that Place was to have, it is a Gift of His Lordships in the Customs in the Boston Goverment and was as yet Never fill'd up untill His Lordship Punctually Promised it to me But His Lordship is Much Hurry'd in the Great Business of the Nation, and I am afraid has almost forgot Me a Poor but Honest Man. May it Please your Majesty I Long to be sent out to my Family in Boston and to my Business in the Customs in the Boston Goverment for if Lord North soon gives Me what He has already Promised Me I can under God do Greater Service in the Customs than ever I was able before to do, I well Know I soon will Raise the Revenue a Considerable Deal yearly more than it is so I Look to your Majesty for Answers of Peace and my small Desires and Requests Answerd as your Majesty shall Judge best and Mete for me, but I would Humbly Implore your Majesty let Me be soon sent from London to Boston in North America in the Execution of my Duty in the Customs. What I Mean in the whole is if your Majesty Thinks Proper to make me a Single Knight of the Tarr, that I was so Tarrd with for I Like the Smell of it, this will do Me Great Honour in North America and in a Great Measure Retaliate for all my Losses and Sufferings in North America. For several years Past I have been in your Majestys Customs for I have been three Times Tarrd and Featherd but one of them was Extrodinary and with Great Cruelty as ever was Known in this Lower World beyond all Humanity to me, the small Honour I Request of Your Majesty will forever Silence that Rebelious Mob of People at Boston that used Me so ill and Your Majestys Most Humble Petitioner shall as in Duty Bound for ever Pray

JOHN MALCOM

P. S. May it Please your Majesty the enclos'd is a Just Copy of what I had the Honour of Dilivering to the Right Honourable Lord North when his Lordship much approv'd of it and told me I should have it done for me Immedeately and I sent out again to North America, this is above three Months that is past and His Lordship being fill'd so Much Business of this Nation has I beleive quite forgot me at Present. I humbly Hope your Majesty will put him in mind of Me and I as a Dutyfull Subject and Petitioner shall for ever Pray

JOHN MALCOM[1]

Westminster Jan' the 12 *Day* 1775

This document is particularly important, for it is the nearest thing there is to a piece of Malcom autobiography. It is full of striking details of his variegated career on land and sea. It emphasizes his loyalty and services. But there is something more. How ingeniously he has contrived to make his sufferings seem heroic! By a stroke of dramatic skill he glori-

[1] Dartmouth MSS.

fies the tarring and feathering into a mark of distinction. With audacious pride he converts it into a badge of honor. There may be many Knights of the Garter: he asks the King to make him a "Single Knight of the Tarr"! And with a true touch of the theatre he cries: "I Like the Smell of it"!

King George, alas, was not impressed by this drama. Three weeks later, on January 31, the despairing Captain wrote an urgent letter to Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, asking him to present his petition to the King for the second time. This nobleman, the original of Richardson's Sir Charles Grandison, was known far and wide as "the good Lord Dartmouth" on account of his exemplary character and deep piety. This, be it noted, was in a period when a First Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Sandwich, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Le Despencer, were leading members of the Hell-Fire Club and notorious for their licentiousness. It is at once apparent how cleverly and adroitly Malcom throughout plays up to Dartmouth's innate rectitude and goodness of heart.

RIGHT HONORD SECETARY OF STATE FOR NORTH AMERICA

SIR

I Humbly beg of you as a Honest Man and Gentleman and a Man that fears God and as a Man of sound Religion that will Not be Byas'd by no party or Enfluenced by no party set of men, that you would Judiciously Read the whole of this Papers diliverd you and think on them as Matters of truth and facts as Comeing from a Man of truth and Real Gospel Religion from his Hearts experience and from one that can Prove them all when Call'd upon. Dear Sir Remember this and Peruse the said Papers well and Carefully thats the said Petition to His Most Gracious Majesty George the third which I had the Honor to Kneel and Give to him at St Jame's in his Majestys own Hands the 12th Day of this Instant Jan^{y}, 1775. Sir those are exact Copys of the same which I have Never Heard of since I gave them to His Majesty at St James's when the Levey Broke up. Sir I humbly beg your Lordship after you have Perused the said papers that you would Present them the second time to His Majesty My Loyal King that I have sufferd so much for in North America and if your Lordship well Can to get Me a answer of Peace from His Majesty this I Humbly beg and as a good Subject insist upon Humbly from your Lordship as a Secatary of State of the American District. Dear and Good Sir fail Me not as a Christian and as a Gentleman of Note and Character for I am Determined Not again to be befool'd between the Americans and Great Britain after what I have there sufferd in My Body and Bones besides the Loss of my Private Property Rob'd from Me in that Cruel Manner as it was. Honerd Sir this is my Resolution Before Matters is settled between both Partys to be served and Completely satisfy'd by one of them and that before it is Long I will Now Heartly and willingly Leave it to your Lordship which of the two

partys ought to pay and Satisfy me for my Damages and give me the place I now Ask for and that soon and I sent out Imedeatly to seize the Americans foreign prohibted Tea Vessels as I well know all the Continent and have been a old Commander formerly by sailing in all those parts and know their Haunts and Running Places well and Pray my Lord speak a word for me your self bothe to the King and your brother the Right Honble Lord North to have me soon sent out if your Lordship thinks in Justice to a Honest and I hope to a sincere Religious Man you Ought to do it for if you dont do it I am afraid it Never will be Done for Me so in Hopes of your Lordship speedey Help for Me I shall wait a little while longer and Shall for ever Remain your Lordships Dutyful and Hope faithfull

Servant untill Death

JOHN MALCOM[1]

Westminster
Jany 31, 1775

The breaking out of the Revolutionary War prevented Malcom's being sent back to America to search for smugglers in "their haunts and running places." He was eventually given an annuity of £100. Sometime in 1776 he resolved to present a memorial to the Treasury attacking Mr. Francis Waldo, the Collector at Falmouth, for irregularly clearing the *Brothers* in 1773. With this purpose in mind he called on Governor Hutchinson, then living in New Bond Street, to ask his assistance. How Malcom's hot temper, far from being tamed by the "Real Gospel Religion" of which he had boasted, led him to quarrel with the very man whose aid he sought is forcibly displayed by Hutchinson's narrative of the occasion in his diary:

5th [October, 1776].—John Malcolm came to me some time ago, and acquainted me he would prefer a Petition to the Treasury against Mr Waldo, Collector at Falmouth, Casco Bay, for irregularly clearing a vessel which, Malcolm being a Preventive Officer, had afterwards seized, and wch had been condemned. I asked what induced him, or he informed me, it was because Waldo did not pay his salary. I asked him what need he do more than complain of that? He said Waldo had hurt him, and he would have the whole story told. I advised him to apply to the Commiss^{r}, but he resolved to petition, and said he must appeal to me in this Petition. I discouraged him still, and he said I refused to do him justice. I told him I should be ready when called upon to answer any questions asked me. After repeatedly troubling me I saw Mr Flucker, and told him of Malcolm's design, and that it was pity to have any stir, and that Malcolm had mentioned my name in his Petition, but I knew nothing of Waldo's proceedings except in general. I had a remembrance he was charged with some irregularity. Flucker to-day told Malcolm I said I knew nothing of the affair, which bro't Malcolm to my house to enquire whether I had said so? I told him I might say so, but did not remember the words, for I knew nothing but by common fame, which was knowing

[1] Dartmouth MSS.

nothing to his purpose, for I should not be allowed to mention it. He abused me for refusing to say what he knew, and charged me with refusing to do him justice when in my power. I told him he was a very ignorant and very abusive man, and I should give myself no trouble about him. In the evening he sent me an abusive letter saying that he put my name in his Petition by my express order, and if I did not let him know by Monday [it was now Saturday] what I intended to say, he would make the world as well acquainted with my real character as he is himself. . . .

7th.—I wrote to Malcolm that a letter had been left at my house signed with his name, for the letter was not of his hand writing, nor is he capable of writing a letter which can be understood: that I should take no more notice of it *at present* than to let him know I had always advised him not to petition the Treasury, but he persisted in it, and said he should appeal to me, and he hoped I would not refuse to do him justice: that I told him I should not refuse to answer any questions their Lordships thought proper to ask me: that I had told him I knew nothing but by report, and that their Lordships would not think hearsay to be evidence.[1]

Malcom persisted in his determination to present his memorial, and, as has been seen, it brought forth a scathing reply from Waldo.[2]

In July, 1778, Malcom submitted the following petition to Lord North asking permission to return to his distressed family in Boston:

To The Right Honble Lord North and other the Right Honble Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury

The Memoriall of John Malcom Most Humbly Sheweth

That your Lordships Memorialist hath a Wife and five Children at Boston from whom he has not been able to hear for a very long time and who must be greatly Distressed by his Continuance in England.

Your Lordships Memorialist Therefore most humbly prays that your Lordships will be pleased to permit him to go over to America and to Advance him one Years Allowance in Order to enable him to relieve his family and put them as well as himself (if permitted to stay there) into some settled way of livelyhood. And your Memorialist as in Duty bound shall ever pray &^c &^c &^c

John Malcom

[*Endorsed:*] The Memorial of John Malcom July 1778.
Allowed £100 per ann. by the Treasury
Read 5 Augt 78 Agreed to.[3]

In 1780 or earlier, Captain Malcom, the man who had been "in all the Battles that was Fought in North America those two Warrs that is Past except two," was given a commission as ensign in an Independent

[1] *Hutchinson Diary*, II. 100–101. [2] See pages 440–442, above.
[3] Admiralty Office 13:79 (Public Record Office).

Company of Invalids at Plymouth, England. If his pride rebelled at this rank, he accepted the appointment, which carried £60 a year. There are muster rolls of this Company of Invalids preserved at the Public Record Office,[1] but the earliest there recorded is dated August 23, 1784.

Plymouth Citadel. Muster for 183 Days from 25 December, 1783, to 24 June, 1784:

John Watson	*Major & Captain*
Thos Maule	*Lieutenant*
John Malcom	*Ensign*

There were four sergeants, four corporals, two drummers, and twenty-six effective private men.

In April, 1782, when Malcom learned that an order had been given for stopping the further payment of the pensions allowed to American Loyalists, he dispatched a vigorous petition to the Marquess of Rockingham, who had just succeeded Lord North as Prime Minister. Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown the previous October, Lord North had resigned, and Rockingham and the Whigs had taken office for the purpose of making peace by acknowledging the independence of the United States. It was a dark day for the American Loyalists.

To the Most Honorable Charles Marquis of Rockingham, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, first Lord Commissioner for Executing the Office of Treasurer of His Majesty's Exchequer &c &c &c.

The Memorial of John Malcom Ensign of Invalids at Plymouth, Most humbly Sheweth.

That Your Lordship's Memorialist was Surveyor of the Customs in all the Ports of America, and resided at Boston at the time of the destruction of the Tea belonging to the East India Company, and at which Time of Publick Riot Commotion and Disorder Your Lordship's Memorialist suffered from the Rage and Violence of the People of Boston, the Infamy and Punishment of being carried to the Gallows with a Halter about his Neck, and there tarred and feathered, with other Acts of Personal Abuse, under Circumstances of such Savage Barbarity and Merciless Cruelty, as is superior to all description, and as manifestly endangered his Life for many Weeks after.

That Your Lordship's Memorialist was wholly deprived of his Property, leaving Your Lordship's Memorialist, his Wife and five Children, plundered and despoiled by the Mob of their Cloaths, and in a State of the most piteous Wretchedness and Indigence.

That your Lordship's Memorialist thus Circumstanced availed himself of the first Opportunity of returning to England, where, He formerly, under the Aus-

[1] War Office 12:11616 (Public Record Office).

pices of his Grace the Duke of Grafton had been appointed to an Office in His Majesty's Customs.

That your Lordship's Memorialist on his Arrival in England and making Representations of his Losses and Sufferings was allowed an Annuity of One hundred pounds per Annum, and your Lordship's Memorialist having been informed that an Order has been given for Stopping the further payment of the Pensions allowed to American Loyalists.

Your Lordship's Memorialist most humbly prays that under the very singular Situation of himself and Family, and his peculiar and unexampled[1] Sufferings, his small Annuity may not only be allowed at present, but that your Lordship in your great Beneficence and Goodness would be pleased to Order that the same be continued to Your Lordship's Memorialist for the Short Remainder of his Life for the Support of himself and helpless Family

And Your Lordship's Memorialist as in duty bound will ever pray &c. &c. &c.

JOHN MALCOM
Ensinge of Envaleds Inn
Plimouth Garson

London 13th *April* 1782

[*Endorsed:*] The Memorial of John Malcom Gent. who has £100 per Ann. as an American Sufferer and desires it may be continued during his life.

Read 4 Nov. 1782
Attended hereon.[2]

Malcom's case was carefully reviewed by the Commissioners on American Loyalist Claims. His attendance before them was requested for the purpose of giving testimony, and he made the journey of 244 miles from Plymouth to London, which, as he told the Commissioners later, cost him "between 11 and 12 Pounds." The results of the investigation and the decision of the Commissioners are recorded as follows:[3]

Very ill treated by the Rebels in the presence of Mr Harrison Gray, lost about 200£ or 300£ Sterling, has had 3 Capts Commissions under Genl Shirley & Genl Tryon. Is now an Ensign of Invalids at Plymouth, has a Wife & 5 Children, 2 Deaf & Dumb, constantly remits money to his Family abroad, Does expect to be a Lieutt wch is 20£ a year more, has been with Invalids only two Years, Had 120£ per Ann before he had his Commn. If he could get a Capts Commn he shod be glad to give up his Sallary. Refers to Mr Murry, Mr Flucker, and Mr Hallowell. Does not do Duty at present, Major Watson is the Capt of his Compy, lives near Plymouth, all his Family are in America, as Mr Malcolm says that he ought to be made Leiutt recommended to apply to Genl Conway & to let us

[1] The word in the original is *unexempted.* [2] A.O.13:75.

[3] Malcom's case is entered under the head of "Persons receiving Allowances under a General Minute of the Board dated the day of but whose Claims are not set forth by Memorial or supported by Voucher." He is put down as having a "present allowance" of £100, and his "profession" is given as surveyor of the customs.

know the fate of his application. No Certificates being annexed to Mr Malcolm's Memorial, He was desired to refer to persons of Character for the truth of his Case, & he mentioned John Murray Esqre Mr Harrison Gray, & Mr Hallowell. He said he knew Mr Flucker, but seem'd unwilling that he should be asked, as he said they had had some Disputes. Mr Flucker attended & says, that if this Man had not been tarrd & featherd he would have had no Claim at all to the Bounty of Govern^{t}. Sir Wm Pepperell speaks of his being tarrd & featherd, & used very cruelly. At the time Mr Malcolm was ill treated, He admits that he had very little Income besides the place in the Customs wch was 50£ a year. He came to England in May 1774, at first he had 20£ every two Months, afterwards he had 100£ a year. He told Lord North, he could live very well upon 100£ a Year. His Comm^{n} is 52 Guineas a Year besides Arrears.

Decision

It appears to us that this Gentleman had very little property in America, & that he is now an Ensign of Invalids at Plymouth, wch is 60£ a year. However he appears to have a Claim upon Government for the uncommon ill treatment which he sufferd being the first Man who was tarrd & featherd & escaping narrowly with his Life. We think his present Allowance much too great, as it puts him in a much better Situation than he was ever in America. However in Consideration of his Sufferings & more particularly because he appears to us to be in some degree insane, We think that in addition to his pay as Ensign of Invalids, he should have an Allowance of 60£ a year.

Ex^{d}[1]

The last document from John Malcom's hand is a frantic letter to the Commissioners written on February 27, 1783, when his quarter's salary due the fifth of January failed to arrive:

Plymouth Garison 27th *Feb^{y}* 1783

Gentlemen

I now take the liberty to write to you to inform you that I have not yet receiv'd my Quarters Salary which was due to me the 5th day of January last.

Pray Gentlemen what is the reason of it? I can't but much wonder at it. I hope it is not thro' your means or if it should be so pray let me know of it immediately that I may go in Person to my Gracious Sovereign King George the third now on the Throne of this Realm for whom I suffered so much in the Continent of North America and there lost my all in this World, which was a very handsome genteel Estate and there became a Bankrupt for my good King and this Country's Sake. And pray, shall I now be left forsaken by my King and this Government? for yet I hear nothing of my promotion in the Invalids at this or any other place in old England. Pray Gentlemen consider my doleful Situation and my helpless Family now abroad and that I now daily expect to arrive in Old England. O! pray then what shall I do with them, or my Self much longer for we cannot live on the

[1] A.O.12:105, f. 141.

Ensigns Pay; So for Gods! Sake Gentlemen consider of it and soon get me supplied with some Cash from the Government or I shall be in a doleful Case indeed.

I should be much obliged to you Gentlemen for a few of your Franks to frank Letters to London—Old Mr Bandsly at the Kings Treasury will prepare you the Paper and the proper Directions, for I have sent to him for that purpose—So Gentlemen Expecting to hear from you soon on this head I at present rest and remain Gentlemen

Your most Humble
and most Obedient Servant
at Command
JOHN MALCOM

P. S.

GENTLEMEN

You well know when you writ to me last I immediately went to London to wait on you at your Command And that Journey of 244 Miles from hence cost me between 11 and 12 Pounds but I hope you will soon make it up to me

I am yours to
Sarvise
J. MALCOM[1]

There is a cry of anguish here which stirs one's pity.

The dreary years of exile dragged along. Malcom was not required to be on duty at the citadel or take part in the activities of the garrison, but he lived in or near Plymouth. He never received the promotion to a lieutenancy or captaincy which he had so ardently hoped for. When a vacancy occurred in the command of his company, another officer, Major John Hatfield, was appointed. The muster roll of the Independent Company of Invalids[2] was made up at the end of every six months, the first recorded roll running to June 24, 1784. On the second roll—for 183 days, from June 25 to December 24, 1784—John Malcom's name is marked with the word "Respite" (meaning absent). The same note appears on the next roll. On the fourth roll—for 183 days, from June 25 to December 24, 1785—the entry is: "John Malcom Ensign King's Leave 12 Months from 13 May." During the years 1786, 1787, and 1788 five more muster rolls repeat the record: "King's Leave 12 Months." On the tenth roll, ending December 24, 1788, the entry after his name is changed to "Respited." The long exile of fifteen years had come to an end: John Malcom died November 23, 1788.

Two and a half years later, his widow Sarah, who was still living in Boston, applied to His Majesty's Government for a pension. The following affidavits attesting to the facts were presented in support of her appeal:

We do hereby Certify to the best of our Knowledge, that Sarah Malcom was the Real Wife of John Malcom late an Ensign in the Independent Company of

[1] A.O.13:75. [2] W.O.12:11616.

Invalids at Plymouth commanded by Major Hatfield who died on full Pay the 23rd day of November, 1788. And left the said Sarah Malcom and two Children wholly unprovided for. Wherefore We humbly recommend her, as an Object of his Majesty's Royal Bounty and Compassion. Given under our Hands this sixteenth Day of March 1792.

Jno Hatfield *Major in the Army &*
Captain of a Independant Compy of Invalides

Phipps S. Bernard

Mrs Sarah Malcom came this Day before me, and made Oath that she was lawfully married to John Malcom late an Ensign in the Independent Company of Invalids commanded by Major Hatfield and ever since his Decease she has continued a Widow, and is so at this present Time; and that she has no other Pension, Allowance, or Provision made her by the Government, either in Great-Britain or Ireland, without the Pension she hopes to receive by his Majesty's Bounty.

Sarah Malcom

Commonwealth of Massachusetts } Suffolk ss. *Boston Apr.* 11, 1791

Sworn before me
Joseph Gardner
Justice of the Peace[1]

The flaming temper flamed no more. The ungovernable rage which had plunged John Malcom into quarrels with his brother Daniel, his fellow officers, Governor Hutchinson, the boy with the sled, Mr. George Hewes, and many others could do him no more harm. His life was tumultuous with adventures—voyages, storms, battles, conflicts with smugglers, feuds, quarrels, lawsuits, desperate efforts to obtain redress, a dazzling moment at St. James's with George III, mob violence, and the frightful torture of being tarred and feathered and flogged on a night of perishing cold. A storm-tossed mariner, he had "Commanded 12 Different Merchant Vessels abroad to Different Parts of the World." A valiant soldier, "none could go further in the field of battle when the bullets flew thickest, he was then in his element." He had "been in all the Battles that was fought in North America" in the French and Indian War, "except two"; and had had two horses killed under him in the Battle of Alamance.

Fifteen long years he had spent in exile, separated from his wife and children and his home. As day after day he paced along Plymouth Hoe and looked out over the blue waters westward, he was not thinking of Drake and the Spanish galleons but of the Outer Brewster, and the tall

[1] W.O.25:3101.

shaft of Boston Light, and Deer Island, and Nix's Mate, and Castle Island with its citadel, and Governor's Island, and the beacon on the hill, and the welcoming arm of Long Wharf, and the royal bravery of the lion and the unicorn rampant on the Town House, and the grasshopper whirling in the breeze on top of Faneuil Hall.

POSTSCRIPT

It was only the gracious coöperation of the late Earl of Dartmouth that made possible the preparation of such an extensive and detailed account of the adventures of Captain John Malcom as I have given, and I wish to record my gratitude for his generous assistance in allowing me to have copied and now to print for the first time the various memorials and petitions of John Malcom in his possession. These documents include Malcom's own narrative of his tarring and feathering, his petition to George III, which contains a good deal of autobiography, and his petitions to Lord North, Lord Dartmouth, and Lord Rockingham.

William Heneage Legge, the sixth Earl of Dartmouth (1851–1936), had inherited the state papers of his ancestor, the second Earl (1731–1801), who was Secretary of State for the Colonies in Lord North's ministry. It had been the custom for several turbulent centuries for ministers of state, when retiring, to take official documents to their own houses to guard them from the prying eyes of their rivals or political opponents. The comprehensive Dartmouth Collection is preserved at Patshull House, Shropshire, carefully catalogued and kept in a large modern safe deposit vault specially built for the purpose by the late Earl. A letter of introduction from my friend, Mr. Allen French, who had enjoyed a sojourn at Patshull House photographing many documents for his *First Year of the American Revolution*, brought me an invitation to come there. Another friend, Dr. Robin Flower, Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, kindly supplied me with a statement from the Museum promising to safeguard and return any manuscripts entrusted to its care.

I arrived early in the forenoon, anticipating a long day of copying. The vault at Patshull House was, I found, actually a room lined with shelves heaped high with documents—a treasure room of American history. Lord Dartmouth was proud of this collection and had taken great pains in arranging the documents chronologically in folders. When we returned to the library with the Malcom papers, his Lordship was keenly interested in the story they revealed. As I was preparing to copy them, I rather wistfully mentioned the fact that the British Museum had offered to make photostat copies, and showed him the official form signed by Dr. Flower.

Then came a dramatic moment. Lord Dartmouth said: "Why don't you take the papers with you when you go, if you would be so kind? Then that would save all the trouble and delay of wrapping them up securely and sending them to the Museum by mail. Won't you take them?" Would I take them? I was overwhelmed. This expression of generosity was a burst of sunshine: it banished hours of labor and gave me instead a day of English hospitality, English charm, and English friendship. And when, later, after tea in the garden, the time came to say good-bye, and I took my reluctant departure for London, I carried with me the precious documents of John Malcom.

Annual Meeting

November, 1941

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Thursday, November 27, 1941, at a quarter after seven o'clock in the evening, Vice-President FRED TARBELL FIELD in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on July 23, 1941, of GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, senior Resident Member of the Society, and that on August 18, 1941, of CHARLES HENRY TAYLOR, a Resident Member.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Mr. GEORGE LEE HASKINS, accepting his election to Resident Membership in the Society, and from Mr. MICHAEL JOSEPH WALSH, accepting his election to Associate Membership.

Mr. EDWARD KENNARD RAND of Cambridge was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Dr. JAMES L. HUNTINGTON.

Report of the Council

SINCE the last Annual Meeting the Society has had, as usual, three stated Meetings: in December, at the house of Mr. Augustus P. Loring, Jr.; in February, on the invitation of Mr. Samuel E. Morison, at the Club of Odd Volumes; and in April, when we were entertained by Mr. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., at the Signet Club, Cambridge. The papers were interesting, and the attendance about the same as in previous years.

The Society has elected the following members:

Resident:

HARRY ANDREW WRIGHT
WILLIAM ROBERTS CARLTON
STEPHEN PHILLIPS

Elliott Perkins
George Lee Haskins

Associate:

Michael Joseph Walsh

Corresponding:

Lincoln Colcord
Thomas Herbert Johnson
William Gurdon Saltonstall

During the past year the Society has lost from its rolls by death five members:

Samuel Henshaw, Resident, 1915, died February 5, 1941. A trained entomologist, he was first Librarian, then Director of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Harvard University from 1910 to 1927. In the early days of baseball he was an outstanding player. He was deeply interested in this Society, as is clearly shown by his generous legacy.

Charles Rockwell Lanman, Resident, 1919, died February 20, 1941. He was one of the world's greatest authorities on Oriental literature and taught Sanskrit at Johns Hopkins before coming to Harvard sixty years ago. Deep scholar and prolific writer, he was also a famous oarsman, rowing, until long after his eightieth birthday, almost every day that the Charles River offered open water.

Worthington Chauncey Ford, a Resident Member from 1909 to 1932, a Corresponding Member from 1932 until his death on March 7, 1941. Originally a statistician, he became a distinguished historian and a gifted editor. His reputation, gained primarily as Chief of the Division of Manuscripts at the Library of Congress and as Editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society, will long endure.

George Lyman Kittredge, Resident, 1893, senior Resident Member, President of the Society from 1900 to 1907, died July 23, 1941. Author of many books, he was a generous contributor to the *Transactions* of this Society. One of the greatest teachers of his time, he was for fifty-three years a member of the Harvard Faculty. As the world's greatest Shakespearian scholar he was honored both here and abroad.

Charles Henry Taylor, Resident, 1938, died August 18, 1941. He was widely known as a newspaper publisher, and to many the *Boston Globe* was Charles Taylor. He was a great student as well as a collector of rare books and objects of art.

As in recent years, the Society has continued its support of the *New England Quarterly*. This year, furthermore, as a fitting memorial to our former Vice-President, Matt Bushnell Jones, gifts were made to the

Harvard College Library and to the Massachusetts Historical Society for the purchase of volumes from his library of Americana.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 14, 1941.

Statement of Assets and Funds, November 14, 1941

ASSETS

Cash:		
Income	$12,021.87	
Loan to Principal	*10,809.18*	$1,212.69
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $96,465.00)	$91,110.64	
Stocks (Market Value $45,871.25)	55,282.19	
Mortgages	3,500.00	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,000.00	152,892.83
Total Assets		$154,105.52

FUNDS

Funds	$141,583.65
Unexpended Income	12,521.87
Total Funds	$154,105.52

Investments as of November 14, 1941

BONDS	*Book Value*
$5,000 Bell Telephone Company of Canada First 5's, Series B, 1957	$4,062.50
5,000 Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 5's, 1944	3,872.50
4,000 Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952	3,810.62
5,000 Community Public Service Company First 4's, 1964	5,137.50
5,000 Consolidated Oil Company Convertible Debenture 3½'s, 1951	5,169.62
5,000 Continental Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, Series A, 1958	4,663.28
5,000 Iowa Southern Utilities Company General Mortgage 4½'s, 1950	5,050.00

$5,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie Railway Company First and Refunding 6's, Series A, 1946	$250.00	
5,000 Montana Power Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, 1966	5,125.87	
5,000 Northwestern Public Service Company First 4's, 1970	5,168.75	
5,000 Public Service Company of Indiana First 4's, Series A, 1969	5,325.00	
5,000 Public Service Company of New Hampshire First 3¼'s, Series F, 1966	5,148.75	
5,000 Scranton Gas and Water Company First 4½'s, 1958	5,068.75	
5,000 Texas Electric Service Company First 5's, 1960	4,437.50	
8,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, October 1, 1949	6,240.00	
2,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, November 1, 1949	1,560.00	
5,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, January 1, 1950	3,850.00	
5,000 United States Savings Bonds, Series D, March 1, 1950	3,850.00	
10,000 United States Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, July 1, 1953	7,400.00	
8,000 United States Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, September 1, 1953	5,920.00	
Total Bonds		$91,110.64

STOCKS	*Book Value*
50 shares American Telephone and Telegraph Company	$8,534.13
3 shares Christiana Securities Company	8,295.00
100 shares Electric Bond and Share Company $6.00 Preferred	10,600.00
50 shares First National Bank of Boston	1,750.00
1 share First National Bank of the City of New York	1,544.81
240 shares General Electric Company Common	5,719.50
50 shares Insurance Company of North America	1,963.75
40 shares Radio Corporation of America Common	0.
100 shares State Street Investment Corporation	7,900.00
5 shares Travelers Insurance Company	2,225.00

100 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation Prior Preference 50 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation Junior Preference 100 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation Common	$6,750.00	
TOTAL STOCKS		$55,282.19
First Mortgages on improved property in Boston	$3,500.00	
Deposit in Warren Institution for Savings	3,000.00	6,500.00
TOTAL INVESTMENTS		$152,892.83

COMPOSITION OF FUNDS, NOVEMBER 14, 1941

Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications	$10,000.00
General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees added to Principal, Gains on Sales of Securities, etc. Income only to be used for Current Expense	20,113.04
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. Income only to be used	10,000.00
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restriction as to use	20,000.00
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under the will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	2,000.00
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	30,000.00
Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund, established in 1923 under the will of Henry H. Edes as the "Henry H. Edes Bequest" to accumulate until it reached the sum of $3,000 when it would become a permanent fund to be known as the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	3,000.00

Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, established by sundry subscriptions from 1923 to 1925. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $10,000. Income only to be used for Publications	$7,170.61
George Nixon Black Fund, established in 1929 under his will without restrictions as to use	10,000.00
Commutation Fund, established by crediting all commutations received from 1893 to date. Income to be used for Current Expense	8,300.00
Total Funds	$141,583.65

Changes in Principal of Funds

Total Funds, November 14, 1940		$137,002.14
Add—Additions to Special Funds:		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund	$306.15	
Commutation Fund, commutations received from 1893 to date	8,300.00	8,606.15
Add—Additions to General Fund:		
Admission Fees	$60.00	
Profit from Sale of Securities:		
$5,000 New York State Electric and Gas Corporation First 4½'s, 1980	304.22	
5,000 Remington-Rand, Inc., w. w., Debenture 4¼'s, 1956	186.72	
1,000 Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952	81.42	
50 shares E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company	5,457.03	6,089.39
		$151,697.68
Deduct—Charges to General Fund:		
Loss from Sale of Securities:		
50 shares Consolidated Edison Company of New York Common	$1,914.03	
Commutations received from 1893 to November 14, 1940, credited to General Fund, now credited to Commutation Fund	8,200.00	10,114.03
Total Funds, November 14, 1941		$141,583.65

Income Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Balance, November 14, 1940	$12,624.33

RECEIPTS:		
Interest	$3,617.31	
Dividends	2,884.50	
Annual Assessments	810.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	190.20	$7,502.01
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF INCOME		$20,126.34
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Harvard College Library[1]	$2,000.00	
Massachusetts Historical Society[1]	500.00	
New England Quarterly	2,000.00	
New England Quarterly Index	500.00	
Editor's Salary	1,000.00	
Annual Dinner	522.27	
Publications, Volume 34	3.75	
Storage on Stock	300.76	
Secretarial Expense	450.00	
Auditing Services	125.00	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	45.00	
Postage, Office Supplies, and Miscellaneous	96.62	
Rent of Safe Deposit Box	22.20	
Insurance	128.10	
Printing Poem by Robert Frost	104.62	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund added to Principal	306.15	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF INCOME		8,104.47
BALANCE OF INCOME, NOVEMBER 14, 1941		$12,021.87

PRINCIPAL CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Loan to Principal, November 14, 1940		*$10,358.16*
RECEIPTS:		
$5,000 New York State Electric and Gas Corporation First 4½'s, 1980, called at 102	$5,100.00	
5,000 Remington-Rand, Inc. w. w., Debenture 4¼'s, 1956, called at 104	5,200.00	
1,000 Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952	1,034.08	
50 shares Consolidated Edison Company of New York Common	1,163.47	
50 shares E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company	8,140.78	

[1] To purchase certain books from the Matt B. Jones collection as a memorial to Mr. Jones.

50 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation 7% Preferred "A," exchanged for: 100 shares Prior Preference 50 shares Junior Preference 50 shares Common		
50 rights American Telephone and Telegraph Company	$59.50	
Admission Fees	60.00	
Commutation Fee	100.00	
Transferred from Income to Principal:		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund Income	306.15	
Total Receipts of Principal		$21,163.98
		$10,805.82
DISBURSEMENTS:		
$10,000 United States Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, July 1, 1953	$7,400.00	
8,000 United States Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, September 1, 1953	5,920.00	
3 shares Christiana Securities Company	8,295.00	
Total Disbursements of Principal		21,615.00
Loan to Principal, November 14, 1941		*$10,809.18*

James M. Hunnewell
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended November 14, 1941, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the New England Trust Company.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

Stephen W. Phillips
Hermann F. Clarke
Auditing Committee

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers

for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK
Vice-Presidents Hon. FRED TARBELL FIELD
Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT
Recording Secretary AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.
Corresponding Secretary Dr. JAMES LINCOLN HUNTINGTON
Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL
Registrar ROBERT DICKSON WESTON
Member of the Council for Three Years WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were the Reverend Gardiner M. Day, Mr. John C. Goodbody, Mr. Robert Hillyer, Mr. William H. McCarthy, Jr., and Mr. David T. Pottinger.

After the dinner Mr. Robert Hillyer read some of his poems, and Mr. Howard M. Jones spoke on "Irish Backgrounds of Colonial Enterprise."[1]

[1] Printed in substance as "Origins of the Colonial Idea in England," *Proceedings*, American Philosophical Society, LXXXV (September 30, 1942), 448–465.

December Meeting, 1941

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 18, 1941, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death of HOWARD JUDSON HALL, a Corresponding Member, on December 14, 1941.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. EDWARD KENNARD RAND accepting his election to Honorary Membership in the Society.

Mr. GEORGE L. HASKINS read the following paper:

Gavelkind

and the Charter of Massachusetts Bay

THE provision in the Massachusetts Bay Company charter of 1629 as to how the land shall be held is familiar to colonial historians. The territories included in the grant are to be held of the King, as of the manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent, "in free and common Socage, and not in Capite, nor by Knights Service; AND ALSO YEILDING and paying therefore to Vs, our Heires and Successors, the fifte Parte onlie of all Oare of Gould and Silver, which . . . shalbe there . . . obteyned, for all Services, Exaccons, and Demaundes whatsoever. . . ."[1] Almost the identical clause appears in the Province charter of 1691,[2] and it is also found in contemporary New England grants.[3] Accordingly, interest has long attached to it on the part of antiquarians and lawyers. Its meaning, however, has never been agreed upon, so that a fresh consideration of the problems involved is not out of place.

The general import of the provision is clear. It contemplates a tenurial relationship between the King and the colony, and land is to be held in free and common socage. Tenure was inevitable, for no land of the King,

[1] Francis N. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions* (Washington, 1909), III. 1849.

[2] *Id.*, 1870, 1877.

[3] New England Council, *id.*, 1827, 1834; Maine, *id.*, 1625, 1627; Connecticut, *id.*, I. 529, 536; Rhode Island, *id.*, VI. 3211, 3221.

wherever found, could be conceived of outside the traditional tenurial scheme of the English land law. Tenure in socage was chosen as being the most usual form of tenure at that time in England;[1] it was "in free and common Socage, and not in Capite, nor by Knights Service" because that was, for the colonists, the most desirable form of socage tenure. To it attached none of the feudal incidents, like marriage, wardship, primer seisin, livery, and license to alien, which attached to socage *in capite* or to knight's-service.[2]

While this general aspect of tenure in the charter has not always been appreciated, the real stumbling block has usually proved to be the reference to the manor of East Greenwich. Opinion as to its meaning has always been sharply divided, some thinking the phrase "whimsical,"[3] others that it was empty and meaningless so far as the colonists were concerned.[4] A by no means voiceless majority have vigorously contended that land in Massachusetts (and in other colonies as well) was attached to the Kentish manor for the express purpose of making gavelkind an incident of the tenure.[5] They reached this conclusion because there was in England a general presumption at common law that gavelkind was a custom which attached to all lands anywhere in Kent.[6] Since the manor of East Greenwich was in Kent, it was thought to follow that the custom obtained in that manor. Hence the conclusion seemed inescapable that if land in the New England colonies were granted "as of the manor of East Greenwich," the charters established gavelkind as an incident of the socage tenure.[7]

[1] See the Introduction by Charles M. Andrews in Beverly W. Bond, *The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies* (New Haven, 1919), 14–17.

[2] *Lyttleton, His Treatise of Tenures*, Thomas E. Tomlins, Editor (London, 1841), 153; Melville Egleston, *The Land System of the New England Colonies* (Baltimore, 1886), 14. Other reasons are suggested in Viola Barnes, "Land Tenure in English Colonial Charters of the Seventeenth Century," *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews* (New Haven, 1931), 4–40; George L. Haskins, "The Beginnings of the Recording System in Massachusetts," *Boston University Law Review*, XXI (April, 1941), 299–302.

[3] Cf. Charles H. Atherton, "Address," *Collections*, New Hampshire Historical Society, III. 153, 156–157.

[4] Cf. Edward P. Cheyney, "The Manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent," *American Historical Review*, XI (October, 1905), 29–35.

[5] A partial list of these writers may be found in Richard B. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law* (New York, 1930), 106, *n.* 2.

[6] "Fuit agrée per touts que si terre soit alledge d'estre en Kent, serra presume d'estre Gavelkind, si non que le contrary soit prove." *Browne* v. *Brokes* (1659), 2 Siderfin, 153. "Touts terres in Kent sont suppose destre Gavelkind." *Wiseman* v. *Cotten* (1661), 1 Siderfin, 135, 138. See also *Robinson on Gavelkind*, Charles I. Elton and H. J. H. Mackay, Editors (London, 1897), 44. Cf. Lord Hale's opinion in *Randall* v. *Writtall* (1673), 3 Keble, 214, 216.

[7] It should be pointed out that, contrary to the opinion of some, gavelkind was fre-

Now gavelkind, as is well known, is the name given to a custom of land tenure, the chief peculiarity of which is the mode of descent. Instead of descending to the eldest son, the lands of a deceased proprietor were divided equally among all the sons. This might mean physical division, or it might mean that the lands were held jointly by the sons as a group of coheirs living in common.[1] What has seemed to some people to reinforce the "gavelkind theory" is the fact that from an early date partible inheritance existed in the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. In 1627 Isaak de Rasieres, then Acting Secretary of New Netherland, visited Plymouth[2] and observed that "in inheritances they place all the children in one degree, only the eldest son has an acknowledgment for his seniority of birth."[3] How early a similar practice made its appearance in Massachusetts Bay is not clear; but the Body of Liberties of 1641 apparently provides that in cases of intestacy land is to descend to the heirs male, with a double portion to the eldest.[4] With slight modifications this law remained in force, with respect to fees simple, throughout the colonial period.[5] Similar rules of descent prevailed at times in other New England colonies—Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire—and seemed further to support the "gavelkind theory."

The question is no more settled today. Professor Richard B. Morris, after considering the evidence, concludes that there is ground for regarding "the 'Kent charter' series as containing exemptions from the inapplicable rule of primogeniture."[6] Professor Charles M. Andrews and Professor

quently an incident of free and common socage. Cf. Theodore F. T. Plucknett, review, *New England Quarterly*, III (July, 1930), 575: "In discussing the famous manor of East Greenwich and the question of gavelkind, we miss the one simple and conclusive answer, *viz.* that the charters expressly define the tenure as socage; and socage is not gavelkind." The answer is neither simple nor conclusive; see Charles I. Elton, *Tenures of Kent* (London, 1867), Chapter XV.

[1] Further discussion of the social and economic implications of this is given in my article, "The Beginnings of Partible Inheritance in the American Colonies," *Yale Law Journal*, LI (June, 1942), 1280–1315. The medieval background is detailed in John E. A. Jolliffe, *Pre-Feudal England: The Jutes* (Oxford, 1933), 19–30. See also George C. Homans, "Partible Inheritance of Villagers' Holdings," *Economic History Review*, VIII (November, 1937), 48–56.

[2] William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation* (Boston, 1912), II. 41–43.

[3] Letter to Samuel Bloommaert, one of the directors of the West India Company, *Collections*, New York Historical Society, 2nd Series, II. 352.

[4] *The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts Reprinted from the Edition of 1660*, William H. Whitmore, Editor (Boston, 1889), 51, Titles 81, 82. See also *The Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts, 1648*, Max Farrand, Editor (Cambridge, 1929), 53–54, and below, page 487.

[5] It was repealed in 1789. *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1788–1789* (Boston, 1894), 395–396. For fee tail estates, see below, page 486, *n.* 2.

[6] *Studies in the History of American Law*, 107–108.

Zechariah Chafee, Jr., who have each greatly clarified the problem, deny that the provision in these charters has any reference to gavelkind.[1] The problem seems, accordingly, to merit reconsideration.

As stated before, rules of partible inheritance in cases of intestacy existed in the Bay Colony from an early period.[2] One of the first questions in the solution of the problem is whether these rules of descent were those of gavelkind. The answer is emphatically, no. Let us consider these rules in relation to the customs and incidents of gavelkind.

There are, roughly, five main characteristics of gavelkind.[3] 1. On the death of the proprietor, the lands were divided equally among his sons or their representatives.[4] 2. The wife's dower, instead of one-third as at common law, was one-half of the lands of which her husband had been seised during coverture. 3. The husband's right of courtesy extended to merely one-half, instead of all, his wife's lands; it was not dependent on the birth of issue alive and was defeated by his second marriage. 4. The

[1] Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, I (New Haven, 1934), 86*n.*–87*n.*; Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Introduction to *Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671–1680*, our *Publications*, XXIX. lxvii-lxviii. See also Professor Chafee's article, "Professor Beale's Ancestor," *Harvard Legal Essays Written in Honor of and Presented to Joseph Henry Beale and Samuel Williston* (Cambridge, 1934), 39, 56.

[2] There is some confusion in the records and the early authorities as to whether the rules of partible inheritance extended to a fee tail in Massachusetts, or whether primogeniture prevailed. In *Baker* v. *Mattocks*, Quincy, 69 (Mass., 1763), the court construed the province statute of 1692 as not extending to estates tail, thus holding that the common-law rule of primogeniture prevailed. Cf. *The Charter and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1814), 230–232. Earlier in the century, however, the court reached an opposite result in two cases. See Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 100–101. Yet in 1723 the Council passed a declaratory resolve that the statute of 1692 did not apply to estates tail. *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, V (Boston, 1924), 279. The real difficulty is that the statute of 1692 refers explicitly to fee simple estates. The earlier enactments, in 1641 and 1660, in providing for descent to all children, make no distinction between fee simple and fee tail estates. *Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, 1660*, 51 (Titles 81, 82), 201. Morris (*Studies in the History of American Law*, 102) has concluded that partible descent existed as to fee tail estates during the seventeenth century. It is noteworthy that Plymouth enacted in 1685 that "all Lands heretofore Intailed, and that shall be Intailed hereafter, shall descend and enure as by the Law of England the same ought to do." William Brigham, *The Compact with the Charter and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth* (Boston, 1836), 299. This parallel might tend to weigh in favor of the view that in the Bay Colony rules of partible inheritance applied to estates in fee tail, since no contrary enactment exists. But the use of the words "fee simple" in the 1692 statute equally supports an opposite view. The question must remain an open one until more evidence than the enactments comes to light.

[3] For full discussion of these and other incidents, see especially *Robinson on Gavelkind*, Book II; Elton, *Tenures of Kent*, 39–44, 73–104; Nellie Neilson, "Custom and the Common Law of Kent," *Harvard Law Review*, XXXVIII (February, 1925), 482–498.

[4] That is, among the living children of a deceased son by right of representation.

heirs came of age for purposes of alienation at fifteen. 5. The proprietor's estate was not forfeited for felony, as it was at common law, but the heirs succeeded.

As to equal succession, the Body of Liberties of 1641 enacted that when parents died intestate having no heirs male of their bodies, their daughters should inherit as coparceners.[1] It further provided for a double portion to the eldest son, which at once varies the gavelkind formula.[2] The provisions were reënacted in 1647.[3] From the wording of these laws it is not clear whether the sons were preferred to the daughters: that is, that daughters were to take only in the event that there were no sons; or whether there is merely a provision made as to how the daughters, in the event of no sons, were to hold the property: namely, as coparceners. The ambiguity is removed by the revisions of 1660 and 1672. Although the eldest son still received a double portion under these enactments, they speak of division among the "Children or other heires."[4] Any further doubts as to the meaning of the earlier law are resolved by the probate records, which show that from at least as early as 1640 no distinction was made between sons and daughters.[5] The Massachusetts Bay law of descent in the seventeenth century, in other words, was not that of gavelkind. It should be recalled in this connection that in 1627, when the colony of Plymouth was still held as of East Greenwich, de Rasieres speaks of *children*, not sons, as taking equally.[6]

In the matter of dower the laws of Massachusetts Bay are explicit. By enactment in 1647 the widow was given a one-third interest for life in the houses, lands, tenements, and hereditaments of which her husband

[1] *Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, 1660*, 51, Title 82.

[2] *Id.*, 51, Title 81. [3] *Laws and Liberties of 1648*, 53–54.

[4] *Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, 1660*, 201; *The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts Reprinted from the Edition of 1672*, William H. Whitmore, Editor (Boston, 1887), 158.

[5] *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay*, John Noble, Editor, II (Boston, 1904), 97 (1640); *Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts*, I (Salem, 1916), 62 (1647), 91 (1647), 173 (1654), etc.

[6] See above, page 485, *n.* 3. The grant to Bradford and his associates in 1629 was not as of East Greenwich. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, III. 1844. Prior to that their patent was from the Plymouth Company, which had received its charter in 1606 with an express mention of the Kentish manor. *Id.*, III. 3783, 3789. However, the leaders of the colony no doubt thought the tenure unchanged by the Bradford grant, since in the Code of 1636 they specifically mention East Greenwich. Brigham, *Compact and Charter*, 43, 51, 54.

The Plymouth laws of 1671 include a provision similar to the 1660 law in Massachusetts: that is, children take without distinction between males and females in cases of intestacy. Brigham, *Compact and Charter*, 281–282. In the revision of 1685 the daughters are expressly excluded and do not take unless there are no sons; again, the double portion is reserved to the eldest son. *Id.*, 299.

had been seised during coverture.[1] This law also included one-third of the personalty absolutely, but the addition was dropped in 1649 and did not again appear among the laws until 1692.[2] At Plymouth, under the Code of 1636, the widow received one-third of the realty for life, one-third of the personalty absolutely.[3] Courtesy is not mentioned in the laws of either colony. As for alienation of land, the age was twenty-one, as at common law.[4] No suggestion of the gavelkind rule of fifteen years appears.

In one respect only does there appear to be any resemblance between Massachusetts practice and the incidents of gavelkind, and that is in the fact that lands were not forfeited for felony.[5] But from what has been said above, it seems more likely that this is not to be traced to the Kentish custom but to Puritan mistrust and hatred of the feudal system and its incidents.[6] The section of the Body of Liberties which provides that there shall be no forfeitures includes the prohibition with a long list of other feudal privileges of overlords and bears out the above interpretation.[7]

[1] *Laws and Liberties of 1648*, 17–18. There had been no earlier provision with regard to dower, as can be seen from the preamble to the title "Dowries" in this enactment: "Forasmuch as no provision hath yet been made for any certein maintainance for Wives after the death of their Husbands. . . ." The earlier provision in 1641 was of a very general character and was clearly "uncertain." *Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, 1660*, 51, Title 79.

[2] *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay*, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Editor, II (Boston, 1853), 281: amendment to 1647 law to strike out the clause "a third part of her husbands money, goods, & chattels, reall & personall." For the 1692 statute, see *Charter and General Laws of Massachusetts Bay*, 230. The effectiveness of the amendment is perhaps open to question. Cf. *Records of the Court of Assistants*, III. 91: ". . . by A third part for the wife to be ment a third part of the whole." This declaration was made in 1656 by Governor Endecott. See also *Records of the Court of Assistants*, III. 208, where a committee was appointed by the court "to lay out the peticon^r hir Just *thirds* as the law directs." (Italics mine.) Curiously enough, the excision in 1649 was voted at the same session (May 2) at which Endecott was elected Governor. *Massachusetts Records*, II. 265.

The widow very often got a great deal more than her common-law third, but not in any definite proportion. This was particularly so when there were minor children to bring up. See *Essex Probate Records*, *passim*.

[3] Brigham, *Compact and Charter*, 43. In practice, in Massachusetts Bay, the widow might get more if the allotted third was manifestly inadequate. The court had power to assign to her such part as should seem just and reasonable. *Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, 1660*, 51 (Title 79), 201. The administration and settlement of estates in individual cases amply bear out this proposition. Cf. the Plymouth practice of relieving the widow when the husband by will deprived her of "reasonable allowance for her subsistency." Brigham, *Compact and Charter*, 281.

[4] *Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, 1660*, 35 (Title 11), 45 (Title 53) — 1641.

[5] *Id.*, 35, Titles 10, 11.

[6] On this distrust of the English land system, see my article, previously cited, in *Boston University Law Review*, XXI. 301–302.

[7] *Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, 1660*, 35, Title 10: "All our lands and heritages shall

In short, it seems almost certain, as a result of this comparison between the incidents of gavelkind in Kent and the customs of Massachusetts, that gavelkind did not exist in the Bay Colony. Proponents of the opposite view, it seems, have been led astray by a superficial resemblance of rules of partible inheritance. For one thing they have forgotten that partible descent in England was never confined to gavelkind lands in Kent. There are instances of such customs scattered all over England, in Norfolk, Suffolk, Somerset, Gloucester, and East Anglia.[1] For another thing they have overlooked the fact that nine colonial charters outside New England contained the same East Greenwich clause as did the Massachusetts charter. These are the charters for Virginia,[2] the Carolinas,[3] New York,[4] and New Jersey.[5] In none of them did the East Greenwich clause prevent primogeniture.[6] The oversight is perhaps a commentary on sectionalism in American historical writing.

be free from all fines and licences upon Alienations, and from all hariotts, wardships, Liveries, Primerseisins, yeare day and wast, Escheates and forfeitures, upon the deaths of parents or Ancestors. . . ."

Two points deserve special notice in this title. In the first place, a license to alienate was not necessary if a tenant held gavelkind land. Elton, *Tenures of Kent*, 74. This strengthens my position that gavelkind did not obtain in Massachusetts. In the second place, relief and primer seisin never attached to land held of the King in free and common socage. *Lyttleton's Tenures*, 153. No doubt the colonists did not know this. At the same time, it is doubtful whether they had ever had to meet the obligations as socage tenants of the lord of East Greenwich.

In connection with the prohibition against forfeiture, mention should be made of the reply of the Massachusetts General Court to the objection by the Attorney General that persons condemned were in Massachusetts allowed to make wills: ". . . wee conceive it to be according to our patent; and if its originall, vizt, that of East Greenwitch, according vnto which, as wee conceive, notwthstanding the fathers crime, yet the children are to possesse the estate." *Massachusetts Records*, v. 199. We cannot tell from this assertion whether the General Court actually thought the incident of gavelkind prevailed in Massachusetts, or whether the answer to the Attorney General was merely a legal argument which they hoped would stick. Thomas Hutchinson, writing a hundred years later, was surprised: "They strangely supposed that socage-tenure included all the properties and customs of gavelkind." *History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, Lawrence S. Mayo, Editor (Cambridge, 1936), I. 377. Cf. below, page 497.

[1] Of general interest in this connection are *Robinson on Gavelkind*, Book I, Chapters II, III, and Elton, *Tenures of Kent*, 53ff. Of more specific interest are Sir Frederick Pollock and Frederick W. Maitland, *History of English Law* (Boston, 1895), II. 268, and Howard L. Gray, *English Field Systems* (Cambridge, 1915), 337. The relation of such customs to the Massachusetts law of partible inheritance is reserved for discussion elsewhere. See above, page 485, *n.* 1.

[2] Those of 1606, 1609, and 1612. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, VII. 3783, 3789, 3790, 3796, 3802, 3804.

[3] Those of 1663 and 1665. *Id.*, V. 2743, 2745, 2761, 2763.

[4] Those of 1664 and 1674. *Id.*, III. 1637, 1638, 1641.

[5] Those of 1664 and 1674. *Id.*, V. 2533, 2534, 2546.

[6] See *Virginia Colonial Decisions*, Robert T. Barton, Editor (Boston, 1909), I. 58, 163;

The problem, however, is not entirely one of matching sticks. There is another reason for asserting that gavelkind was not made an incident of land tenure in Massachusetts Bay by the charter of 1629; it is a reason which, incidentally, explains the difference between the laws of Massachusetts and the customs of gavelkind. It would seem that the first step in the proof of the proposition that gavelkind had been extended to the Bay Colony by the charter would be to show that gavelkind prevailed in the manor of East Greenwich. It must be stated at once that this has never been proved. In fact, all the evidence points in a contrary direction. It is true, as stated earlier, that a general presumption existed at common law that gavelkind attached to all lands in Kent.[1] But this presumption, like many others in law, was merely a general rule to aid the courts; it was presumed, but it could be rebutted by proof.[2] Treatises on gavelkind, supported by local records, are explicit to the effect that many lands in Kent were not gavelkind lands.[3] Not only had a good deal never been subject to the custom, but much of it was disgavelled by act of Parliament in the sixteenth century, notably by the statute 31 Henry VIII, c.3.[4] We may be fairly confident that East Greenwich was not among the lands included in the disgavelling statutes since the successive owners during the period (the Prior of Shene and the King) are not mentioned in the schedule of names attached.[5]

Whether the manor was among the lands in Kent which were never subject to gavelkind is—so far as the actual records are concerned—a matter of less certainty. The early history of Greenwich is obscure, and such accounts as exist are unfruitful in this regard.[6] Royal grants of the manor, which go back to the time of Edgar in the tenth century, do not

John S. Bassett, "Landholding in Colonial North Carolina," *Law Quarterly Review*, XI (April, 1895), 154, 164; *Colonial Laws of New York*, I (Albany, 1894), 114; Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 80, *n.* 2. In Rhode Island, whose charter of 1663 contained the East Greenwich clause, primogeniture prevailed except during the period 1718–1728. *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island*, John R. Bartlett, Editor, IV (Providence, 1859), 238, 417; Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 80.

[1] See above, page 484, *n.* 6.

[2] *Robinson on Gavelkind*, 38–39.

[3] *Id.*, Book I, Chapter v; Elton, *Tenures of Kent*, 112; *First Report of the Real Property Commissioners* (London, 1829), Appendix II. 228 (examination of Mr. John Bell, K.C.).

[4] Lord Coke, writing in the reign of James I, observes that in a great part of Kent land was descendible to the eldest son. *Coke on Littleton*, 140b. The disgavelling acts and the persons whose lands were affected are listed in *Robinson on Gavelkind*, 67–71. See also the entries under "Disgavelled lands" in the Index to Elton, *Tenures of Kent*.

[5] See previous note.

[6] The best account is Edward Hasted, *History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, I (Canterbury, 1797), 383–385.

mention gavelkind as an incident of the tenure,[1] although charters granting gavelkind land frequently mention it specifically.[2] The surviving court rolls of the manor are scant and yield no positive information on the point.[3] Domesday Book is equally unhelpful;[4] so too the answer of the jurors in *quo warranto* proceedings brought against the tenant of the manor in 21 Edward I.[5] The most promising document, one would suppose, is a survey of the customs and tenants of the manor made in the year 1695.[6] But it is nearly as disappointing, as far as any direct statements are concerned. It is noteworthy, however, that the jurors do not know of any special or unusual customs;[7] in fact, their answers give the impression of a very commonplace group of manorial customs. It is also worth noting that the jurors imply that the King had escheats, and it is well known that gavelkind lands, unlike other lands, never escheated for felony. While these escheats might have been for other causes than felony, it seems likely that the jurors would have specified the exception had it existed.

In the absence of direct evidence, two circumstances fortify the position that the manor of East Greenwich was not subject to gavelkind. The first is the accepted rule that gavelkind did not attach to lands held since the Norman Conquest in frankalmoigne.[8] Frankalmoigne was a form of tenure in free alms by which the Church might hold lands free of all earthly services; but not all Church lands were held in this tenure, so that it is essential always to distinguish between what was held in frankalmoigne and what was held by barony or knight's-service. In the case of Greenwich we know from the charters of Edgar and Edward the Confessor, as well as from the confirmations by the Norman kings, that the manor of East Greenwich was given as an appurtenance of Lewisham to the Abbot of St. Peter's at Ghent, in Flanders, free of all earthly services.[9] The manor

[1] The charters, together with other pertinent documents, are collected in Auguste van Lokeren, *Chartes et documents de l'Abbaye de Saint Pierre* (Ghent, 1868), I, II. See below, *n.* 9.

[2] Examples may be found in William Somner, *Treatise on Gavelkind* (London, 1660), 172–187. Cf. Jolliffe, *Pre-Feudal England*, 24–26.

[3] War conditions have prevented my examining photostats of these court rolls, but Professor Viola F. Barnes of Mount Holyoke College, who has worked with them, has kindly informed me that there is no evidence in them of the existence of gavelkind. Cf. *Essays Presented to C. M. Andrews*, 33.

[4] *Domesday Book* (London, 1783), I. 12b, under "Levesham."

[5] *Placita de Quo Warranto* (London, 1818), I. 356.

[6] Printed in John Kimbell, *An Account of the Legacies, Gifts, Rents . . . of the Parish of St. Alphege, Greenwich* (London, 1816), 183–209.

[7] *Id.*, 206. [8] *Robinson on Gavelkind*, 73–75; Elton, *Tenures of Kent*, 236ff.

[9] These charters may be found as follows: that of Edgar, in van Lokeren, *Chartes*, I, No. 38; that of Edward the Confessor, in *id.*, No. 124, and in Benjamin Thorpe, *Diploma-*

remained in these hands till the suppression of the alien priories in 1413,[1] when it reverted to the King. Two years later it was granted in "free and perpetual alms" to the Prior of Shene,[2] who held it until 1530, when it again came into the hands of the King.[3] Except for the brief period of two years in the reign of Henry V, there can be little question that the manor was held in frankalmoigne and was not therefore subject to gavelkind customs.[4]

The other circumstance which strengthens the position here taken is that from 1530, when the Prior of Shene conveyed the manor to Henry VIII, throughout the period covered by the colonial charters, East Greenwich remained a royal manor. Gavelkind lands in the hands of the King ceased, always, to be of the nature of gavelkind until granted again to

tarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici (London, 1865), 357–361; that of William II, in van Lokeren, *Chartes*, I, No. 159; that of Henry I, in *id.*, No. 170; that of Stephen, in *id.*, No. 215. These and other documents, in abstract, are calendared in John H. Round, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France* (London, 1899), I. 500–505, and, in part, in Henry W. C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* (Oxford, 1913), I, Nos. 141, 323. The charter of William the Conqueror, printed in van Lokeren, *Chartes*, I, No. 156, and in Kimbell, *Legacies of Greenwich*, 13–16, is unquestionably a forgery. See Davis, *Regesta*, 38.

A word must be said on a point raised by Davis when he asserts (*Regesta*, 38) that the manor of Greenwich was held by the Bishop of Lisieux of the Bishop of Bayeux in 1086. His authority for this is the entry in *Domesday Book*, I. 6b, which includes "Grenviz" under the holdings of the Bishop. It is to be noted, however, that these lands are specified as belonging to Earl Harold and Brixi in the time of Edward the Confessor, whereas we know that at the Conquest the manor of Greenwich was appurtenant to Lewisham and in the hands of the Abbot at Ghent. That this was the manor of Greenwich with which we are concerned seems plain from references in the charters of Henry I ("*manerium suum . . . de Gronewic*") and Stephen ("*maneria sua de Gronewic et Lieuesham*"). The charters of William II and Henry I speak of it as having been held by the Abbot in the time of Edward the Confessor. Since Lewisham belonged to the Abbot at the time of Domesday (*Domesday Book*, I. 12b), we can only conclude that the manor remained appurtenant to Lewisham and belonged to the Abbot rather than to the Bishop. Just what is meant by "Grenviz" in the holdings of the Bishop is a point which must remain open. It was not until considerably later that the word "East" was prefixed to Greenwich. For our purposes, however, the important thing is that the manor of Greenwich was held in free alms before the Conquest and was certainly again held in free alms after the charter of William II. The possible doubts as to its tenure from 1066 to 1091 do not affect the conclusions as to gavelkind and frankalmoigne.

[1] By the statute 1 Henry V, c. 7 (*Statutes of the Realm*, II. 172).

[2] Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, I (London, 1655), 974–977; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, 1341–1417*, 469, 479, 482. Cf. confirmation by Henry VI in *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1422–1429*, 222.

[3] Thomas Rymer, *Foedera* (Hague ed.), VI, ii, 161.

[4] The general rule is emphasized clearly in an early case in the time of Henry III relating to a manor held by the Priory of Christchurch in frankalmoigne from a time before the Conquest. It was held that lands held by such an ancient spiritual tenure were not subject to the customs of gavelkind. *Robinson on Gavelkind*, 74.

another tenant.[1] Thus, apart from any question of the consequences of frankalmoigne, it would not be possible for any lands held in the seventeenth century as of the manor of East Greenwich to be affected by a custom of descent then in abeyance.

Finally, there seems reason to question how far descent in one set of lands would affect that in another set. Elton, a high authority on gavelkind, states categorically that the tenure of gavelkind could not be created out of the bounds of Kent; "nor can any customs," he says, "whether borough-English, partition in descent, or anything else, be newly imposed upon land by any royal grant." He then cites *Coke on Copyholds* to the effect that "customs receiving their perfection from the continuance of time, come not within the compass of the King's prerogative."[2] On its face, therefore, it would not seem possible that gavelkind could be extended to the colonies by royal charter, even supposing that gavelkind did prevail at East Greenwich.

[1] "Le custome est solement suspende par reason del prerogative, car maintenant que cest ceo vient in auter maines ceo discendre come gavelkind arrere." *Wiseman* v. *Cotten*, 1 Siderfin, 138. However, it was only the custom of *descent* which remained in abeyance. *Robinson on Gavelkind*, 62–63. I am grateful to Professor Roscoe Pound for helpful discussion on this point.

[2] Elton, *Tenures of Kent*, 157; *Coke on Copyholds*, s. 31. Put more graphically, the question is this: If A held Blackacre in Sussex as of the manor of Dale in Kent, and gavelkind prevailed at Dale, would Blackacre descend according to the customs of gavelkind? Apart from Elton and Lord Coke, there seems to be no explicit authority on the point. An early case, *Anon.* (1552), Dalison, 12, pl. 21, speaks of gavelkind as a custom which "runs with the land and is by reason of the land." *Robinson on Gavelkind*, 55, 61, is explicit to the effect that gavelkind customs cannot be imposed on lands which had never been subject to them. Not even the King, he says, could do this.

What happened if an ordinary subject tried to vary a mode of descent is seen in another early case, *Anon.* (1560), Dyer, 179b, pl. 45. There it appeared that a man was seised in fee of borough-English lands after the statute of 27 Henry VIII, c. 10. He made a feoffment to divers persons in fee to the use of himself and of his heirs male of his body according to the course of common law. It was held on his death, however, that the youngest son should take by descent. Notice also a case in Y. B., Trinity, 26 Henry VIII (1534), 4, pl. 19, where a man seised of gavelkind lands made a gift in tail to hold of himself by knight's-service. It was held the land nevertheless remained partible.

Finally, we have a statement in *Wiseman* v. *Cotten*, 1 Siderfin, 138: "Si Gavelkind terres sont tenus dun Sñry que est tenus in Chivalry et puis ils Escheate, Issint que sont tenus in Chivalry ore il dit que le Gavelkind Custome est destroy, Mes ceo fuit deny par Twisden Justice (que est bien Conusant in les Leys de son pais)." The implication of this passage is not only that gavelkind is inherent in the land itself, and not merely a technicality of tenure, but also that land held of a superior holding is not affected by the customs of descent of that holding. Twysden's knowledge of Kentish customs is undeniable. From this it may be argued that lands which normally descended according to common law would not become changed as to the descent when held of a manor which was itself subject to gavelkind. The plausibility of this contention is heightened by the ensuing remarks on the number of tenements held as of the manor of East Greenwich; or rather, its plausibility is heightened for those who may still insist that gavelkind attached to the manor of East Greenwich.

The error of supposing that a grant "as of the manor of East Greenwich" could carry with it gavelkind customs of descent becomes even more apparent when the very large number of grants as of this manor is considered. Not only were the majority of the charters for the American colonies given in this way,[1] but also the charters to Penkevell for discovering and acquiring lands in the East (1607),[2] for Newfoundland (1610),[3] Bermuda (1638),[4] Bombay (1668),[5] and Hudson Bay (1670).[6] In England itself the number of grants made as of the manor of East Greenwich, in free and common socage, is enormous. The Patent Rolls, Inquisitions Post Mortem, and local records bear elaborate testimony to this fact.[7] They are further enforced by an interesting memorial to Queen Elizabeth made in or about the year 1600:

> Synce the death of king Henrye the Eighth all persons for the most part which have purchased any landes of the king or of her Majestie or els exchanged any landes with her Highness, do acustumably (for the ease of their tenures and services and for that they will avoide to be called by writte for respect of homage) desire to holde theire landes in free soccage as of her majesties manor of Estgrenewich, wherebye the nomber of them that holde of the said manor are at this daie becom infinyte. . . . There are in England dyspersyd thrugh all the partes of this Realme above ten thousand sundrie tenants that holde landes of the said manor. . . . The landes that are holden of Estgrenwich amounte farr above the sum of £30,000 per annum thrugh the Realme of Englande.[8]

Even granting that the number of tenants in this report was exaggerated by one seeking the office of steward of the manor, it can hardly be thought that the lands of these tenants all over England descended according to the custom of gavelkind.

[1] See above, page 489. [2] Rymer, *Foedera*, VII, ii, 156.

[3] *Select Charters of Trading Companies, 1530–1707*, Cecil T. Carr, Editor (Selden Society, London, 1913), 51, 54.

[4] Sir John H. LeFroy, *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas* (London, 1877), I. 550, 551.

[5] *Patent Rolls*, 20 Charles II, pt. iii. I am grateful to the officials of the Public Record Office in London for checking this reference.

[6] Robert M. Martin, *History of the British Colonies* (London, 1835), I. 38.

[7] The number of these grants is too great to make possible any systematic list. See, however, the printed *Calendars of the Patent Rolls* for the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth (to 1560); *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XIX (1892), LII (1940); *Abstracts of Wiltshire Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Edward A. Fry, Editor (London, 1901), I. 3, 12, 40, 41, 59, etc.; *Abstracts of Inquisitions Post Mortem Relating to London*, George S. Fry, Editor, I (London, 1896), 200, 206, 221, etc.; Thomas Madox, *The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer* (London, 1769), I. 621; Owen Manning, *History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, I (London, 1804), 357.

[8] Quoted by Cheyney, *American Historical Review*, XI. 30. See also *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598–1601*, 517.

The explanation of grants "as of the manor of East Greenwich," both at home and abroad, seems to be as follows. The monastic confiscations of Henry VIII so vastly increased the properties of the Crown that lands were available for grants in profusion. At first these were given lavishly to personal and court favorites, to be held directly of the King for some fractional part of a knight's fee. But as time went on and the available lands at the Crown's disposal were increased by numerous forfeitures, grants tended to be given more in free and common socage, as of some royal manor. At first the selection of the manor generally depended on the location and proximity of the particular grant; but around the year 1550, in the reign of Edward VI, one manor begins to emerge as that most usually chosen for the superior holding. This was the manor of East Greenwich.[1] It was natural in cases where the lands granted were dispersed in more than one county to select one manor for the entire grant since the enrollment procedure would be simplified. It was also natural that a practice for large grants should be followed in the case of small ones within only one county. Why East Greenwich, in Kent, should have been so selected is not absolutely certain, since no order of the Court of Augmentations or other authority has yet been found in that regard. The most likely explanation has been given by Professor Cheyney, who has shown that under the Tudors the manor of East Greenwich became a favorite royal residence.[2] Whatever the explanation, the important fact is that the Tudor practice lingered on into the seventeenth century, and countless grants, large and small, were made as of the manor of East Greenwich.

When the grants were small, they were generally made in free and common socage, rather than by knight's-service. The advantage to the tenant in socage holding of the King in not being subject to several feudal incidents has been remarked upon earlier in this paper. The memorial, also, just quoted, speaks of the "ease of tenures and services" for the tenant. For another thing, the loss to the Crown was slight when the lands were not of great value.[3] Large tracts, conversely, were more likely to be held

[1] In the early years of Edward VI's reign the socage grants show an increasing favoritism for the manor of East Greenwich. Forty-nine grants are made as of this manor, whereas those of other manors are much less numerous: e.g., five as of the Honour of Hampton Court; four as of Stalbridge, Dorset; three as of Stokenham, Devon; two as of Woking, Surrey, etc. See *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1548–1549*; Viola F. Barnes in *Essays Presented to C. M. Andrews*, 10, *n.* 8.

[2] *American Historical Review*, XI. 33–34.

[3] See the instructions for the sale of lands in statute 35 Henry VIII, c. 14 (*Statutes of the Realm*, III. 972–973); *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, Editors, XIX, i (London, 1903), 167–168, Section 5.

by knight's-service because of the greater profits which would inure to the Crown. These facts explain why lands granted for mining, irrigation, or reclaiming schemes should be given in free and common socage, as of the manor of East Greenwich.[1] Profits were bound to be slight at first, and the promoters needed inducement; whereas the loss to the Crown in such cases in taking a small rent was negligible, for otherwise there might have been no revenue at all. Similar reasons would explain why the charters for colonization projects in the New World should follow the same pattern, where profits to the adventurers would be small or nonexistent in the early stages.[2]

Variations in the free and common socage grants appear both in England and in the colonies. For example, the Inquisitions Post Mortem speak of lands held of the King "as of his honour of Amthill in co. Bedford,"[3] or "as of his manor of Steeple Ashton."[4] Maryland and Pennsylvania were granted in 1632 and 1681, respectively, as of the Castle of Windsor in Berkshire;[5] Georgia, in 1732, as of the Honour of Hampton Court.[6] Such instances further bear out our understanding that no special significance attached to East Greenwich as such; it was simply a matter of practice and convenience going back into Tudor times. Indeed, it is an ironic fact, conveniently overlooked by those supporting the "gavelkind theory," that Pennsylvania, which was granted as of the Castle of Windsor in Berkshire, where we know there was no gavelkind, should have had a system of partible inheritance similar to that in Massachusetts Bay![7]

The explanation of the Massachusetts law of partible inheritance is not, then, to be sought in a transplantation of gavelkind customs from the manor of East Greenwich, imitatively, or by means of the royal charter.

[1] For example, the cut granted to the New River Company in 1619 was given as of the manor of East Greenwich. *Select Charters of Trading Companies*, 106, 113. So, too, the grant to the Yarmouth Saltmakers in 1636 (*id.*, 148, 155) and the Bedford Level reclaiming project in 1663 (statute 15 Charles II, c. 17, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 501). During the Interregnum the forfeited estates of various delinquents and the property of abolished bishops and deans were vested in trustees to be held as of the manor of East Greenwich in free and common socage. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum* (London, 1911), I. 881, 1018, 1150; II. 83, 201, 592, 639, etc.

[2] It is noteworthy how nominal the rents or other payments were in some of the charters for the British colonies. In Massachusetts Bay, for instance, it was one-fifth of the gold or silver discovered (Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, III. 1849); in Pennsylvania, in addition, two beaver skins (*id.*, V. 3037); in Maryland, two Indian arrows (*id.*, III. 1671); in Bombay, £10 (*Select Charters of Trading Companies*, lii, *n.* 4).

[3] *Wiltshire Inquisitions Post Mortem*, I. 386. [4] *Id.*, 209.

[5] Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, III. 1669, 1671; V. 3035, 3037.

[6] *Id.*, II. 765, 771.

[7] *Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1879), 174, 231–232.

The "gavelkind theory" grew up partly because historians and others were deceived by the superficial resemblance between the Massachusetts law of partible inheritance and gavelkind. They failed, in their eagerness to find a simple explanation of partible inheritance, thoroughly to consider the historical evidence. They were also deceived by the occasional expressions of the colonists themselves that gavelkind prevailed in Massachusetts.[1] These expressions, however, were made long after the rules of partible descent had become established.[2] Moreover, when we find the East Greenwich clause referred to by the colonists to explain the law of descent, it is usually by way of legal argument[3] or by way of inquiry on the part of one unversed in the technicalities of the English law of tenures.[4]

The reference to the manor of East Greenwich in the Massachusetts charter is perfectly normal and not unusual. It is a part of the description of the tenure of the grant in free and common socage. It is in no way unique and is paralleled not only in a very large number of grants in

[1] Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 108–111, has collected some of these. He attaches considerable weight to such expressions.

[2] Morris (*id.*, 108) considers the reference to East Greenwich in the Plymouth Code of 1636 as an expression of conviction that gavelkind had been brought over by the charter. The Plymouth law says: "That inheritance do descend according to the comendable custome of Engl. and hold of Est. Greenwich." Brigham, *Compact and Charter*, 43. It is hard to see why this law is susceptible to that one interpretation. For one thing, gavelkind was never known as the "custom of England"; it was known as the common law of Kent at best. For another, "hold of Est. Greenwich" would seem merely to emphasize the tenurial aspect of landholding. The "Forme of Evidence" for particular holdings in Plymouth bears this out: "to A.B. his heires and assignes forever, The said lands to be holden of his Matie and his successors as of his Mannor of East Greenwich," etc. *Id.*, 54. Cf. *id.*, 279. The same would seem to apply to the reference to East Greenwich in the habenda of Massachusetts deeds, e.g. *Suffolk Deeds*, XIV (Boston, 1906), 69, 70. But see Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 109.

[3] See, for instance, *Massachusetts Records*, V. 199; 6 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, V. 428; and above, page 488, *n.* 7. Cf. *Collections*, Connecticut Historical Society, V. 427. Such arguments are to be contrasted with the sober preamble to the 1692 Statute of Descents, which gives quite a different explanation for the persistence of partible inheritance: "Whereas estates in these plantations do consist chiefly of lands, which have been subdued and brought to improvement by the industry and labour of the proprietors, with the assistance of their children, the younger children generally having been longest and most serviceable unto their parents in that behalf, who have not personal estate to give out unto them in portions, or otherwise to recompense their labours. . . ." *Charter and General Laws*, 230.

Occasionally in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, partible inheritance, whether in or outside of Kent, was termed gavelkind. Elton, *Tenures of Kent*, 53–54. Reference has already been made (above, page 489, *n.* 1) to the existence of partible inheritance outside of Kent. However, the association of gavelkind with Kent on the part of the colonists when the argument of English precedent is made shows that they were not using the word in its loose sense of "partibility."

[4] Note the letter of William Harris, the Rhode Island planter, printed in *Collections*, Rhode Island Historical Society, X. 249–250.

England but also in contemporary charters for English colonies in the New World.

The origins of partible inheritance are not explained simply or easily. But the difficulties of the problem justified first an inquiry into the gavelkind claims. The present discussion must not obscure the fact that the East Greenwich clause of the Massachusetts charter has a setting in the colonial law of intestacy and in the general question of the transplantation of English laws and institutions to colonial America.[1]

[1] Aspects of this general question are treated by Julius Goebel, Jr., "King's Law and Local Custom in Seventeenth Century New England," *Columbia Law Review*, XXXI (March, 1931), 416–448, and by George L. Haskins in *Boston University Law Review*, XXI. 281–304, and in *Yale Law Journal*, LI. 1280–1315.

February Meeting, 1942

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 26, 1942, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. WALTER M. WHITEHILL was designated as Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

The records of the December meeting were read and approved.

Mr. CHARLES CORTEZ ABBOTT of Cambridge and Mr. ROBERT PEABODY BELLOWS of Boston were elected Resident Members of the Society.

Mr. EDMUND S. MORGAN read a paper entitled "Puritan Tribalism."

Mr. MORGAN also presented by title the following paper:

A Boston Heiress and Her Husbands

A True Story

IN the year 1656 Anna Keayne was the most eligible débutante in Boston. At the age of sixteen she had been "very well and carefully educated," and furthermore her grandfather had just left her £900 in his will. Although the good people of Boston may have looked with some bitterness upon this dowry—for Robert Keayne had become notorious by his hard bargains—Anna was nevertheless accepted as a respectable member of society. Her grandfather, in spite of his harsh business dealings, had long been a member of the church in good standing. He had attended regularly, taken notes on the sermons, and even begun to write a commentary on the Bible. At the time of his death he had completed three precious volumes of this work, which he declared he would not part with for a hundred pounds. There could be no question that, aside from his too great attention to worldly wealth, he was a good Puritan. His grandchild would be accepted even in the most exclusive and godly circles. Besides, the old merchant had in his will partially atoned for his failings. His neighbors and customers must have been somewhat softened toward Anna by the

fund of £120 he had left to the poor and the £300 he had left to the town for the erection of public buildings.[1]

Anna's parents could not bear such close scrutiny as her grandparents. Her father, Benjamin Keayne, the only son of old Robert, had made what at first seemed to be a fortunate marriage with Sarah Dudley, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley and sister of the poetess Anne Bradstreet. But Sarah had turned out to be a shrew, and the match had proved "unhappy and uncomfortable." Some time after Anna's birth Benjamin accused his wife of adultery, obtained a divorce, and went off to London,[2] leaving her to marry again and to get herself in trouble with the church by "Irregular prophecying in mixt Assemblies."[3] Benjamin never questioned, however, that Anna was his child. Before he departed for England, he placed her in the hands of her grandparents, and they brought her up with loving care and proper discipline. Robert Keayne provided in his will that her education be continued, if necessary, in some godly family to be chosen by his executors, "where she may have hir carnall disposition most of all subdued and reformed by strict discipline."[4] He probably did not mean to imply that Anna was particularly susceptible to the temptations of the flesh. Like all Puritans he assumed that every human being is endowed with a "carnal disposition" which it is part of the business of education to subdue.[5] There is no reason to believe that Anna's character at the time of her grandfather's death was in any way questionable. In spite of her mother's shady reputation, she herself was a respectable, well-bred young lady with a fortune of £900—assuredly the best match in town.

Her grandfather, whose love for her was evident to everyone, had given some instructions in his will about her prospective husband. He had advised that she marry "some man truely fearing God," and had instructed the overseers of his will "to provide some fitt and godly match proportionable to hir estate and condition that she may live comfortably and be fitt to doe good in hir place and not to suffer hir to be circumvented or to cast away hirselfe for want of counsell and watchfullness upon some swagering gentleman or others that will Looke more after the enjoying of what she hath, then liveing in the feare of God and true love to hir."

[1] The will, which occupies 158 pages of the first volume of the Suffolk County Probate Records, is printed in *Boston Record Commissioners' Reports*, X. 1–54.

[2] See three letters printed in *Suffolk Deeds*, I (Boston, 1880), 83–84.

[3] Records of the First Church of Boston (copy in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society), 25.

[4] *Boston Record Commissioners' Reports*, X. 21.

[5] See my article, "Responsibilities of a Puritan Parent," *More Books*, XVII (April, 1942), 141–159.

In order to be sure that Anna should follow the instructions of her guardians, he charged her "that she would not dare to set hir affections upon any in that kind without there advice counsell and helpe."[1] It may seem hard that a girl should have to receive permission from her grandmother, or worse still from the overseers of her grandfather's will, before falling in love; but such was the custom in seventeenth-century Boston. Children, especially if possessed of sizeable fortunes, were supposed to allow their parents or guardians to make their matches for them.[2]

The proper man appeared a few months after her grandfather's death. Edward Lane, a London merchant reputed to be worth £1,800 (a suitor was expected to be worth at least twice as much as his future wife), thirty-six years old and single, arrived at Boston aboard the *Speedwell* on July 27, 1656.[3] It was not long before he was making overtures to Anna's guardians, and since he seemed to be well qualified in godliness and in worldly goods, Mrs. Keayne gave him permission "to make tryall for the gayning of my Grandchilds affections as to marriage."[4] Thereafter, following a common custom, he sent a friend often to visit Anna and to gain her affections for him. With the friend he sent many pieces of gold for her to assure her of his own affection and at the same time, doubtless, to remind her that he was a man of wealth, worthy to be her suitor. The eloquence of the friend—or of the gold—soon prevailed, and the couple became affianced.[5]

Hitherto Lane had remained pretty much in the background. Now he stepped prominently into the picture. Mrs. Keayne, thankful for the prospect of having a man in the family once more, decided to hand over to him the job of executing her late husband's will, for she had scarcely begun the task of carrying out the manifold orders contained in that lengthy document. Since Anna was still under age and since her dowry must be paid from the estate, Lane was easily persuaded of "the great benefitt it would bee vnto me in respect of the securitie of my wiues portion" to take over the task.[6] After he had agreed to do so, however, he discovered that, according to the terms of the will, he would lose a part of his wife's portion if she should die before reaching the age of eighteen. Because of this and other dubious provisions of the will, Lane thought it advisable to have an express agreement drawn up concerning the exact

[1] *Boston Record Commissioners' Reports*, x. 19, 21.

[2] See *More Books*, xvii (March, 1942), 87–105.

[3] *New England Hist. Gen. Reg.*, i. 132.

[4] Massachusetts Archives, xvb, 213.

[5] Files of the Suffolk County Court, No. 2233, paper 43.

[6] Massachusetts Archives, xvb, 212.

amount due to Mrs. Keayne as the widow, so that the remainder, minus all bequests and legacies, might be entirely his.

For so grave a matter the assistance of an impartial tribunal was necessary. Accordingly Lane and Mrs. Keayne each chose two friends to meet together as an arbitrating committee and decide "what they shall judge just and equal to be payd and receiued by one or other."[1] A week later, after perusing the 158 pages of Robert Keayne's will, this committee drew up an agreement to which Lane and the widow set their signatures: Mrs. Keayne was to receive a house and land, an annuity of forty pounds, plus four hundred pounds in money; Lane was to have everything else, and he gave bond for a thousand pounds to pay all the bequests and other debts owed by the estate. In addition Mrs. Keayne left all preparations for the coming wedding up to the bridegroom. She agreed to "allow unto the said Edward Lane, the summe of fifty pounds for the more contentfull and comely apparrelling of Anna Keayne the younger [Mrs. Keayne's name was Anna too] his intended wife together with what he sees meet to lay out for the marriage solemnity that so the said Anna the elder may be freed from all troubles in making provision for the same. . . ."[2] With these preliminaries out of the way the stage was at last set for the wedding, which took place on December 11, 1657, under the direction of Governor John Endecott.[3] Since church weddings were not allowed, Anna had no chance to display her "contentfull and comely" apparel to an admiring congregation; but if she and her husband followed colonial custom, they invited their friends to a feast after the ceremony. Here Anna was able to show off her new gown, while friends toasted her with "sack-posset" and rum. Perhaps, if the authorities had not been displaying too much strictness lately, there may even have been dancing.

Had Edward Lane been a normal man, the story might have ended here, with the couple living happily ever after. But an ugly rumor soon began to be heard in Boston, and fifteen months after the wedding popular suspicion was confirmed by a petition which Mrs. Lane presented to the Court of Assistants.

To the Honoured Court of Assistants now Assembled at Boston

May it please this Honoured Court to pitty the sad and disconsolate condition of your handmaid, laboring under a bondage, from which reason and religion doth set her free, yet needing and craving the Authority to doe the same.

Your petitioner hath bin deceived in a contract of marriage with Mr. Edward

[1] Suffolk Files, No. 2233, paper 6.

[2] Chamberlain MSS., M.H.S., III. 179 (November 24, 1657).

[3] *Boston Record Commissioners' Reports*, IX. 62.

Lane, to whom (upon an essentiall mistake) shee gaue her selfe as a wife, and hath not bin wanting in the duty of that relation, expecting the performance of an husband on his part, wherin he hath been from first to last altogether deficient; which for seaven monthes I bare without imparting my grief to my nearest friends, who then understanding the same; and hoping and desiring more private help, put him upon seeking remedy by physick, which he also attended making use of Mr. Snelling, who practised upon him with forcible medicines, but without successe, so that by the counsell of the overseers of my Grandfathers will (to whom he acknolidged his infirmity) he was advised to seek further help from more physitians; and accordingly he made knowne his case to Mr. Eire, Mr. Clerk, and Mr. Megeke, and hath been under their hands neer seaven monthes. And your petitioner hath by absenting herselfe with his consent, and returning to him through difficulties applyed herselfe to accomodate him. All which notwithstanding the said Mr. Lane hath been and doth continue uncapable of performance of the marriage Covenant: by reason wherof, as also from the sense of the great and manifold inconveniences of the publick notice of it, your petitioner is (tho with shame and affliction) enforced to fly to your justice for succour and reliefe by declaring mee free from the sayd pretended Contract of marriage with Mr. Lane. And by ordering him to repaire the damage and wronge to my person and estate as your justice shall judg meet.

My patient silence in this condition cannot prejudice my cause with your wisdomes which will not think it meet or tolerable, for a woman after just complaint in such case made, to remaine under the power of a pretended husband, and to yield herselfe to bee the subject of vaine experements, to the dishonour of her name, danger of her person and estate which cannot bee prevented but by a present release declared by this honoured Court which is the humble and earnest petition of your handmaid

ANNA LANE[1]

Upon receipt of this document the court sent for Lane and asked him if his wife's charge were true. "After a considerable pause his answer was that he must speake the truth he could not say he had performed the office of a husband." Accordingly, after due deliberation, the magistrates declared the marriage to be dissolved.[2]

It soon appeared, however, that Anna was not the only one who had been deceived. The bequests and debts owed by the estate of Robert Keayne amounted to much more than the value of the estate itself. By the terms of the agreement which he had signed Edward Lane was a loser by more than five hundred pounds. He, too, now sought relief in court, pointing out that he had assumed the executorship because of the marriage. The marriage having been dissolved, he ought therefore to be relieved of

[1] Massachusetts Archives, IX. 32.

[2] *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay*, III (Boston, 1928), 67–68.

the burden and reimbursed for the expenditures he had made.[1] The court's first reaction was to appoint a committee empowered to examine all the evidence and instructed "to make a loving and amicable agreement, if it may be, to mutual satisfaction of the sajd Mr. Lane and Mrs. Anna Keajne, thereby to prevent further trouble to this court."[2]

The court did not escape further trouble so easily. The widow Keayne had made a bargain, and like her husband she meant to see that it was kept. She refused to listen to any compromise and presented an answer to Lane's petition in which she pointed out that Lane had entered the agreement with his eyes open. If the court were to release him from his obligations, she said, it would be plain "to the world that no man or woman of what condition soeuer of sound mind or theire friends so being can make any bargaine, but the Court may vndoe it which I hope will not be asserted, much lesse practised."[3] Mrs. Keayne was saying that business is business, but the court had heard that plea before from the lips of her late husband. To him they had replied, in a fine of two hundred pounds, that business may be business, but it is not justice. They now returned the same answer to her: they discharged Lane from the executorship and ordered the overseers of the will to reimburse him with 650 pounds, plus two years' rent from most of the houses and lands in possession of the estate.[4]

Anna Lane now began to regret her action, for it was plain that she was not so desirable a match as she had at first appeared to be. Lane told her that because of deficiencies in her grandfather's estate her dowry "must fall Short more then twoe therdes."[5] Furthermore, he was slow about returning her personal property, which he may have been keeping as a pledge until his 650 pounds were paid. Lane was naturally somewhat piqued at Anna's exposure of his infirmity, especially since he knew that "the phycitians that have administred vnto mee can finde no naturall Defect in mee as they have Declared and are still ready to Declare."[6] He continued to take treatments and after a time became convinced that his weakness had ceased. Friends now tried to patch things up, and because of Anna's uncertainty about her estate she was the more willing to listen to them. Her grandmother later related: "I have severall times found my

[1] Suffolk Files, No. 2233, paper 8.

[2] *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, IV, Part I, 370 (May 28, 1659).

[3] Massachusetts Archives, XVb, 213.

[4] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, IV, Part I, 392 (October 18, 1659).

[5] Miscellaneous Bound MSS., October, 1666, M.H.S. (printed in Mellen Chamberlain, *A Documentary History of Chelsea* (Boston, 1908), II. 63).

[6] Suffolk Files, No. 2233, paper 8.

Daughter in a roome with Mr. Lane and Mr. Cooke to my great greif and have been angry with Mr. Cooke about it; And he hath Led me out and said lett them alone I would have her try him for he is a man; And to Convince me told mee some thing that was so Immodest I cannot write it."[1]

The result of these meetings was that on December 12, 1659, two years after their first marriage and nine months after the annulment, the couple went once more to the Governor and asked to be married again. The episode and its sequel were later recalled by Edward Hutchinson:

Edward Hutchinson aged 53 years or Thereabouts sworne saith That when Mr. Edward Lane and Anna his wife Came together the second Time they sent for mee to the house of Leift. Richard Cooke and There they Declared to Mee (I comeing ouer late to goe with them to the Gouernours) that they had been at the governours to Desire to be married againe; but the governour told them that they being seperated by the Court it was not for him to Joyne them together; but if they were both sattisfied that the Cause was remoued That moved the Court to Declare their Marriage a Nullity he said that that Declareation would not make it a Nullity; for it was not man that could part Those god Joyned together Therefore told them they should be well advised and be vpon good Grounds which they sayd they Declared they were. Then he Told them as they said, That it being Their owne act Their first Marriage was good and the Nullity was voyde; And Desired The Lord to blesse them together after which we being together some of vs merrily Jesting with them said They must have made some Tryall or elce they could not soe Declare; They said both of them it may be they had what was That to us vpon our parteing away Capt. Olliver bidding them both good night Mrs. Lane Answered she Questioned not as good a night as any woman In Boston next morning Capt. olliver and my self goeing to visitt them Capt. Olliver askeing her if now she had received sattisfaction so as to be satisfied the Impediment that Mr. Lane had before was remoued; she Answered it was now otherwise with him then before; and she was sattisfied in his sufficiency as a man This is the substance of what I heard and Though I will not be perticular to all the words yett as near as my memory serves it was in these words above or words to the like effect.[2]

To all outward appearances the whole affair was now patched up. Lane once more became executor of the will, though the agreement between him and the widow Keayne this time provided that she should have simply an annuity of twenty pounds and possession of the new house in Boston. Furthermore, he stipulated that if any more debts appeared "that hath not as yet beene taken notice of," and beyond the value of the estate, the over-

[1] *Id.*, No. 2233, paper 43.

[2] Miscellaneous Bound MSS., March 12, 1665/66, M.H.S. The extraordinary manner of this second marriage probably accounts for the fact that no record was made of it in the book of records.

seers of the will should take steps to assist him in the payments.[1] On this basis the couple lived quietly together for the next four years. Edward became well established as a Boston merchant and attested his prosperity to his neighbors by sporting a London hat with a silver hatband.[2] Anna meanwhile demonstrated that this time her marriage was genuine by giving birth to two children, a boy and a girl. The little girl, named after her mother, died at the age of eight months, but the boy, named after Edward, lived until 1680, meeting his death at the age of eighteen in Leyden.[3]

Early in 1664 Anna sailed for England, on what business is not known, but it was evidently understood in Boston that her husband would shortly follow. Before he could do so, however, he was dead. When Anna returned to Boston two years later, it was with a new husband, also a Bostonian who had been visiting England, Mr. Nicholas Paige. Now once more the rumors began to spread. It was said that Anna had married Paige before Lane had died, for some persons had received letters from Paige before the latter event in which he made mention of his wife.[4] Since there were bound to be enemies in Boston of any descendant of Robert Keayne, the grand jury soon got wind of the matter and conducted an investigation which resulted in an indictment against Anna for adultery. Before the trial took place, Anna gave herself away by proposing to the Court of Assistants a question to be resolved by the magistrates: "whether a woman may not have children by a man that is not in the eye of the world accounted her husband and yet not be accounted an adulteresse."[5] The cat was now out of the bag, and in the trial that followed evidence was produced that the boy who bore the name of the late Edward Lane was really the son of Nicholas Paige. Richard Cooke came into court and affirmed that "about two yeares since upon Mrs. Hannah Lanes going for England this deponent was desired to come unto the house of Mr. Edward Lane . . . at which time this deponant did heare Mrs. Lane acknowledge that the Children which She then had had were Mr. Page his Children and not mr. Lanes."[6] The whole truth came to light, however, when the following document, dated December 6, 1663, was brought forth:

To all whom this present writing may concern this is to certify that whereas thear was a marriage between Edward Lane of Boston in the County of Suffolke

[1] Suffolk Files, No. 2233, paper 5.

[2] *Id.*, No. 26733 (printed in Chamberlain, *Documentary History of Chelsea*, II. 12).

[3] *Boston Record Commissioners' Reports*, IX. 74, 79, 80; *New England Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XXIII. 266–269.

[4] Suffolk Files, No. 2233, papers 33, 35.

[5] *Id.*, No. 2233, paper 33. [6] *Id.*, No. 2233, paper 44.

in New England and Anna Keayne of the said Boston living together sometime, I the said Edward Lane being wholly insufficient through weakness and infirmity never in the least manner to performe the duty or office of a husband to the said Anna nor never knew her carnally: Upon Petition to the Court of Assistance held at Boston March, '58, The Court upon good considerations pronounced the marriage a nullity wee wear bouth free from each other nine months after upon some considerations wee came to live togather and have so continued togather four yeares but the same weaknes and insuffitiency continuing to this day I thinke it not convenient for her any longer to bare the name of my wife who in truth before God is none. Therefore I utterly disown her and disseize her never more to maintain her or looke at her as any relation to me more then a friend from the date hereof for though we have made one house our habitation yet we have made use of tow beds therefore this is to atest the cause and truth of our seperation as is done by a coppy taken out of the Records As witnes my hand And in part of requitall for that great wrong I have done her I freely give her the pasture which was her Granfathers which lys behind the house of Goodman Pells.[1]

Confronted with the situation which was now apparent, the magistrates and the jury could not agree whether or not Anna Paige, formerly Anna Lane, should be punished for adultery. The matter was therefore brought before the General Court of the colony, where, as the record reads,

. . . vpon a full hearing of the case, the Court found hir guilty of much wickednes, but vpon a motion from hirself, the Court gaue hir oppertunity to make acknowledgment of such hir great offences which were charged vpon hir, which accordingly she hath donne to the satisfaction of this Court, who doe hereby declare their acceptation of it, so as she make the like acknowledgment in open Court when called thereto; that as the Court hath seene the fruits of her repentance, so it may be declared to others also. The sajd Anna Page came into the Court, and openly made acknowledgment, in like manner, to the Courts acceptance, who ordered that Mrs. Page pay the charge of the witnesses, and so is discharged.[2]

Apparently the General Court was as puzzled by the case as the inferior court had been; but just as Governor Endecott had decided that Anna's first marriage had not been truly annulled, the court now must have decided that neither the first nor the second marriage had been truly a marriage. Thus although it was clear that Anna had committed "much wickedness," the Court was not ready to say that she was guilty of adultery, and so she escaped virtually scot-free.

Having thus come out of danger, she and her husband began to take cognizance of her former estate. Besides the pasture he had granted her in the paper renouncing her as his wife, Lane had assigned her, in a paper

[1] *Id.*, No. 2233, paper 17.

[2] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, IV, Part II, 309.

dated four days earlier, the mansion house of Robert Keayne "wherein I the said Edward Lane now Dwell." This grant was made on condition that she make no further claims whatever to his estate.[1] Twelve days later Lane, who was evidently a sick man, had made out another paper. Stating that he did not know "what condition he the said Edward Lane may fall into or what Providences as concerning himselfe may fall out in one regard or in an other &c.," he transferred his property to Richard Cooke and John Wiswall of Boston, merchants, in return for his maintenance and for payments of all his debts.[2]

Accordingly when Anna and her new husband returned from England, they found Richard Cooke and John Wiswall installed in the possession of most of her grandfather's property. Now the whole thing became apparent to Anna: it had all been a plot on the part of Richard Cooke from the very beginning. It was he who had persuaded her to marry Lane in the first place, he who had carried to her the pieces of gold and the messages of affection.[3] After the annulment it was he who had persuaded her of Lane's sufficiency and had brought them together again.[4] He had even been present when the paper was drawn up in which Lane assigned her the mansion house in return for a resignation of all other claims to the estate. She had been so desperate at the time to free herself that she had not thought of what she was so blithely resigning; and yet twelve days later Cooke, with his accomplice Wiswall, had it all in his own hands, even the rich farm at Rumney Marsh that had been her grandfather's pride. And then when she returned home from England, Cooke, wearing her grandfather's big ring and Lane's hat with the silver band,[5] had furnished the principal evidence against her in the trial for adultery. It was only too clear that the whole business had been deliberately, diabolically planned.

She had good evidence of Cooke's malice toward her now that he had her estate. Several people were ready to report his reaction when he heard that she and her husband were returning from England. On the day when the news reached Boston, Ursula Cole and Alice Tilly both informed Cooke about it and warned him that she was coming to recover her lost property. Cooke had replied that he would see her hanged if she tried to do it.[6] John and Mary Mansfield told Anna how Cooke had stormed about the matter, how he had accused her of poisoning her husband, how he had sworn to "vse all the meanes he Could" to have her hanged, and

[1] Suffolk Files, No. 2233, paper 10.
[2] *Id.*, No. 2233, paper 7.
[3] *Id.*, No. 2233, paper 43.
[4] *Id.*
[5] Suffolk Files, No. 26733 (printed in Chamberlain, *Documentary History of Chelsea*, II. 12).
[6] Suffolk Files, No. 2233, papers 39, 40, 41.

had said that if he failed to get her hanged in Boston, "he had a sonn in Barbadious: that should goe from thence to England: to prosecute the Lawe to hange hir there."[1]

The case seemed to be open and shut, and Anna promptly petitioned the General Court to recover from Cooke and Wiswall all the property which Lane had given them.[2] She demonstrated that her marriage to Lane had been a conspiracy on the part of Cooke to get her property and her grandfather's into Lane's hands so that Cooke might eventually have it for himself. He had known that Lane was impotent and that therefore there could be no heirs; he had also known that Lane was sick and could not live long. He had even offered that fact to her grandmother as a reason for allowing the second marriage. The widow Keayne—who had since become Mrs. Samuel Cole—came into court and testified that Cooke had told her that Lane "was very sickley and would not live aboue Three or four years and Therefore fear not but Lett your Daughter have him and she may Quickley have an other husband." Mrs. Cole was convinced that Cooke from the very start had "not only Indeavored to ruin my Daughter but mee."[3]

Anna rested her case not only on this evidence of conspiracy but likewise on the claim that her second marriage with Lane was not valid because it had never been consummated. Therefore, she said, the contract which depended upon that marriage and which put the estate again into Lane's hands was likewise invalid. It was "Founded vpon the same mestake of a marriage as the former and upon the same Ground: Cann not bee of aney force to the prejudice of your petetioner."[4]

But the General Court was weary of this eternal squabble over Robert Keayne's property and refused to believe the story which to Anna was so obvious. To her melodramatic pleas the icy reply was given that it was not thought "suiteable to reuive troubles to the Court" in a matter which had already been settled once before.[5] Having herself failed, Anna persuaded the overseers of the will to make a similar plea the following year, but they too were denied.[6] With this rebuke she gave up the struggle for a while and settled down to a happy and normal life as Mrs. Nicholas Paige.

[1] Massachusetts Archives, XXXIX. 67.

[2] Miscellaneous Bound MSS., October, 1666, M.H.S. (printed in Chamberlain, *Documentary History of Chelsea*, II. 62–64).

[3] Suffolk Files, No. 2233, paper 43.

[4] Miscellaneous Bound MSS., October, 1666, M.H.S.

[5] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, IV, Part II, 327.

[6] Massachusetts Archives, XVb, 107 (printed in Chamberlain, *Documentary History of Chelsea*, I. 649–650).

Neither she nor her husband had forgotten the injury which Richard Cooke had done them, but justice was not yet to be had. They would bide their time, and some day, perhaps, the opportunity to recover their lost heritage would come. In the meantime there was no use crying over spilt milk. Nicholas had some capital of his own, and by careful investments and hard work gradually increased it. Before many years passed, he had become one of the leading merchants of Boston and had recouped by his ships and shops as much as he and Anna had lost through the machinations of their enemies.

Anna's new husband was a bold and likeable man, of generous impulses but shrewd in all his public actions. Though not disposed to reckon overmuch with religious scruples in his commercial dealings, he had sense enough never to offend Puritan sensibilities. He did his best to gain the friendship and respect of his community, especially of those men who seemed best qualified to help him. As a result, each new turn of events found him more firmly established in public favor and personal security. When King Philip's War threatened the colony's existence, Captain Paige won esteem by commanding a cavalry troop which helped to whip the savages into submission.[1] Later, when Edward Randolph came to enforce the Navigation Acts in Boston, Paige gained the commendations of his fellow merchants by threatening to knock Randolph on the head if the latter attempted to board his ships.[2] Before long, however, Nicholas saw that the wind was not blowing in that direction. He and a number of other prominent citizens, including Joseph Dudley (Anna's uncle), made friends with Randolph so that by 1685 the customs officer was writing letters to Dudley in which he sent his respects to "Mr. Page and his lady."[3]

In the ensuing revolutions which rocked the colony Paige played his hand with consummate skill. When the charter was revoked and Joseph Dudley became President of the Council for New England, Nicholas invited him to live at Boston in the house which he and Anna had acquired there. Since Dudley's own house was in Roxbury, he gladly agreed to live with the Paiges, where his hostess would be his own niece.[4] When Andros arrived as Governor of the Dominion of New England, Paige

[1] *New England Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XXXVII. 284.

[2] *Edward Randolph*, Robert N. Toppan, Editor, III (Prince Society, Boston, 1899), 70–73.

[3] *Id.*, IV. 12–14.

[4] On June 2, 1686, it was voted in Council "that Mr. Paige have five pounds a quarter for his attendance on the President." "Dudley Records," 2 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XIII. 243.

kept in the good graces of that ruler too; but when the people of Boston gathered together to overthrow the tyrant, Paige was on the scene, not exactly assisting the process but apparently not hindering it either.[1] While the people called for Dudley's blood along with that of Andros, they had such confidence in Captain Paige that they placed Dudley in his hands for safekeeping.[2] When stable government was finally established under a new charter, Paige had weathered the storm safely. What is more, he had recovered Anna's property, not only the houses and lands in Boston but the farm in Rumney Marsh as well.

The fact is that the Cookes had not played their cards so well as the Paiges. Elisha Cooke, son and successor to old Richard, had chosen the wrong side in the struggle—as far as worldly success was concerned. He had never made friends with Randolph. Instead he had led the opposition party, the one which favored resistance to Randolph, resistance to Dudley, resistance to Andros, resistance even to the new charter which Increase Mather obtained in 1691. Consequently it had been no great matter for Paige to procure a judgment returning the lands. As soon as the old charter was revoked, the old county courts dissolved, and a new system set up under control of Dudley, the Paiges entered an action against Cooke. The jury was hand-picked by Paige's friends; the judges were Paige's friends;[3] the result was inevitable: Paige got the lands (August 5, 1686). When the verdict had been rendered, Cooke appealed to the Council, presided over by Dudley, then residing in Paige's house. The result again was inevitable, and when Cooke appealed to the King in Council, Dudley required him to give bond of a thousand pounds to Paige to prosecute the appeal (November 2, 1686). This was too much, and Cooke had to abandon the case (December 20, 1686). When he tried to reopen it under Andros, he met with a quick rebuff.

After the new charter had been established—over his protest—Cooke tried again, but was nonsuited. As a last resort he introduced a special bill in the General Court (February 26, 1701/02) to allow him to have the case reviewed. At the time when he introduced the bill the governor's chair was vacant, but before the General Court took any action, Joseph Dudley was made governor. Needless to say, the bill received no further consideration.

[1] Toppan, *Randolph*, II. 90*n*.

[2] Everett Kimball, *The Public Life of Joseph Dudley* (New York, 1911), 52.

[3] See the edicts issued by Dudley and the Council providing for courts and juries, 2 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XIII. 232–237. The details of the ensuing litigation, with many of the documents in the case, may be found in Chamberlain, *Documentary History of Chelsea*, I. 635–668; II. 1–84.

In the meantime, since the recovery of the estate, Anna had become the great lady that she must have wished to be when she first married Edward Lane. Paige was now Colonel Paige, with a coat of arms. He had purchased a coach for her and negro servants in livery to attend upon it, a luxury which even the wealthy Samuel Sewall felt himself unable to afford. She and Nicholas moved out to the farm at Rumney Marsh and there lived in regal style, entertaining guests in the most elegant manner. Samuel Sewall, who dined there on November 4, 1690, spoke of the "sumtuous Feast" which he had enjoyed.[1] He had already had occasion to admire Anna's coach, for he had recorded on September 12, 1688: "Rid to Cambridge Lecture, being rainy in the afternoon, Madam Paige invited me, and I came home in her Coach, with Mr. Willard and his wife, and Mrs. Paige's Boy rid my Horse."[2]

Apparently Boston had agreed to forgive Anna for her scandalous past and to accept her as one of the élite. The Mr. Willard to whom Sewall refers was the minister of the Old South Church, which Anna had joined in 1670.[3] Although her husband never joined, that fact was not held against him socially, for by the close of the seventeenth century a large proportion of Boston's leading citizens were in the same category.

Thus by shrewd political maneuvering Anna and Nicholas Paige overcame the social and economic handicaps with which their wedded life began and won for themselves a position of the highest rank in Boston society. Anna lived to enjoy her success until June 30, 1704. When the news of her death at Rumney Marsh reached Boston, it caused the whole colony to pause. Sewall recorded the event: "As the Governor sat at the Council-Table twas told him, Madam Paige was dead; He clap'd his hands, and quickly went out, and return'd not to the Chamber again; but ordered Mr. Secretary to prorogue the Court till the 16th of August, which Mr. Secretary did by going into the House of Deputies."[4]

A year before she died Anna had assisted her husband in making a will, the terms of which bring this story back to where it began. The will provided that all the property of Nicholas and Anna, except for a number of small legacies, should be given to their kinswoman Martha Hobbes, who was also to be executrix. The overseers of the will, however, among whom was Governor Dudley, must "Advise and Council this our Executrix in her Mariage with any Person that she may Marry withall And we do hereby leave it as a Solemn Charge upon her and as our dying request that

[1] 5 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, v. 333. [2] *Id.*, 225.

[3] *An Historical Catalogue of the Old South Church* (Boston, 1883), 7.

[4] 5 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vi. 109.

she do take your Advice therein And be very Carefull how she doth dispose of her self in Marryage, And that she match into a good Familly and with one that feareth God, that so neither she and so fair an Estate be not thrown away in her Match."[1]

Mr. Thomas H. Johnson communicated by title the following paper:

The Topical Verses of Edward Taylor

EVER since the four-hundred-page manuscript volume of Edward Taylor's "Poetical Works" was first examined in 1936,[2] it has been known that a few of the verses were of special interest to social historians because of the topical nature of the material. The twelve selections here presented comprise all the topical or occasional verses which are sufficiently decipherable to furnish historical and biographical gleanings.[3] Eight are elegies, composed between 1671 and 1723: six of them honor colonial magistrates and ministers; one was written on the occasion of the death of Taylor's wife, and one on that of the death of his sister-in-law. Two selections are in the nature of epithalamiums, composed shortly before his first marriage. The most sprightly and entertaining verse is a college "declamation," prepared and evidently publicly delivered just before his graduation. The acrostic verses—three of the twelve selections—are very elaborate and are more admirable for their ingenuity than for succinctness or power. The machinery of puns, quibbles, and poetic conceits intrigued the seventeenth-century mind generally, and Taylor was a belated representative of a fashion nearly outmoded at so late a period. The final selection, "Verses made upon Pope Joan," is a scurrilous and bitter

[1] Suffolk Probate Records, XX. 166–169.

[2] Edward Taylor (*ca.* 1645–1729), a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1671, was minister at Westfield from 1672 until his death. The manuscript volume is in the Yale University Library, and transcription and publication of these verses are now possible by the generous permission of the Library. For a brief account of Taylor, see John L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, II (Cambridge, 1881), 397–412. Much of the best poetry has been published in *The Poetical Works of Edward Taylor*, Thomas H. Johnson, Editor (New York, 1939), in which (pages 221–228) there is a full description of the manuscript.

[3] The sole omission is that of two brief Latin elegies on the death of President Chauncy of Harvard College. They appear on the flyleaf of the volume, so mutilated as to make clear reconstruction impossible. For Taylor's English elegy on the same theme, see the fifth selection, below.

tirade against Romanism. It is possibly the last composition from the pen of this staunch, thoroughly orthodox Congregationalist. Viewed as poetry, all these selections are inconsiderable. But since Taylor is now generally recognized as the foremost American poet before the nineteenth century, the verses perhaps have the importance which always attaches to the *poemata* of significant writers.

The first three selections were composed while Taylor was an undergraduate at Harvard and are certainly the author's earliest known attempts at versifying. The last two were composed in Taylor's old age; though barely legible, and somewhat difficult to follow, they are animated with admirable vigor. These twelve selections occupy the first thirty-five pages of the "Poetical Works" and are here transcribed in the same chronological order which they follow in the manuscript.[1]

I

An Elegie vpon ye Death of that holy man of God Mr. Sims,[2] late Pastor of ye Church of Christ at Charlestown in N. Engl^nd^ who departed this life the 4th of 12^m^ An^o^ D^ni^ 1670/1

[Ah] mee! ah mee! Could Griefe but make a Poet?
[Sur]ge after Surge of Sorrow sure would do it.
[The] Nazarites grow thin; which alwayes stoode
[As] Objects hatefull to Philistick brude.
[Who c]ould not stroy them: for like Sampson they
[Bore o]n their backs proud Gaza's Gates away.
[Their stren]gth was such. Yet not to frame or make
[Jerus]alem of Gaza's Gate a Gate.
[They t]imely heav'd it vp to Hebron's Hill
[And la]tcht it there a Mocking stock to fill
[All] such with tickling jests whose pleasure chose
[To br]eake a jest ore a Philistins nose.

[1] All manuscript line-spacings as well as the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are exactly rendered. Words, phrases, and lines which are undecipherable or worn away are indicated by, or conjecturally supplied within, brackets.

[2] Zechariah Symmes was born in Canterbury, England, on April 5, 1599. He was a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and emigrated to Charlestown in 1634 in the same ship with Anne Hutchinson, whom he later reproved for "the corruptness and narrowness of her opinions." Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, Lawrence S. Mayo, Editor (Cambridge, 1936), II. 373. In December, 1634, he became teacher, and in March, 1636, pastor of the Charlestown church, and he held the latter post until his death on February 4, 1670/71. By virtue of that position he became, in accordance with the General Court's order of September 27, 1642, a member of the first Board of Overseers of Harvard College, and he remained an Overseer throughout his life. Zechariah Symmes of the Class of 1657 was his son. Taylor was a senior at the time of Symmes's death.

[Philis]tick Gates thus blown vp by ye aire
[Are] bussles in a Nazarits bush of haire!
[Conquer]d Philistia, (Revenge is Sweet)
[To] give it vent, in Convocation meet
[ ]ggers Spits: Star-Chamber'd many ly,
[At the] white Nazarites her darts do fly.
[Despoil]d of his abundant Grace, & Care
[They in th]e Wilderness them place prepare.
[He in] the Wilderness alures apart
[Deep the]n in bowells speakes vnto their heart
[He'd have] them build his house compleate, compact,
[Measures the]n gave them on ye mount exact.
[The whic]h they tended, & this Sims (alass
[He ha]th laid down his Square) a Builder was
[As well as] Pillar, & a Builder who
[Both built], & long vpheld the building too.
[ ]
Where [ ]
Althô ye Doors be firm, & would [abide]
Rift off ye bars, & down ye boards will slide
When Posts do faile, ye Pales & Rales down fall:
And Vinyards so ly common vnto all.
Alass! alass! our Wall grows small, & weake:
Wherein, say you? Our golden Studs do breake
Althô the Watlings last: the hedge, I take
Is very feeble losing of its Stake.
Hereby our Israels glory waxeth thin;
Compared now to what it once hath bin.
Our Motto write in teares that all may View it,
That Predicates our Glory greate is FUIT.
When Death Supplants our Plants & Planters so
The whole Plantation drinks a Cup of Woe.
Supplants said I? Soft now, the better Style
Is, it Transplants them to a richer Soile.
Yet oh! alass! We Senseless at their Hearse
Do hardly mourn halfe halfe an hour in verse.
This man of God wrought hard, that now is gone,
Within ye Quarrie mines hard hearts of Stone,
With Pickaxe, Wedge, & Mawle, Gods Word, before
Christ calld him in to meat; & said, Give o're.
Before his Grinders Ceast, & Silver Cord
Was loost, or ere his Golden bowle, his Lord
Had broken at ye fountain, ere 'twas night.
His Almond tree did flowrish all in white.

He did What God said do, &'s gone away
His day thus ore, to meet his Masters pay.
Like to a Shock of Wheate thats fully ripe,
God inned hath this aged Nazarite
The Shushemite, him bore, hugd, dandled, she
Him nurst, & hopt vpon her lap & hee
When Sick indeed, my Head! me head! out cri'de
And laying in her bosom Sweetly di'de,
Whose Death's great Sorrow should it tie our tongue
Age with ye Swan Would sing his dying Song.
Tristis modulat[ ]

II

An Elegie vpon ye Death of ye Worshipfull Fran[cis] Willoughby Esq^e^[1] Deputy Gov^n^our of ye Masach[usetts] Colony in N: E: who departed at Charlestown 3^d^ m. [1671]

Begon, begon, my Books, start from my hand,
Stand off: or offer verse vp as you stand:
Bleed tears, mine Eyes; Weep blood, my pen: my heart
Beat vp for Volunteers in e'ry part
To march in Sorrows Regimentall plot,
For Willoughby; Oh! Willoughby IS NOT.
IS NOT's the burden of my Song by fate,
Being of Willoughby the Predicate.
IS–NOT is not to enter in our eares
Without heart aching Sighs, & Eyes all tears.
But is not Willoughby? Then beat ye Drum;
Bid Colledge, Churches, Court, & Country run
[ ]
[ ]
And make a Pa[ ]e mantle for the day,
And fall like Spouts into His grave as pay.
Rise Harvard, rise, Stand vp with Watry eyes,
Vntill a Second Willoughby arise.
Vnworthy We, oh Worthy he! Well may
We as we judge this rightly of him say.

[1] For Francis Willoughby, Deputy Governor of Massachusetts Bay from 1665 until 1671, see Isaac J. Greenwood, "The Willoughby Family of New England," *New England Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxx (January, 1876), 67–78.

l fraught wth Grace, well fit for	Glory's shel	F	irmly in glory now enrich	thysel F
h Splendent Gems wch do vpon	each squa	R	efulgent Rayes of Sparkling glory	wea R
killfull Lapidary	will enl	A^{y}	nd first imboss in Rings y^{t} weightist	w A^{y}
man gets Weeds a Palace	to ador	N	o weeds as Posies in o^{r} hands are	bor N
nting these Sweet enamled Knots	from when	C^{e}	onspire perfumed gales not worth y^{e}	sen C^{e}
o, no mervail, Christ when his	bright E	I^{e}	nthralld in dust his shining Rosies	sp I^{e}
oop down, vp picks them: for hereby	he get	S	weet slips of Grace y^{t} he in Glory	set S
may assure ourselves y^{t}	blessed she	W	ithin Christs garden for Christs garm^{t}	gre W
which, his Garden flowers may	clearly sp	I^{e}	ntails of all their happiness do	l I
, for ye Flowers in Graces	garden shal	L	eap into bliss to garnish Glory's	Hal L
ok how they thither high as if	they stil	L	ackt room in Grace, or glory's room would	fil L
serve the Ring of Glory	where in t	O	nely ye Saints as pales of Gold high	d O
on whose lips in chains of	praises, Vie	V	ncessant Quavers warbling	Hallel V
d Spying Willoughby here on	our Strin	G	lister so bright fitter for Glorys	Rin G
th cald him out, & cought him	here beneat	H	ath wrap^{t} his brows about with glory's	wreat H
art thou gone? is Graces flood	to eb	B	right St[reams]? is grace for thee too coarse	a We B
Sure it is, y^{t} Graces flowers	do l	Y	onder in glorys Knot most	sparkling l Y

But what shall Graces choicest slips be got
[So] prim, & set in Glories flowering Pot?
[And] Graces Garden ever must Supply
[ ]ie bright Palace with her gallantry.
[Nay,] turn thy hand awhile bright glory hence.
[Tou]ch not our seed plots, nor annoy their Fence.
[Le]st that our Garden Wane, for so it shall
[S]carse beare a Single flower t'adorn thy Hall.
[H]e cannot spare of what remains yet any:
The last thou gather'd hast is one for many.
For whom had fervent Pious Prayers prevaild
[H]e yet had stood within our garden, pal'd.
He was our Chiefest Deputy for all,
And now is Deputie in Glory's Hall.
And hence we may Rejoyce thô mourn: & count
How his greate Gain, doth our great loss Surmount.
Then fruits do drop, it plainly doth appeare,
[Tha]t Summer is Well Spent, & Winters neer.
[Then] Cease my Sobs awhile vntil Ive spent
This Epitaph vpon his monument.

Here lies the Love, Hope, Reverence, & Eye
Of Churches, Court, Colledge, & Countery
Interrd within this dust, which dust shall Arke
His Angell-Peer again, that Divine Sparke,

Return from dust (& dusty be no more)
To bow to him who bled to pay his Score
And [soar]ing vp in milk white Rayment say,
Farewell Deaths Cradle, Welfare Judgment day.

III

My last Declamation in the Colledge Hall May 5, 1671,[1] where four Declaim'd in the Praise of four Languages and five upon the five senses. Those upon the Languages Declaim'd in the Language they treated of: and hence mine ran in English

העברי לא אנכי ἐκ εἰμι ἑλλην nec sum Latinus.[2]
But an Englishman.

My Muse, Ye Muses Nurslings,[3] doth come
To borrow once of you your ears trust[4] Drum,
That with her Tabber stick[5] strike up she may,
An English march thereon, and march away.

[1] The early curriculum at Harvard required students to improve their rhetoric by delivering an oration or "declamation" at regular intervals during their four undergraduate years. These events took place at nine o'clock on Fridays and were so arranged that each student spoke at least once a month. After 1655 the requirements were modified, undergraduates declaiming bimonthly. Some of the declamations have been preserved, and this of Taylor's is one of the most entertaining. It is unique among the declamations thus far brought to light in that it is composed in poetical form. Yet its frivolous and playful spirit was not uncommon to such occasions.

Taylor could not resist a pun, and his display of superficial learning has both the charm and the tediousness of much that still passes for undergraduate wit. Later on Taylor learned to govern his exuberant delight in figurative, involved language; and mere cleverness gave way to controlled harmonies. But the mood of the declamation was light and would have been judged only as oratory. Doubtless it amused the President and Fellows, as well as the less nimble-witted students who would admire the facile display.

I am indebted to Dr. Nabih A. Faris, Curator of Arabic Manuscripts and Literatures at Princeton University, for assistance in establishing the Hebrew readings; and to Dr. Floyd C. Harwood, Chairman of the Latin and Greek Departments, Lawrenceville School, for his suggestions regarding the most appropriate renderings of the Latin quibbles and puns. For sources about the Harvard curriculum in the seventeenth century, see Samuel E. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), I. 139–280.

[2] "I am not Hebrew, I am not Greek, neither am I a Latin."

[3] Taylor, addressing his classmates, employs the term *nurslings* in its seventeenth-century literal meaning of *alumni*: all students of a school or college, whether of the past or present, not necessarily graduates. It is significant that he refers to the Puritan institution as one nourished by the muses.

[4] The eardrum is figuratively conceived as *trussed*: that is, drawn tight or stretched firmly during the period of attentive listening.

[5] Here used figuratively to mean the air current striking the tympanum. The spelling follows an obsolete form.

But if you say, what things men first begin,
Apologies gentlemen-Usher in.[1]
I say that these you had from Nuncquam-Prius[2]
For me late Complementing neatly by us.
Yet let no Cross bow black Reflections bend
It was no lift[3] ye other day did lend,
But laide a Scotch[4] before my Wheeles so sore,
My Tuckles[5] almost brake in tugging 't ore.
But having got it ore, my Muse doth Crave,
That for her Dead yours [*sic*] ears may be ye grave.
But if these Still Pots[6] onely Catch, & keep,
The perfum'de Distillation, & the Reech[7]
Which by the heate of Phancy, raisd drops thick
From the Alimbeck of Sweet Rhetorick:
Then woe is me! For no such Flowers grow
Within my Garden; no such Spirits flow
From mine Alimbeck, neither have I skill
To rain such hony falls[8] out of my Still.

Could I mint words anew, & had no Stamp,
Had I a Stamp, & yet a Vice did want,
Had I a Vice, & had no Plate to draw
Therethrough, all would not counterpoise a Straw.
But none of these are mine, I cannot mint.
I have no Stamp, no Vice, nor plate to print.

Oh! that my CAN could cask my WILL that I
My Native speech aright might Dignify.

[1] That is, an apology for or defense of his subject is due if he speak the things with which men usually introduce a subject; the apology will perform the duty of a gentleman usher to the body of his remarks. At Harvard, as at the English universities, each fellow had a sizar—a poorer student earning part of his own education—to serve him as secretary and valet. The term *gentleman usher*, however, is figurative; it was not applied to any university or college function. An *usher* was an undermaster or teaching assistant.

[2] "I say that such an introduction you have 'never before' had from me, lately attempting some complimentary speech for us." The meaning is not entirely clear. These two lines, taken with the succeeding four, might imply that Taylor had been asked or had expected at some earlier date to declaim in some class exercise in which he was heckled during his speech.

[3] Help in raising up. [4] A block placed under a wheel to prevent slipping.

[5] Error for *truckles*: that is, pulleys. The whole sentence seems to mean that the duty imposed on the speaker was one in which he received no aid, and if he succeeds in performing adequately, he will do so with the prestige that accrues under a handicap.

[6] Pots in which perfumes and cordials are kept or prepared.

[7] The word is often used by Taylor to mean *sweet odor*; it is not in the *New English Dictionary*, where the last recorded entry in which *reek* means *perfume* is dated 1599.

[8] A rare substitute for *honeydew*.

Yet Count I pray what I do miss to Scan
Drops of my WILL that fall beside my CAN
But why Stand I thus Rapping at the Doore
I'le draw the Latch, & in, & rap no more.

Let English then to finde its Worth be presst
Unto the touch of Generalls Speeches test.
Speech is ye Chrystall Chariot where the minde
In progress rides, Cart rutting of ye Winde:
Whose Coachman drives Coach & Coach horses there
Rattling along the Mouth in at the eare.
With which our English doth well Comply.
But not designing this, I this pass by.
And say when that our Sparkes Divine design
To have Commerce with other Sparks Divine
Its minute thoughts doth spruice[1] in Speech to send
As Angells bright unto an honour'd friend
From whom like Angells it doth much desire.
Speech therefore is their Holy dayes attire.
Now that Speech Wealthi'st is, whose Curious Web
Of finest twine is wrought, not Cumbered
With Knots, Galls, Ends, or Thrums:[2] but doth obtain
All Golden Rhetorick to trim the same.
With which our English is as richly dresst
As those last Oracles crackt o're this Desk:[3]
Whose Web is of the Purest-finest Twine,
Such Syllables, & Words as well Combine
Not like the Hebrew which made Bithner lay
Hajin as Drum, & Drumstick to afray.[4]

[1] To make trim or neat: *spruce*.

[2] Taylor seems to mean that English is relatively free from the particles, dots, and markings attached to letters frequently used in Hebrew and Greek. These are all weaving terms: Taylor had been brought up in or near Coventry, Warwickshire, a center of the English weaving industry. He often enriched his poetry with such native, homely terms.

[3] Evidently Taylor had been preceded at "this Desk" by the declaimers in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

[4] The Hebrew equivalent for the English *h* (pron. *āch*) is now usually transliterated *'ain* or *'ayin*. The Hebrew beginner's grammar in use at Harvard in the seventeenth century was Johann Buxtorf's *Epitome Radicum Hebraicarum et Chaldaicarum*. In it the transliteration is given *ajin*, and the symbol, formed vaguely like the Greek *psi* (on which Taylor puns two lines below), looks something like a drumstick lying across the edge of a drum, thus: ע. In the possession of Lewis S. Gannett, Esq., of New York City, a Taylor descendent, is a copy of Victor Bythner, *Lyra Prophetica Davidis Regis sive Analysis Critico-practica Psalmorum . . . ad Calcem Addita Est Brevis Institutio Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae* (London, 1664). The copy bears Taylor's autograph on the flyleaf and

Transcends the Greek which easily may delude
With Vowells consonant the blinde & Rude.[1]
Whose Double Consonant too ψ Psi is found
Tort'ring its Tabberstick that makes it sound.
It doth excell the Latine too for they
Make Ach a jack on both sides in their fray.[2]
What Cases too have these, & how may we
Them Number right, & know twice six they bee.[3]
One Terminations doth our Epithet
In Number, Gender, & all Cases set.[4]
Two to each Substantive will be enough
Two fives in other Tongues are found too few.[5]
Some words of wch should you persue their train
With Hue-and-Cry, & them for treason rain[6]
They'l die before they'l leave the border Stone
Of Singulariter that thrid bare Don.[7]
Some Strumpet like are pregnant found before
They marri'de are: & these do evermore
Nun-like live single lives, yet generaliter
Do pregnant prove by Abbot Old Pluraliter.[8]
And as these amble o're the Cases light,

seems clearly to account for these two lines. The brief introduction to Hebrew grammar which Bythner appends to his analysis of the Psalms spells the aspirate *ghajin*.

[1] That is, careless students might be confused by the fact that certain initial vowels in Greek (e.g. aspirates) should be given the value of consonants. To be sure, students of Greek in the seventeenth century would not have been aware of the correct linguistic laws, but they would have been taught the fact by rule of thumb.

[2] The letter *h* in Latin has the kindred but weaker aspirate value of our *h*, taken over from the Greek. Initially, however, the Latin *h* was totally silent in the vernacular forms which emerged as Old French and Italian. Ignorance of the fact might result in a sort of "cockney" dialect. The English *h* in the Teutonic part of the language comes from an original surd guttural, a *k*, which first became a guttural spirant (as *ch* in German and Scotch) and then weakened to a mere aspiration.

[3] Latin nouns are declined in the nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, ablative, and vocative cases.

[4] That is, case endings are almost totally absent in English nouns. See the preceding note.

[5] Most English words form plurals simply by adding *s*.

[6] *Arraign*.

[7] A reference to the Latin fifth declension, in which only *res* and *dies* have plurals. *Singulariter* and *pluraliter* were the words used instead of *singular* and *plural* to head paradigms in early textbooks.

[8] For example, *castra* (second declension) is declined only in the plural, but with a singular meaning. Its syntax requires a plural construction. It is probable that Taylor had *castra* in mind, for it was commonly used in seventeenth-century textbooks to demonstrate the point.

Some will not set a foot within the Right.[1]
Some stumbling are found in Casu Dandi[2]
Some tumble headlong down into Damnandi[3]
Some tripping stumble at ye Genetive so,
Recover not untill in Ablativo.[4]
Some stumbling in one Case leape o're the fence,
Into Pluraliter's fat Pastor thence.[5]
Some Cripples are, & some are monsters strange,
Changing their Sex as their their Numbers Change.[6]
Some like to light heeld Hares their Sexes Varie
Some are both Hic, & Haec, both Philip & Mary.[7]
Strange Megrim. Oh this birth becomes a Progeny
Of Heteroclits[8] and their Androgyny.
In the most noble Genders none arrive
With us, inferiour to sensatives.[9]
What cannot unto sensitives arise
What ere they be we rightly neutralize.[10]

Here should I mount upon the back to pace
Our English Verbs, & run them in the Race
With those of other Tongues at Small Expenses
Over the Lay-Crafft[11] of the Moods, & Tenses:
They many would defective leave behinde
Some broken winded, & some out of winde.
But time Declines, I must Declentions leave,
And step into the Loom the Web to weave.
Yet know you by the way this yarn so fine
Described hitherto is single twine.

[1] For example, *filia* and *dea* (feminine, first declension) have a dative and ablative in *-abus* to distinguish them from the masculine forms of the substantives (*filiis* and *deis*).

[2] "In the [irregular] dative case." [3] "Into the accusative."

[4] The usual Latin textbook expression for "in the ablative." Some nouns, for example, *domus* (second or fourth declension), would be recognized by the ablative, *domo*.

[5] For example, *vis*, which is regular in the plural but irregular in the singular.

[6] *Copia* means *supply* or *plenty* in the singular, *troops* in the plural. *Locus* is masculine in the singular, neuter in the plural.

[7] *Coniunx* (*conjunx*): husband, wife, spouse. *Lepus* (hare) is usually given in its masculine form, but it takes a feminine adjective when it means a feminine hare. It was a common textbook example in early grammars.

[8] In grammar a heteroclite is an irregularly inflected noun.

[9] That is, in English, nouns regularly follow actual (i.e. sensitive), not grammatical, gender.

[10] That is, treat them as neuters.

[11] The craft or art in which a thing is made to lie in relation to something else. Cf. "the lay of the land."

Which if we double do how doth abound
Our English Tongue with many a rich Compound?
Yea we to make them more significant
Their Handspiks helve with outland Olivant.[1]
Hence rare compounds. We also Decorate
Outlandish Trist with tags of English plate.
That outland words do end with English Sounds,
Of which our Languague richly doth abound.[2]

The yarn thus rich, & even spun behold
Our Web more welthy is than cloath of Gold.
Not full of Ends, & Thrums which do ore spread
In Useless Particles the Grecian Web.
Nor is it gally,[3] as some Frizes[4] rare,
Whose Leakes with Subauditoes,[5] Corked are.
And if occasion serve, we from our Treasure,
Can Duftaile in a Proverb at our pleasure.
And to enrich the same there's many a pin
Of Outland Twine, compleatly wrought therein.
If we abirding go, we quickly spie
In English dwells a Grecian Progeny.
For Hall was Hatchd, & flew from 'Αυλῆ's nest
To us, and in our English mode is dresst:[6]
Onely we animate her with our flap,
By Spiriting the feather in her Cap.[7]
And so our Lamp will light you by its flame
To Greces famous λαμπω whence it came.[8]
If a Grammarians Beagles out do run
T'hunt Hebrew Venison i'th'English tongue

[1] The meaning probably is: "We helve [furnish a handle to] their handspikes, made of foreign [*outland*] elements [olivant: oliphant or ivory]."

[2] "We also adapt foreign words to English by giving them native spellings and pronunciations, thus increasing the richness of our tongue."

[3] *Galls* (provincial English) are imperfections. Taylor is either coining a word or using a dialectical form by substituting an adjective for the substantive.

[4] A frieze is a thick, warm woolen cloth used for rough outer garments.

[5] The rare transitive verb *subaud* (Lat. *sub* + *audire*) means to supply mentally, as a word or an ellipsis. Taylor is coining a substantive.

[6] A false etymology. The Greek αὐλή, a hall or court, is cognate with *air*, *aura*, and *asthma*, and from it is derived New English *aula* (a court or hall). But New English *hall* is of Germanic origin.

[7] That is, we do more than merely aspirate initially: we place the letter *h* at the beginning of the words. Such false etymologies were commonly taught long after Taylor's day. His metaphors, however, are by no means dull.

[8] The etymology here is correct. *Lamp* is derived, through Latin *lampas*, from the Greek λάμπας.

Out of the Hebrew Stubble he shall start
The Misers Hare Calld Cash, & breake her heart.[1] קש
If he afishing go, he angle shall
Out of the Hebrew Fishpond KOL our Call[2] קול
Our Colledge Supper too doth easely lie
Encoffin'de up within the Hebrew Pie.[3] פי

Our Web thus wrought, rich Rhetorick steps in
As golden Lace a Silver Web to trim.
There's scarce a Single thrid but doth entwine
A Trope, or Figure in't to make it fine.
Here lies a Metonymy, there doth sculke
An Irony: here underneath this bulke
A Metaphor; Synecdoche doth reare
And open publickly Shopwindows here.
These and their Offspring their affections spend
Our Lady English to Court, & tend.
Of Swashy[4] Figures too there throngs in Store
Her Dressing to Emblanch, & bro[i]der ore.
And first decks words, & sounds: where jiming[5] feet
Of measurd stepts in Symphony run Sweet:
Cloathing our English Muse in Poetry:
Whose warbling Melody let them descry,
Whose light Souls in their fingers ends do Caper
And Dance on Ropes with Cur[t]sies to ye Quaver.[6]
But still lest Oratories noble Web
Should not with trim[m]ing meet be overspred,
With Epizeuxis[7] Lace it laced is,
And trim'd with Chits[8] of Anadiplosis.[9]

[1] Hebrew *qash*, stubble. The pun is complicated but was probably not obscure to his audience.

[2] In modern Hebrew, *qul*, but in the texts of the seventeenth century, *kol*: the imperative of the verb *speak* or *say*. The etymology is preposterous, but the pun makes good sense.

[3] An entertaining pun. The Hebrew *p* (cf. Greek *phi*) was transliterated in early texts *phe* and had a value sometimes *p* and sometimes *f*. It was even then known originally to mean *mouth*. These lines are the sole indication I know of that seventeenth-century undergraduates at Harvard were sometimes fed pie for supper!

[4] Provincial English: *swaggering*.

[5] The colloquial adjective *jemmy* means spruce, neat, smart. It may have been Taylor's intention to adapt the word here and give some such meaning.

[6] The whole figure conveys a surprisingly lyric touch to Taylor's concept of poetry.

[7] In rhetoric, an immediate or almost immediate repetition of a word, involving added emphasis.

[8] Clearly some kind of decoration for dress is intended, but such a meaning is not recorded in the *New English Dictionary*.

[9] In rhetoric, a repetition of a word, especially the last word, of a clause at the beginning of the next.

Whose Bunches Climax-wise are rinkt & twirld,
And with Anaphoras[1] its Frontlet's purld,
Whose Selvages are of Epistrophe:[2]
And tasled in the middst with Symploce,[3]
Epenalepsis[4] comes with Crisping pins:
Epanodos[5] her welthy Spangles brings.
So all the rest pearlelike are set, & spred
Like to Mosaik Work all ore our Web.

Thus done, the minde each depper[6] minute thought
Spruc't up in English Huswifry, enwrought
With rare Embro[i]derings, and laid with lace
Set out with Silver Chits & Ribbons grace,
Tasled with Rhetorick, doth deck to set
Forth Majesty in e'ry single jet.
Scorning to lower top sayle, or to stand,
As yielding reverence, with Cap in hand
To Latine, Greek, or Hebrew, but now clears
Its right i'th'right hand is as much as theirs.[7]

But yet some Stumbling Block, before I winde
Up all, I must remove, for feare the blinde
Should breake their Shins thereat. I hope the Wise
Are Wise enough better to pupillize
The Stripplings that Stand at bow peep within
Their Eyes, than t'let them ripple[8] here their Shin.
Call not our English, Upstart, Raw, & Bare,
Its neither Sacred Web, nor colledge ware.[9]

[1] In rhetoric, a repetition of a word or words at the beginning of successive clauses.

[2] In rhetoric, a figure in which several successive clauses or sentences end with the same word or affirmation.

[3] In rhetoric, a repetition of one word at the beginning and of another at the end of successive clauses. It is a combination of epanaphora and epistrophe.

[4] In rhetoric, the repetition or resumption of a figure, especially of one by which the same word or phrase is repeated after one or more intervening words, or on returning to the same subject after a digression.

[5] In rhetoric, a recapitulation of the chief points or heads in a discourse.

[6] *Dapper?*

[7] The general idea is clear enough though the three metaphors complicate the image, and the third is structurally obscure. Taylor says that English is not inferior to the other three languages: it (1) will not lower topsail to them or (2) yield reverence "with Cap in hand," but (3) proves its right to be accepted as a tongue of equal dignity and power.

[8] Obsolete: to scratch or break slightly; graze.

[9] "It is neither the language of the Bible [i.e., Hebrew and Greek] nor that used in college." Latin was not only the language of the school texts then in use but of all recitations and, theoretically, of all informal conversation as well.

Those Accidentall Jewells onely Venture
To ring the Eare, but not the Essence enter.
True, true, for Age, and Oracles Divine
I honour Adams Tongue, & Javans Shrine,
Above our own:[1] but Latine's upland ground
Wherein no Spring of Oracles is found.
Onely a Sluce is Cut with gray Goose Quills
Wherein an Holy Water Currant drills,
Over that barren soile from Sacred Springs
And Such a trench Such waters in ours brings
And through all Colledges leaves English Satten
And Cloathed bee in Hebrew, Greek & Latine,[2]
This little doth our arguing impare:
For ancient folk do ancient fashions ware.
By what is said it seemeth very Cleare
That English worth with worthi'st tongues may peare
And go they t'Best-Betrust to Honours Host
Those three'l be rubbed out to pay the Cost.[3]

But whither wander I? I might expect
A Si Quis up ere this (was it not neckt)
For my Conclusion.[4] Wherefore taking leave
I do immediately my Desk bequeath
To whom, I do not say, with large defences
Do Gratify, but gratulate their Senses.[5]

[1] Hebrew was universally looked on before the nineteenth century not only as the sacred language of the Old Testament but as the parent tongue of all languages. It was therefore considered linguistically of great importance.

[2] Taylor seems to mean that Latin was never a sacred language. The Old Testament was written in Hebrew, the New Testament in Greek; but Latin has been the source by which the Testaments have been transmitted from the days of the Vulgate. Latin also has been the language of most of the Biblical commentators and, together with Hebrew and Greek, of all textbooks.

[3] "And if they compete on their individual merits for honors, English will take first place."

[4] Though the implication here is that Taylor expects to be quizzed or heckled, it is likely he is speaking facetiously, in keeping with the tone of the whole declamation. There is nothing here that would call for an answer. Of course the weekly disputations gave an opponent the chance to question the respondent. But no formula beginning *Si quis* ("If anyone wishes to question. . . .") was therein followed.

[5] As the title states, those declaiming on the four languages were to be followed by "five upon the five senses." Apparently the speakers declaimed in the order named.

IV

An Elegy vpon the Death of that Holy man of God Mr. John Allen,[1] late Past. of the Church of Christ at Dedham, who departed this Life 25th 6m 1671

The Flappering Soule for news inclined quakes
Sits on ye lippit of ye eare, & takes
All news that that way passes: & withall
Those dangling Words which from ye lips do fall:
And as each Puff past with its Packet by,
(Some full of Sorrow, Some all quilt with joy),
One dropt's its Packet in't which down did fell
My trembling Soule: & it in Sorrow quell.
For as a Watchman on a Tower, aboue
The Breastwork, should his breastplate mostly prove
If open to ye foe, is oft thereby
Pepst with the bullets to his heart that fly.
Or as a Rose by morning dew refresht
Dilates its leaves, all garnesht in its best:
And best Perfumes to tend ye Sunny day
Is by a Lightning Flash, yt passt that way,
All barbd, & Shrivles vp its leaves. & Why?
Not knowing what to do, to live, or dy.
Ev'n so our Souls vp soaring high appear
Aboue ye vpper Region of ye eare
Bedeckt with Cheering hopes, with good news wedded
Are by a Churlish thunder Clap beheaded.
And Shrivled vp in mourners weeds, & feares.
Swim ore the Seas of Grief in briny tears.
And hearing Something Crash, there's cause to doubt
Another Stud is broke, or Stake pluckt out
Out of its place. Hence Sinking fears ascend
Encountring feeble Hopes: & in ye end
Inquiring what it was, ye answer briefe
Destroyd all hope, & drowned Fears with Griefe.
But what's the matter? Sir, Shew what is done?
Pluck out ye Plug, & let ye Causes run.
Alass! alass! alass! & would you know
Go, hugge ye bussing aire: It will you shew.

[1] John Allen (Allin), a graduate of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, emigrated to Dedham in 1637 and was ordained pastor of the church there two years later. He was one of the more notable figures among the first generation of colonists: he assisted John Eliot in missionary work among the Indians; drafted the reply to Dr. Robert Child, the Remonstrant, in 1646; and served as an Overseer of Harvard College from 1654 until his death on August 25, 1671. His sons John and Daniel graduated from the college in 1643 and 1675, respectively.

For there the Echoes of our Griefs appeare
Riding Sedan in Circles far & neer.
But was it meet wth an Antithesis
To anagrammatize, the Case is this.
The GRACES ALL ON Allen showing bright
Are calld ALL IN to bed & bid Good night
[ ]
Temples for Christ, who builded builders yielding
Of him a testimony full, & just,
Hath Pitcht his Tabernacle in the Dust.
A man of truth, who truthed it in love,
Who loved in peace with man & God aboue,
Hath now laid down (thô late he laid at Sin)
His Gospell Hilts, &'s gone out of the Ring.

How are our Spirituall Gamesters slipt away?
Crossing their Hilts, & leaving of their play?
Leaving the ring to vs who'de need before
We take vp hilts, ye Fencing Schoole implore.
Are Norton, Newman, Stone, Thompson gone hence?
Gray, Wilson, Shepherd, Flint, & Mitchell since?
Eliot, two Mather's Fathers first, then th'Son,
Is Buncker's Woodward's Rainer's hourglass run?
With Davenport's, Sim's, Wareham's? Who are gone?[1]
That Allen now is Called hence? Shall none
Be left behinde to tell's the Quondam Glory
Of this Plantation? What a bleeding Story
Doth this present vs with? Mine eyes boile ore
Thy gellid teares into this Vrn therefore,
Wherein their Noble ashes are, & know yee
ALL ENd in ALLEN, by a Paragoge.[2]

Haec maetus additit. E. T.

[1] John Norton of Boston (*d* April 5, 1663), Samuel Newman of Rehoboth (*d* July 5, 1663), Samuel Stone of Hartford (*d* July 20, 1663), William Tompson of Braintree (*d* December 10, 1666), John Wilson of Boston (*d* August 7, 1667), Samuel Shepard of Rowley (*d* April 7, 1668), Henry Flint of Braintree (*d* April 27, 1668), Jonathan Mitchel of Cambridge (*d* July 9, 1668), John Eliot of Newton, son of the Apostle to the Indians (*d* October 13, 1668), Richard Mather of Dorchester (*d* April 22, 1669), Eleazar Mather of Northampton (*d* July 24, 1669), Benjamin Bunker of Malden (*d* March 3, 1670), William Woodward of Dedham (*d* June 26, 1669), John Rayner of Dover (*d* April 20, 1669), John Davenport of New Haven (*d* March 15, 1670), Zechariah Symmes of Charlestown (*d* February 4, 1671), John Warham of Windsor (*d* April 19, 1670). Gray remains unidentified.

[2] The addition, by growth or accident, of a nonsignificant letter or syllable to the end of a word (e.g., agains-t, amongs-t).

V

An Elogy vpon the Death of the Revnd & Learned Man of God Mr. Charles Chauncey[1] President of Harvard Colledg in N: Englend Who Depart this Life 20th 12^{m} 1671/2 And of his age 80

A Double Acrostick

C	Come weep with me, alas! alas! that Dew	V
H	Hung on our Eyes by Allens Funerall new[2]	
A	As yet is Scarce wipt off, but a Relation	N
R	Raising from Chauncey's Grave an Exhalation	
L	Like Some bedewing mist from some low plac^{e}	C
E	(Exhalde, as Sol doth hide [h]is golden fac^{e}	
S	Soon's thresht by th'South winde to a cloud whereby	Y
C	Cold trickling tears run down the low'ring Sky)	
H	Held vp so's fan'de with Sighs till it appears	
A	A Cloud of Griefe Dissolv'd in Showers of tears.	

A Quadruble Acrostick whose Trible is an Anagram

Charles Chauncy
A Call in Churches

ace Sobbing Muse, come sum thy loss	Defra^{y}	A	fter y^{ts} done, ye Debts y^{t} are to pa^{y}	A
re Learnings gone, a Pollyglotta	Choic^{e}	C	uriously printed in a Silver Voic^{e}	C
tract of Greek & Hebrew; Rabbins	la^{y}	A	ptly enshrined in his Temples Gra^{y}	A
utchions of Arts, & Artificiall Skill		L	ay boxed in his Memory; at Will	L
Schoolmen oft he Cast a wary Ei^{e}		I	ntently searching out ye good therebi^{e}	I
rk Questions would inlighten & explain		N	othing but naughtiness he did disdain	N
ch Vertue bright & gift Divine had plac^{e}		C	arbuncle like to Stud his Crown wth Grac^{e}	C
at Handmaid to Divinity whose Wealth		H	e did improve vnto o^{r} living Health	H
ese Sweets to That, & That Sweet Hony Devv		V	nto the Hive of Piety he drevv	V
ffusing all by Pattern, Preaching clear		R	ich Pray'res, & such like thrô his Practice heer	R
ea would in flaming Zeal stoutly advanc^{e}		C	ouragously against Goliahs Lanc^{e}	C
ea, yea, he would not spare y^{m} Low or High		H	e Smote down Sin, Smiting it Hip & Thigh	H
signs hereof hung in Gods house there bee		E	mbellist Zeale, like Davids shields there See	E
d many a Call in Churches give y^{t} this		S	ounds sad; that calls him hence altho to Bliss	S

{Chron / Angr^{m}} Glory's thy Crown. Who'de fear a Tomb t'enjoy / Such Royall Chance? Or Such a Chancelry

MDCLVVVVI
{Charles / Chauncy} Such Ryal Chance / Such a Chancelry

[1] For the best account of Chauncy, see Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, I. 320–339.

[2] John Allen, the subject of the preceding elegy, who died August 25, 1671.

An Acrostick Chronogram

An Dni M Methinks I se the Churches Swim in Tears
C Considering the failing of their Seers.
L Let Harvard mourn, Sons of the Prophets weep
V Who can forebeare? Your Head is dropt asleep.
L Learning hath left your Hall: Your Sun is Set
V Will not Such Words Command your Eyelid Wet?
C Cast in your minde his Conscience, Cure, & Pains
L Laide out vpon you; How his Candle flaims.
C Chiefly to Kindle yours, & others Well
V With Holy Fire that from the Altar fell?
V Were it but meet this Blessed Waite to lay
I In Golden Scales Comparative to weigh.
I It would no hard thing be for vs to finde
I In weighing how he most doth leave behinde.
I If Peters Faith, Pauls Preaching, Johns Love Strong,
I If Noah's, Job's, & Daniels Prayers should come,
I Josiahs Spirit, Hezekiahs Heart,
I If Davids sevenfold Dayly Quests revert,
I If that the Tishbites Zeale, who did Destroy
V Vile Baals Priests Smiting them Hip, & Thigh.
L Lay in Elijahs Mantle Oucht, was not
V Vpon Grave Chauncie's back this mantle got?
I If this Elijahs Mantle, as he went.
V Vnto the Kingdom filld with full Content,
V Vnto a man had fallen to inherit,
V With double Portion of Elijahs Spirit,
V Vnto Such Riches Sweet he should attain
V Which would inrich: Then Jordains fordless main
V Vnto his Mantle would afford as due
L Large Reverence, & lowly Conjues shew
V Vnclaspt her Watry Mask that so her Sweet
I Imblushing Sands may kiss Elijahs feet,
I In greate Obeysence. But alas we Stand
I In Tears, & Cry The Char'ots Father and
I Just Horsemen of our Israel, but finde
I It is too rich a gift to leave behinde
V Vp then, & se how he doth Swim in Bliss
V Where he in Glorys Throne incrowned is.
V Whence while his Clay incoffinde is, doth Cry
V Who'de feare a Tomb Such Glory to enjoy?
V Who'de feare the Grave? Death's but the golden Doore
V Wherein we must vnto bright Glories shore.

V Well, Chauncy, well, thou where thou wouldst be, art.
V We Sink in Sorrow judgment, & the Darke.
I In middst of all ye Combat pray do we
I Inable vs, oh Lord, to Shine as Hee.

Anagram { Carolus Chancaeus
Caelo Charus Canus }

Quam Caelo Charus Canus? Collectus et ipse
In justus legitur qui bene justus erat } Chron agram { An° D^{ni}
M:C CCCCLLLVV[VVI]
Aetat LVVVVVII[III]

VI

This Dove &
Olive Branch to
you
Is both a Post &
Emblem too[1]
These for M[y Dove]
Tender & Onely [Love]
Mrs. Elizabeth [Fitch][2]
at her father's house in
N[orwich]

[A] spiring Love, that Scorns to hatch a Wish
[B] eneath itselfe, the fullest, chiefest Blisse
[C] ontain'd within Heav E ns Chrystall Pale, & Shine,
[D ot]h wish its Object a L w A yes; So doth mine.
[E lec]t no more P res S ented in desire:
[F or H]eavens Roofe, a Y e, lets not A wish soar higher.
[G ot t]hough too di M I N o N e can get to sign
[H ear]e you, (my FR E I ND) y^is stren G T h'ned Wish of mine.
[I n d]rossy Sil V R should, I SH ould by this,
K eep dull my P O S T, and staine my S E rious Wish.
L est wch pol L V ted bee, or th' f E A rfull Dove
M y Post out F O y'l'd I ru N a R ing of Love,
N ew P O L lisht, w^re my cent'red heart D o T h reek
O ut hi G hes T Steams of Love, which here D oe M eet
P rese N ted t H us y^r Heart, LOVES RI N G yo V 'll finde
Q uest I onlesse, A lwayes [the] best B E fitt S ye min
R ese R ve mine T hat. Yet let O ur secre T bre
S E t Love t H e Tune which tu N es this Ring ye B e
H e Ring of Love my Ple A sant H eart must b E
T RVELY CONFIND WI T HIN THE TRINIT

V {pon your Hearte (I pray you) put Loves Ring
{nerringly; Loves Swelt [ring] Hearte herein
W {earing a True-Loves-Knot at centre's set.
{here with I send to you an Alphabet
X {enodick whence all syllables compleat.
{tracted are to spell what Love can speake
Y ea, see, then what I send. Yet I design
Z ion my Ring shall Licen[c]e with her Trine

[*Triangle:* The ring of love my pleasant heart mvst bee
Trvely confind within the Trinitie]

[*Circle:* Lovs Ring I send
That hath no end]

[1] These words are written inside a crude drawing of a dove holding an olive branch with which Taylor decorated this page of his manuscript.

[2] Taylor's first wife, whom he married on November 5, 1674, was Elizabeth, daughter of

VII

Westfield 27 8m 1674 These for my truely deare, & Endeared Mrs. Elizabeth Fitch mine Onely Love, in Norwich wth Care—I had thought that my Muse should have added a Quaver or two vnto your Music but yt Stage being so thick a Crowded already, there is Scarce any room for it. All therefore yt She shall doe, shall be onely to take ye tune, where you left it & answer, as it were an Eccho, back again vnto yr Song, in this following Ditty.

Were but my Muse an Huswife Good, & could
Spin out a Phansy fine, & Weave it Would
In Sapphick Web, & Cloath my Love therein,
I'de Carde ye rowls, She Should ye Phansy Spin.
But I no Rowling Phansy have to run.
Nor She Such Silken Huswifry ere Spun.
Hence Coarse Iambick is ye finest she
Can weave, my Love arrayed in to bee.
But if in Discontent my Love reply,
Iambicum amasti Cur? & why?
Cause She no Silken Huswife is. Yet thus
She Quavers out her Iambick feet to vs.

That long'd for Web of new Relation, gay,
That must be wove vpon or Wedden Day,
(Whose Warfe, & Woofe are thy true Love, & mine
Hearts golden Fleece, spun into finest twine)
Shines like a Web of fulgent gold, all blancht
With folds of Hearts, & pritty Harps hence brancht
Sounding ye Lisping Musick of their Strings
More pleasant than ye Virginalls can ring
Enamelled with priviledges bright
With Honours, Duties, & with pleasure right,
And Faithfulness, which Stands like pearls, & Smile
On one another Shining all ye While.
Yet Cares, & Crosses too amongst these meet,
Like Vineger wch Sugar makes more Sweet.

Yet here a richer Veane of Excellence
Darts thro' this Wealthy Web, & Sparkles. Whence

the Reverend James Fitch of Norwich, Connecticut. She died on July 7, 1689, in her thirty-ninth year, and in 1692 he married Ruth Wyllys, daughter of Samuel Wyllys of Hartford. Though the "posy-ring" verses are undated, they doubtless were composed about the same time as the decasyllabic couplets, dated October 27, 1674, which follow (No. VII).

A Pillar doth of dazzling glory rise
With pious Odours, for a Sacrifice
As bundles of ye Flaming Sunbeams fly
To glorify whom all Should glorify
Thus Glory darts its Web, & Him Divine
Him with a Direct, That a Reflect Shine.

But yet as Surryps Spoild, grow soure apace
And Vermine breed: So fares it in this Case.
If Duty, Faith, & Love be ragged worn
Then Honours, Pleasures, Priviledges torne,
Ly gasping, & ye Lisping Musick Deare
The Pritty Harps play, jars, & wounds ye Eare.
The golden thrids, those Heart Strings (to be briefe)
Chafe, Gaul, & fretting breake, for very Griefe.

Those Hearts Emblancht on Hearts, are Hearts Steept soe
In pickled Woes, y^t^ bite as Badgers doe.
And thus this golden web is, e're its done,
As black as Hair-Cloth made, all Snick Snarld run.
And for its glory (y^t^ Choice Sacrifice)
A Smoke from Hell, as black as Death doth rise.

My Sweet Heart, thus ye glorious Sparkling fold
Of this rich Web, you clearly may behold:
The Glass of it misvsd will proove its Choice
That's Excellent whose Fault's a grievous vice.

It now remains: Let's Cloath ourselves, my Dove
With this Effulgeant Web, & our pickt Love
Wrapt vp therein: & lets by walking right
Loves brightest Mantle make Still Shine more bright
For then its glory Shall ascend on high
The Highest One alone to glorify.
Which rising will let Such a glory fall
Vpon our Lives y^t^ glorify them Shall.
Which glory that it may till Death abide
I make my Pray're, who do myselfe Subscribe

Thine whilst Mine Own: & yet mine Own whilst Thine
Thou being Mine alone, I'm Thine, & Mine.

EDW: TAYLOR

VIII

A Funerall Poem Vpon ye Death of my ever Endeared, & Tender Wife Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor, Who fell asleep in Christ ye 7th day of July at night about two hours after Sun setting 1689, & in the 39 yeare of her Life[1]

Part 1

My Gracious Lord, I Licence of thee Crave,
Not to repine but drop vpon ye Grave,
Of my Deare Wife a Teare, or two: or wash
That Milk White hand in tears that downward pass.
Thou Summond hast her Noble part away:
And in Salt Tears I would Embalm her Clay.
Some deem Death doth ye True Love Knot vnty:
But I do finde it harder tide thereby
My heart is in't & will be Squeezd therefore
To pieces if thou draw the Ends much more.
Oh Strange Vntying! it ti'th harder: What?
Can anything vnty a True Love Knot?
Five Babes thou tookst from me before this Stroke.
Thine arrows then into my bowells broake,
But now they pierce into my bosom Smart,
Do Strike & Stob me in the very heart.
I'de then my bosom Friend a Comfort, and
To Comfort: yet my Lord I kiss thy hand.
I Her resign'd, thou tookst her into thine,
Out of my bosom, yet she dwells in mine:
And thou her Precious Soule now Swims in bliss,
Yet while grim Death, that Dismall Sergeant is,
Between ye Parts Essentiall now remote,
And hath this Stately Tabernacle broke
My Harp is turnd to mourning. Organ Sweet
Is turn'de into ye Voice of them that weep.
Griefe Swelling girds the Heart Strings where its purst.
Vnless it Vent the Vessell Sure will burst.
My Gracious Lord, grant that my bitter Griefe
Breath thrô this little Vent hole for reliefe.

Part 2

My Dear, Deare Love, reflect thou no Such thing,
Will Griefe permit you at my Grave to Sing?

[1] The impersonal quality of these lines gives no clue to the husband's sensitiveness, nor do they suggest his authentic talent as a poet. Among his "Sacramental Meditations," under date of this very Sunday, is an extraordinarily beautiful poem of seven stanzas

Oh! Black, Black Thorne! The Girths of Griefe alone
Do gird my heart till Gust of Sorrows groan
And dash a mournfull Song to pieces on
The Dolefull Face of thy Sepulcher Stone
My Onely DOVE, thô Harp & Harrow, loe,
Better agree than Songs & Sorrows doe.
Yet Spare me thus to drop a blubber'd Verse
Out of my Weeping Eyes Vpon thy Herse.
What shall my Preface to our True Love Knot
Frisk in Acrostick Rhimes? And may I not
Now at our parting, with Poetick knocks
Break a Salt teare to pieces as it drops?
Did Davids bitter Sorrow at ye Dusts
Of Jonathan raise Such Poetick gusts?
Do Emperours interr'd in Verses lie?
And mayn't Such Feet run from my Weeping Eye?
Nay, Dutie lies vpon mee much: & shall
I in thy Coffin naile thy Vertues all?
How shall thy Babes & theirs thy Vertuous shine
Know, or Persue vnless I them define.
Thy Grace will Grace vnto a Poem bee
Althô a Poem be no grace to thee.
Impute it not a Crime then if I weep
A Weeping Poem on thy Winding Sheet.
May be Some Angell may my Poem Sing
To thee in Glory, or relate the thing.
  Which if he do, my mournfull Poem may
  Advance thy Joy, & my Deep Sorrow lay.

Part 3

  Your Ears, Bright Saints, & Angells: them I Choose
To Stough her Praises in: I'le not abuse.
Her Modesty would blush should you profess,
I in Hyperboles her praises dress.
Wherefore as Cramping Griefe permits to Stut
Them forth accept of Such as here I put.
  Her Husbands Joy, Her Childrens Chiefe Content
Her Servants Eyes, Her Houses Ornament.
Her Shine as Child, as Neighbour, flies abroad
As Mistress, Mother, Wife: her Walke with God
As Child she was a Tender Pious Bud
Of Pious Parents, Sprang of Pious Blood

written on the occasion of his wife's death. *Poetical Works of Edward Taylor*, 144–145, and Introduction, 14.

Two Grandsires, Gran'ams: one or two, she had
A Father too & Mother, that englad
The Gracious heart to thinke vpon, they were
Bright Pillars in Gods Temple shining cleare
Her Father, & her Mothers Father fix
As Shining Stars in Golden Candlesticks,
She did Obedient, Tender, Meek Child prove
The Object of her Fathers Eye, & Love.
Her Mother being Dead, her heart would melt
When she her Fathers looks not pleasant felt.
His smile Would her enliven, Frown, down pull
Hence she became his Child most Dutifull.
As Neighbour, She was full of Neighbourhood
Not Proud, or Strang; Grave, Courteous, ever good.
Compassionate: but vnto none was Soure.
Her Fingers dropt wth Myrrh oft, to her power.
As Mistress She order'd her Family
With all Discretion, & most prudently
In all things prompt: Dutie in this respect
Would be ye meanest in it not neglect:
Ripe at her Fingers Ends, Would nothing flinch
She was a neate good Huswife every inch.
Although her weakenesse made her let alone
Things so to go, as made her fetch a groan.
Remiss was not, nor yet severe vnto
Her Servants: but i'th golden mean did goe.
As Mother, Oh! What tender Mother She?
Her bowells Boiled ore to them y^{t} bee
Bits of her tender Bowells. She a Share
Of her affections ever made them ware.
Yet never chose to trick them, nor herselfe
In antick garbs; or Lavishness of Wealth.
But was a Lover much of Comeliness:
And with her Needle work would make their Dress,
The Law of Life wthin her Lips she would
Be dropping forth vpon them as shee should
Foolishly fond she was not but would give
Correction wisely, that their Soule might Live.
As Wife, a Tender, Tender, Loving Meet,
Meeke, Patient, Humble, Modest, Faithfull, Sweet
Endearing Help she was: Whose Choisest Treasure
Of Earthly things she held her Husbands pleasure.
But if she spi'de displeasure in his face,
Sorrow would Spoile her own, & marr its grace.

Dear Heart! She would his Joy, Peace, Honour, Name,
Even as her very Life, Seeke to mentain.
And if an hasty word by chance dropt in:
She would in Secret Sigh it or'e with him.
She was not wedded vnto him alone
But had his joy, & sorrow as her own.
She, where he chanc't to miss, a Cover would lay
Yet would in Secret fore him all Display
In meekness of Sweet wisdom, & by Art,
As Certainly would come into the heart.
She laid her neck vnto ye Yoake he draws:
And was his Faithfull Yoake Mate, in Christ Cause.

As to her walk with God, She did inherit
The very Spirits of her Parents Spirit:
She was no gaudy Christian, or gilt Weed:
But was a Reall, Israelite indeed.
When in her Fathers house God toucht her Heart,
That Trembling Frame of Spirit, & that Smart,
She then was vnder very few did know:
Whereof she somewhat to ye Church did show.
Repentance now's her Work. Sin poyson is:
Faith carries her to Christ as one of his.
Fear Temples in her heart; Love flowers apace
To God, Christ, Grace Saints, & ye Means of Grace.
She's much in Reading, Pray're, Selfe-Application
Holds humbly vp, a pious Conversation.
In wch she makes people [ ]
Which vnto Westfield Church [ ] did disclose
Holy in Health; Patient in Sickness long.
And very great. Yet gracious Speech doth throng:
She oft had vp, An Alwise God Doth this.
And in a filiall way ye Rod would kiss.
When Pains were Sore, Justice can do no wrong,
Nor Mercy Cruell be; became her Song.
The Doomsday Verses much perfum'de her Breath,
Much in her thoughts, & yet she fear'd not Death.

IX

An Elegy vpon ye Death of y^t^ Holy & Revd Man of God, Mr. Saml Hooker[1] Pastor of ye Church of Christ at Farmington, & Son to ye Famous Mr. Thomas Hooker, who was Pastor of, & began with ye Church of Christ at Hartford on

[1] Samuel Hooker of Farmington, Connecticut, was a worthy but not distinguished son of the famous Thomas Hooker of Hartford. He was a classmate (H. C. 1653) of Taylor's

Connecticut in N: Engl^{d}, who slept in Christ, ye 6th day of November, about one a Clock in ye morning in ye 64 year of his age entered vpon, Annoque D^{ni} 1697

Griefe sometimes is a duty, yet when Greate
And geteth vent, it Non-Sense Sobs, doth speake
Cutting off Sentences by Enterjections
Made by ye force of hard beset Affections.
Should I in mine pass thrô this Hemisphere
And beg of ev'ry Eye a Trickling teare
To wash thy Tombe, Deare Hooker, bright therein,
All would not Drown ye Griefe that thence doth Spring
Shall thy Choice Name here not embalmed ly
In those Sweet Spices whose perfumes do fly
From thy greate Excellence? It surely would
Be Sacraledge thy Worth back to withhold.
Lord Spare the Flock. Shall brave brave Jon'than dy?
And David's place be empty? Sling ly by?
Before their heads those Almond Trees are white
And ere they're mellow'd by old age's weight?
When Birds new Hatcht ware, as in nest they ly,
Presbytick Down, Pinfeatherd Prelacy
(Young Cockerills, whose Combs soare vp like Spires
That force their Dams, & Crow against their Sires?)
Dost thou withdraw? & now? Where are thy Spurs?
Then to be had? Whose sight would work demurrs.
Where hast thou left thy Strenth, & Potency?
And Congregationall Artillery?
We need the Same, & need it more, & more
For Babel Canons gainst our Bulwark roare.

2 To New England

Alas! alas! New England, go weep.
Thy loss is greate in him: For he did keep
Within thine Orb as a bright shining Sun
To give thee Light, but now his race is run.
And thô his Epicycle was but Small
His Shining Beams did fly to lighten all.
He was in Person neat, of lesser Sise,
With Ruddy Looks, & with quick rowling eyes,
His Head a Magazeen of Wisdom rich,
With Spirits fan'd from foggy Vapours which

father-in-law, Samuel Wyllys. Ordained to his pastoral office in July, 1661, he remained at Farmington till his death. For a biographical sketch, see Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, I. 348–352.

Do Reason cloud: a Fine Spun Fancy, Quick,
Producing Notions brave, & Rhetorick.
A Son of Such a Father, whose name Flew
Like Sweet Perfume o're Englands Old, & New.
A Son, thô youngest, yet y^{t} did inherit,
A noble portion of his Fathers Spirit.
Wise, Pious, Prudent, had a Strong, Cleare Head,
That entertaind ye Strength of what he red.
Grave, not Morose, Courteous, yet did Command
A Distance due, & by a gentle hand.
Not Verbous, yet his lips would oft distill
Brave Apophthegms, Facete Wit, & Skill.
In Councill Choice, deliberate, & full.
In Disputation Acute. Home, not Dull
Meek as a Lamb, yet as a Lion, hee
Could put on Majesty, if needs must bee.
Keen in Rebukes yet Candid, Corrosive
Where Cases calld, would to ye bottom rive.
A True Peace-Maker, Farmington may say,
Offt in ye fire, & Flame of others fray
Cala[ ]y-Gem like quencht it, & as fring'd
With Salamanders Woole, he was not Sindg'd.
He Steady was: Not on, & Off. His Minde
John Baptist like's no Reed Shook with ye Winde.
Concocted not, thô neatly minced Slops,
A mess of Windmills, or of Weather Cocks.
Not Esau like selling his choiceffree S[ ]age
Then left his Birthright for a bowl of Pottage.
He, & ye best of Queens we thus describe'm
Agreeing in one Motto Semper idem.
A Box of Jewells, String of Pearls bright, High.
Of Heavenly Graces a Sweet Spicery.
Humble, & full of Selfe abasement, thô
Such Excellency did in him e're flow.
A Rich Divine: a Pastour very choice
Dispensing Grace, with a Sweet piercing voice
(Like to ye Still Small Voice Elijah heard)
That rended Rocks, & Satans Intrest marr'd.
In Prayre Sweet, ye musick of which String
Celestiall Wealth vnto ye Earth would bring
Like little Paul in Person, Voice, & Grace
Advancing Christ & Sinfull things out race.
The Sacred Writ with joy he did attend
And Scriptures dropt even at his fingers end.

A Weighty Preacher: never notion Sick.
An Angel in a Golden Candlestick.
He had ye knack of Preaching: & did dart
Christs fiery Shafts into ye flinty heart;
Till it was broken: Then ye Smarting wound
Would dress with Gilliads Balm to make it sound.
The Gospell [ ] well he knew
Barjona was; & Boanerges true.
Great Gregry, its said, did Peters Coffin Wrest
Wide ope, & found his Keyes in't. (Oh! well Blesst)
But Hooker bravely handed Aaron Rod
Christ's own Choice Keyes, & gently, & for God.
  A Loving Husband; tender Father, who
With Pious, Rich Discourse, y^t^ was well Spic'd
With Gospell Grace, to bring them vp to Christ.
And holy Councill on them he would shoure
With Death Bed Charges till his dying hour.
But seing Death Creep on his Fingers ends,
And on his Hands, & Arms bespeake his Friends
Thus, Saying, They are Dead, you see and I
Have done with them: warm cloaths thereto apply,
But Death admits no check mate. Out he poures
His Soul on Christ. On him they weep May showers.
  But art thou gone, Brave Hooker, hence? & Why?
What, wast thou weary of thy Ministry?
Or weari'd out by thy fed flock? Alas!
Or did the Countrey's Sin it bring to pass?
He was a Samuel in his place, & breath
Let Israel do him honour at his Death.
  Mourn, mourn, New England, alas! alas!
To see thy Freckled Face in Gospell Glass:
To feele thy Pulse, & finde thy Spleen's not well:
Whose Vapors raise thy Pericordium t'swell:
Do suffocate, & Cramp thee & grow worse
By Hypochondrick Passions of the purse
Affect thy Brains toucht with ye Turn, till thou
Halfe Sick of Preachers falst, & Gospell Plow.
Such Symptoms say, if nothing else will ease,
Thy Sickness soon will cure thy sad Disease.
For when Such Studs, as Stop, & Scotch ye Way
Of thy Declensions are remov'd thy bay,
Apostasy wherewith thou art thus driven
Vnto ye tents of Presbyterianism
(Which is refined Prelacy at best)
Will not stay long here in her tents, & rest,

But o're this Bridge will carry thee apace
Into ye Realm of Prelates arch, ye place
Where open Sinner vile vnmaskt indeed
Are Welcom Guests (if they can say ye Creed)
Vnto Christs Table, While they can their Sins
Atone in Courts by offering Silverlings.
Watch, watch thou then: Reform thy life: Refine
Thyselfe from thy Declentions. Tend thy line.
Steeples ware Weathercocks: but Turrits gain
An Happiness vnder a Faithfull Vane.
And weep thy Sins away, lest woe be nigh.
For Angells with thy Lots away do high.

Part 3. To Connecticut

Mourn, mourn, Connecticut, thou'st lost a Gem:
A Carbuncle, (& thou hast few of them)
Is fallen from thy Crown, a Sun full bright
Is set, bidding thine Horizon good night.
Mourn Hartford, mourn; a bud of thine is gone:
A Gem that grew on thy Foundation Stone
(Not Stone's,[1] but Hooker's who did in thee Shrine
In Light, Life, Line, & Gospell Discipline)
Who griev'd to see thee warpt from thy foundation
And leave thy first Love thus, & Education.
Of all thy Sons thou hast not Such another
To Stay thy Head, & heart from ill recover.

Part 4

Alas poor Farmington, of all ye rest
Most Happy, & Vnhappy, Blesst vnblesst:
Most Happy having Such an Happiness:
And most vnhappy losing of no less.
Oh! mourn, & weep, remember thou ye Call
Thy Prophet gave thee to't before his fall.
Oh Daughter of my people, that last text
Gird thee with Sackcloth. Wallow thee perplext
In ashes. mourn thee lamentably
As for an onely Son, weep bitterly,
For loe, ye Spoiler suddenly shall come
Vpon vs. And his Sermon being done
The motive to ye Call, ye Prophesy
Had an accomplishment before your eye.

[1] A pun on the name of Thomas Hooker's close friend and colleague at Hartford, Samuel Stone (1602–1663).

For he much Spent desired you to Sing
A Psalm while he refresht & rested him.
Which done he prayed over you intent,
Dismist you with a blessing briefe, & bent
Vnder ye Spoiler down, y^{t} Suddenly
Assaulted him, & gave discharg thereby
Vnto his pulpit of all right of Claim
For ever after in this man of Fame.
He bowing goes vnto a neighbours, whence
After a while he rideth home from thence
Betook him to his dying Bed perfum'd
With prayers to God, & Charges he assum'd
And laid his friends & Wife & Children vnder
While five dayes run, & Illiak pains did thunder.
That Hooker now by this Sharp tyranny
Forcing things back y^{t} should go on, should dy.
Lord grant it ben't an Omen of o^{r} Fate,
As shewing our apostate following State.
Then mourn poore Church, thy Prophets race is run
As for a Father, or an onely Son.
After three tens, & Seven years were past
Vnder thy rocky hill by him, at last
He thus doth leave thee. Search into thy Sin
Repent, & grieve that ere thou grievedst him.
Or rather, God in him, lest Suddenly
The Spoiler still should on thee come & stroy.
Lord art thou angry with ye Flock, y^{t} thou
Dost slay their Shephard? Or dost disallow
The Fold, & lay it Common that thou smite
Down dost ye shory y^{t} vpheld it right?
Shall angling cease? & no more fish be took?
That thou callst home thy Hooker with his Hook?
Lord, Spare ye flock: vphold ye fold from falling.
Send out another Hooker of this Calling.

Part 5. To ye Family Relict

Thou mourning Family, what shall I say?
Shall Passion, or compassion o're me Sway?
It is a day of Griefe. Tears are a Dress
Becoming vs, come they not to excess.
Then keep due measure. Should you too much bring
Your too much is too little far for him.

Thou mourning Widdow![1] oh! how Sad? how Sharp?
Poor bleeding Soule! how turned is thy Harp
Into ye Voice of mourning? Organ Sweet
Into ye bitter Voice of them that weep.
But yet cheere vp: New England layes her head
To thine, to weep with thee over thy Dead.
Thou may'st therefore Spend fewer tears of Sorrow
Out of thine own, thou dost so many borrow.
Christs Napkin take, Graces green Taffity
And wipe therewith, thy Weeping, watry eye
And thou shalt See thy Hooker all o're gay
With Christ in bliss, adorn'd with Glories Ray.
And putting out his shining hand to thee,
Saying, My Honey, mourn no more for mee.
That Love wrongs both y^t wills mee with thee hence.
But joy to see my joy, & Glory mence.
In Faith, Obedience, Patience, walk awhile
And thou shalt Soon leape o're ye parting Stile.
And come to God, Christ Angells, Saints, & Mee.
So we in Bliss together e're shall bee:
When we did wed, we such a mortall took.
And ever from that day for this did look
Wherein we parted are; & one should have
Griefe, I o're thy, or thou over my grave.
The Lot is cast on thee. I first must go
And leave thee weeping o're my Grave in woe.
But Stay thy Sorrow: bless my Babes. Obey.
And soon thou shall with mee enjoy good day.
And as for you his Buds, & Blossoms blown,
Stems of his Root, his very Flesh, & Bone,[2]
You needs must have great droopings, now ye Tree
Is fallen down ye boughs w[h]ereof you bee.
You have a Father lost, & Choice one too.
Weeping for him is honour due from you.
Yet let your Sorrows run in godly wise
As if his Spirits tears fell from your eyes.
Strive for his Spirit: rather Christ's, than His
To dwell, & not his Flesh, yourselves to bliss.

[1] Mary (Willett) Hooker, daughter of Captain Thomas Willett of Plymouth, later of Swansea and subsequently of New York, of which city he was the first mayor. She survived her husband and married the Reverend Thomas Buckingham of Saybrook in 1703.

[2] Samuel Hooker was the father of nine sons and two daughters, one of whom, Mary, was the wife of the Reverend James Pierpont of New Haven and the mother of Jonathan Edwards' wife Sarah.

Its pitty these in him conjoyn'd, vp grew
Together, should be parted here in you.
Plants of a Noble Vine, a Right, Right Seed.
Oh! turn not to a Strange Wild vine or Weed.
Your Grand sire were a Chiefe Foundation Stone
In this Blesst Building: Father was well known
To be a Chiefe Good Builder in ye Same
And with his might did ever it mentain.
Your Grandsire's Spirit thrô your Father breathd
In Life, & on you, as his Life he leav'd.
Striving to breath into your hearts his Spirit
As out of him it passed, to inherit.
Ben't like Such babes as parents brains outpull
To make a Wassill Bowle then of ye Skull.
That Pick their Parents eyes out, & ye holes
Stuff vp with folly: as if no braind Souls.
You are of better form than this Sad guise
Yet beare this Caution: Some apostatise
And strive your Sires, & Grandsires Life, & Line
Thrô you their Flesh, & blood may brightly shine.
Imminde your Father's Death bed Charge & aime.
You are his Very Flesh, & Blood, & Name.
The NAME of HOOKER precious in our story
  Make you more precious, adding to its Glory,
At the Bright flaming Sun of Righteousness,
With a Celestiall Light, e're burning fresh.
A Cabbinet of Vertue, ever brave.
A Magazeen of Counsill, Weighty, Grave.
A Treasury of Grace, th'Imbroideries
Of th'Holy Ghost in Heart, & Life here lies
A Temple bright of Piety in print,
To glorify y^t^ God that dwelled in't.
A Stage of War, Whereon ye Spirits Sword
Hew'd down ye Hellish foes y^t^ did disturb:
A Cage whose bird of Paradise therein
Did sing Sweete Musick forth to glories King.
A Silver Trumpet of ye Temple bright
Blown by an Angell of Celestiall light
A Temple deckt, & with all graces spic'de
For God the Father, Spirit, & for Christ.
A Golden Pulpit Where an Angell Choice
Preacht Zions Grace with Sinai's thundering voice.
An Oratore of Prayre, which, rapt vp, hopt
Vp Souls to Heaven, Heaven down to Souls oft knockt.

Were there a Metempsychosis, we say
Greate Hookers Soule, Sure, nee possest this Clay.
Elijah's Mantle, & ye dust y^t fell
Of th' Charriot, & ye Horse of Israel.
Scarce ever dust more glorious made for bliss
With glorious Grace, or better vsd than this,
That here now Stript of all that Wealth, & Station
Doth lie, yet firmly holds its high Relation.
And here we leave it, till ye last Dayes Shoute
Breaking its Coffin brings it glorious out.
And wipe those drops wrung from thy Winding Sheet
Brave Sir off from our Eyes, that weeping keep,
With thy White Lawn thou wearst in Glory Gay,
Charming our Griefe therewith, Amen we say.

His Epitaph

A turffe of Glory, Rich, Celestiall Dust,
A Bit of Christ here in each Cradle thrust
An Orb of Heavenly Sunshine: a bright Star
That never glimmerd: ever Shining faire.
A Paradise bespangled all with Grace:
A Curious Web o'relaid with holy lace
A Magazeen of Prudence: Golden Pot
Of Gracious Flowers never to be forgot
Farmingtons Glory, & its Pulpit Grace
Lies here a Chrystallizing till ye trace
Of Time is at an end & all out run.
Then shall arise & quite outshine ye Sun.

X

An Elogy vpon ye Death of My Hon^d Sister in Law Mrs Mehetabel Woodbridge,[1] wife of the Rev^d Mr. Timothy Woodbridge, Pastor of ye first Church in Hartford, who departed this life 20th day 10^m 1698

That Griefe, Deare Sister, ore thy Coffin'd Clay
So stobs my Heart, so Stuffs my Lungs, y^t they
Want room within their Warehouse t'work, & so
Were not mine Eyes their Cupping Glasses to
Draw out that Fog, my Spirits would before
The Cordiall Aire drawn thrô ye Vitall Doore
Could them revive, faint quite without reliefe.
Choakt with ye Rising of ye Lungs thrô Griefe.

[1] Mehetabel (Wyllys) Woodbridge, born *ca.* 1658, was the second daughter of Samuel Wyllys of Hartford and an elder sister of Ruth Wyllys, Taylor's second wife.

Mine Eyes do hatch their Moisture into Pearles
Mater-perlarum like, within their Shells.
And Stud thy Coffin with them, quilted ore
With Wealthy Vertues decking thee before.
Let ev'ry one an answer to mee bring
That hath a Teare to wash a Sorrow in
Whether we have not ground to make our Eyes
An Altar at this Tomb to Sacrifice
A Flood of Tears vpon? Its rare to see
Such precious Dust as Coffin'd here have wee.
Choice Dust indeed! Dust drilld thrô Choisest pipes
Into this Vrn: Oh! how this Dust invites
Our Eyes to Weeping? Oh! its dust y^t^ Came
Out of ye Quarys three bright Pairs of Fame
Thy Grandsires Hains,[1] & Willis,[2] Brightsom Stars
Connecticuts first, & Choice Governours
And their Choice Mates, thy Grandams, did so shine
Bedeckt with beams of Grace, & Life Sublime
That their Rich Graces shining bright was such
That would, if possible, make grace to Grutch[3]
In other pious Souls, when they should finde
Their Brightest Graces left so far behinde.
Modesty while thy Fathers Eyes boile ore,
His Griefe into thy ashes, having Store
Forbids my pen, that honour due to thee
To vtter thence. Yet this to say its Free
From's Prim Rose hee to Almond age did Stand
And Exercise a Magistratick hand,
In Pious wise. But oh thy Mother Ruth[4]
Now Dead, of her my pen is free in truth
To draw her Shine vpon thy Dust, She were
A Magazeen of Graces bright, & Cleare.
Which on thee dropt in Life & as it fled
Perfuming of thy Dust here Coffined.
But view ye mortall Frame aright, While as
It tween ye Cradle, & ye Coffin was.
The Picture of her Mother in't she grew
A Gentlewoman neate, accomplishd, true:

[1] John Haynes, third governor of Massachusetts Bay (1635–1636) and first governor of Connecticut (1640).

[2] George Wyllys, successively magistrate (1639), deputy governor (1641), and from 1642 till his death in 1645 governor of Connecticut.

[3] An earlier spelling for *grudge*; now dialectical.

[4] Ruth (Haynes) Wyllys, second daughter of Governor John Haynes.

Quick, Witty, Lovely, Prudent, Grave discreet,
Kinde, Modest, Affable, & yet would keep
A Distance due becoming of her place
And parentage, adorned with a Grace.
A Bride Successively to Levites three[1]
Attending them becoming that degree.
Her Inward man a Storehouse of rich ware.
Of Sanctifying Grace, y^{t} made all fair.
God-Glorifying Shines hence role in Christ.
Adorning of her Life all over spic'd
With Grace, Prayre, Holy Reading, Meditation
Rich Good Discourse. Of Holy Conversation
An Humble Soule, a Gracious Christian, Meek
A Loving Wife, a Tender Mother Sweet,
Obedient Daughter, Sister very Deare
A Prudent Mistress, Good Neighbor here.
An Huswife very good, & very neate
In all Relations comely, & Compleate
Made Mother Sixteen times, Eleven Stems
Have Stemd ye Currant to ye Realm of Gems
Have shot ye Gulph before her, to rejoyce
Her landing in ye Port of Paradise.
Five of her Buds behinde her here survive,
To keep her Vertues, & her Life alive.[2]
On whom her Mothers blessing, dying, fell.
Them to enrich with Wealth y^{t} doth excell.
Her last Babe brought Deaths Charriot to her Doore:
In which before she entred, she boyld ore
With Gracious breathings, dropping vpon all,
That came a nigh her with her death bed Call.
That Christ should dy for Sinners! dy for such!
Was on her Heart; it did affect her much.
And in greate Faith fain would have pray're convay
Her Soule to Christ out of her Tent of Clay.
Come, one more Pray're, & Then.—said shee as thô
She should be where she would bee. Ending so
At last while all by, sunke in Sorrows deep,
She entred in Death's Chariot in a Sleep.

[1] Mehetable (Mabel) Wyllys first married (*ca.* 1676) the Reverend Daniel Russell of Charlestown. He died on January 4, 1678/79. The next year she married the Reverend Isaac Foster of Hartford, a classmate of Taylor and a close friend of her deceased husband. Foster died on August 20, 1682, at the age of thirty. She then married (*ca.* 1684) Foster's colleague and successor in the Hartford pastorate, Timothy Woodbridge, who survived her by some thirty years. He married again shortly after her death.

[2] Taylor's verses are the only known source for the information that she bore sixteen

XI

A funerall Tear dropt vpon ye Coffin of [that holy man of] God, Doct^r Increase Mather, Teacher of ye North Church in Boston & pro tempore President of ye Colledg at Cambridge[1]

Nigh Sixty years ago I wept in verse
When on my Shoulders lay thy Fathers herse[2]
And now thy Learning & thy piety
Do loudly call for mourning poetry.
Should Silence now be hid our Sorrows big
To get a vent would breake thy Coffin lid.
Is not [en]during t'smoothred ly in Chest
Which pleasant were while the Same [is] possest
All fitting then for Christs rich gospell worke
The wch then thou [ ]
But now all Silenced be! tho then [ ]
Thy pulpits empty: now [ ]
It's full of Sorrow & of Sorrows guise
And hearts are filld with sorrows sorrows rise
Thy Learning & thy pious life so vext
[ ]
And nowhere thee, & in thee [ ] their vice
Didst wickedly, & wretchedly Scorn Christ
Making thyselfe their Maypole M[ ] game
Like Swine y^t in y^e [ ] wall wth all profane
Oh! hell black tribe markt out for hell these bee
Such are ye fruites of ye curst dogberry tree.
Choosing Romes filthy Whore their godless gay
Whose Sacrifice was made a Maypole play.
[ ] Christ hence & all his holy Laws.
And choosing Flora with her whorish Cause.

children in the twenty-two years between 1676 and 1698 and died in childbirth on December 20, 1698. The five "Buds" here spoken of as surviving her—one each by her first two marriages and three by her third—all lived to maturity and were married.

[1] Samuel Sewall noted in his Diary (III. 389) that when Taylor died in 1729 he was "entirely enfeebled . . . longing and waiting for his Dismission." This elegy, written upon the occasion of Increase Mather's death on August 23, 1723, was undertaken when Taylor was approaching eighty. His handwriting is all but undecipherable, and much of the content is difficult to follow. The purport seems to be that Mather, in Taylor's eyes, had been a champion of orthodox Congregationalism to the last, fighting courageously, under handicaps, against increasing heterodoxies.

[2] Richard Mather died on April 22, 1669, while Taylor was an undergraduate at Harvard College. Mather was an Overseer of that institution at the time. Samuel Mather, a grandson of Richard, was a classmate of Taylor at college, and it may be that others of the class besides Taylor also acted as bearers.

Who made thee black by their more black aspects
Who for Romes pagan Whore here Christ reject
Who sing this harlots song: & dance her tunes
Hell [ ] of Doom
Hell claims such for her own should they should die
The Court accepts her plea, nor can't deny.
She'd draw her plea still higher & still Christ
Still on on justice if denide, Vnjust
It would complain of Heaven too hereby
Guilty of theft & woefull robbery
To think of Such acts, makes ye Heavy Heart
To tremble & for feare to makes a start
Hence Passion, & Compassion fighting Strive
Whether of y^m two should dy or wch Survive
Such things as these did make thee often Sob
But Cutler's[1] Cutlery gave th'killing Stob.
[ ] consider Sure Christ word stands true
Even it, or else thyselfe shall Surely rue.
And seeing Gods word is true, repent & dread
Mans frothy brains can't Helmet thy proud head
Christs wounded Saints & Churches have their stings
Which ere't belong will make Sinners within
To Smart: repent then e're it be too late
Lest then eternally smart in ye horrid Lake.
Who found their faith on Man either greate or Small
They found on Sand, their building soon will fall.
Vpon their Heads at last, tho' they indeed
Have filld their heads with much & better Speed
But thou deare Sir chose not ye World to seek
But didst resolve a better game to keep
Didst rather choose to run a better race,
Than Hide-&-Seek, but oft & always chose
A Breath at Barly breaks or Prison base
Of Gospell games wch is an Heavenly race
When other many thro' some vgly vice
Like Soure Skegs Fell off from Jesus Christ
When many left Christ holy word thou stondst fixt to't
Which makes my gray goose quill commence thy poet
Whom many Christ Sweet [ ] much disprise
And did with pagan Rome her Sacrifice

[1] Timothy Cutler, rector of Yale from 1719 to 1722, led "the Connecticut Apostacie" in the latter year by openly avowing adherence to the Church of England. In view of the fact that his defection from Nonconformist principles was considered to be not a sudden conversion but a carefully timed public statement of long-held private beliefs, his act, to men like Mather and Taylor, seemed open treachery.

Vnto y^{t} Whore y^{t} gave her Whorish stuffe
To Such base pranks as made Grace Cat[ ]ush
But thou thy peoples joy, thy pulpits glory
Thy Country Happiness, thy Happy story
When y^{t} o^{r} Church [ ]
[ ] sadle and didst ride
Vnto White Hall,[1] & of o^{r} gracious King
Didst gain a New one & home with thee bring.
Thou with thy pen hast playd Christ intrest Deare:
And hast recorded his blesst doings here.
For future ages to behold ye Same
And hast Embellished his blessed Name.
But now Deaths Cickle hath thee reapt, Christ Corn,
Whom by bright Angells art to's Granry born.
Away to Heavens Palace there to Sing
Sweet Hallelujahs vnto Christ our king
With glorified Saints & Angell bright
In Davids Michtam all in glorious white
And in this State I end my mournfull Story
And End my notes y^{t} leave thee in Endless glory.

XII

Verses made vpon Pope Joan[2]

An English Priest with's femall brother went
And here y^{t} brother lay in; out then sent
Vnto ye Priest, his father, Gilbert namd,
The child vp grew, soon learning good obtaind
A promp disputant grew: was men beside
In [ ] in inky pig Sty & abide
Did still therein a Certain time & will
And now broke out his sharpend wit y^{t} still

[1] This refers to the years (1688–1692) Mather spent in England, negotiating for the renewal of the colony charter.

[2] The so-called "Pope Joan" was a legendary female Pope of the ninth century, usually placed between Leo IV (847–855) and Benedict III (855–858). She was said to have been born either in England or in Germany of English parents, and to have fled with a Benedictine monk to Athens, disguised as a man. On his death she is supposed to have gone to Rome under the alias of Joannes Anglicus, where she entered the priesthood, received a cardinal's hat, and finally ascended the papal throne under the title of John VIII. The accounts have it that she died in childbirth during a papal procession. This myth was widely circulated from medieval times down through the seventeenth century. Taylor could have received the account from any of several authors who circulated the story.

Though undated, the verses bear every mark of late composition. They occupy the final pages among the topical poems, the handwriting suggests the author to be advanced in years, and the substance and thought are at times quite difficult to follow.

Acts quickly shew y^{m}selves & out do Crawle
Will not lie hid vnder a monkish cawle
Gilbert ye Name is purely Masculine
But Natures nature markes it for a Feminine
But be it Hic or Haec its dads delight
And for an Epicene we still it write.
But Gilbert is masculine y^{t} Cheate we see
Is hood winckt with ye name tho' He or She
Time will disclose y^{t} Secret with its roofe
When nature's not conceald vnder a moofe[1]
But let ye babe a pullet be as still
It soon will shew if't be a Cockrill
But what's designd of knavery to bee
We leave ye Case itself & say judge yee.
In Athens grindlestone she sharpend her wit
And so to play ye knave shes much more fit
She tarries not at Athens but doth soon
Takes vp her trugwheles & so jogs to Rome.
And here a glorious name obtains even then
Not so much 'mong ye Vulgar as with learned men
And here an English learnd man doth peare
Here a glory greet her Leo in den
She's judgd full learned by ye clergy men
Yea Gilbert is held to be such by th'imperiall Voice
And so is hipt in Peters Chair in a trice
And proovs as arch as any of them all
And John the Eighth is now her coment all
Now Jack & Jin is now the Common theme
The Popedom now's a filthy Epicene.
And thus we see how popedoms natures vary
As Cleveland[2] tunde it out of Philip & Mary
And as ye lustfull Sparrow here wee see
Haec Aquila an Eagle he or shee
Bishops, Priests, Deacons Will-fill Consecrated
Temples & Altars raisd Mass Celebrated
She sacraments administers also,
Temples & Churches Consecrated shew
She Crowneth Kings, doth mighty Nobles dubs
The backs of Such she Stately claps & rubs.
Sends gifts to Kings, most consecrated toys
And most ridiculous to wise mens Eyes.

[1] Muff?

[2] Much satirical verse which John Cleiveland (1613–1658) never wrote was attributed to him till long after his day. The precise reference has not been identified.

Holds out her Stinking toes to them to kiss
And Such as other popes did, so doth this
This Female Father big with Child soon grew
She now big bellid was, yet known by few.
This female Father hood of Popedom had
As Cockery y^{t} had for her his tred.
And on her secretly within her nest
That matter was performd as was held best.
This Cockrill was sly shewd not his wings
Nor shewd his Spurs nor Cockscumb but out brings
His manly instrument y^{t} did ye deed
But did enclosit vp as all did Speed.
Gilbert indeed wch is his proper theme
Is quickly evidencd an Epicene.
For her ye lustfull Sparrow doth agree
With Aquilla an Eagle Hee or She.
The Greeks vse genders onely three. We know
The Roman tongue hath five & so
His Fatherhood can in no wise Spare Such
A gender as ye Gendering pope vse much.
Resolve me Sir, & if your Headship can
Which sutes you best ye Woman or ye Man
The Common gender sutes y^{t} gendring pope.
And such is [ ] Sir, a well twist rope.
The Common Gender necessarily
Doth with ye pope in best of all comply.
Your Chastity pretended out did thrust
Such Sorrowfull Words of Gregory pope full just
When y^{t} his fish pond sends him for fish,
A many Babies Sculls, a vsuall dish
Whereon he burst out & it thus was turnd
Its better far to marry than lust burn'd.
The Common Gender you make vse of most
As y^{t} wch best delights your ghostly ghosts
Your Popedom in dad Gilbert prooves with child
It brake its prison, So your game is Spoild.
In his processioning from the Vatican
To th'Lateran, between Old Nero's whelp out ran
His very Guts & so this bastard Spawn
Not far from those then: a pope whence its fawn
His belly broke & out rowld ye bastard [ ]
And in this Childing place is raisd a Cross
That doth commemorate this Popedom loss.
And in this Childing place where In's brought bed
It is recorded th'pope doth never tread

And now old Sir, whether you laugh or frown
You ware her Cleaning on your triple Crown
Pope Jone's hard travell did he after bare
The glorious Stoole calld ye Porphory Chair
The Spurs & Comb are signs y^t^ often faile
A surer note is found lying in ye taile
And hence ye youngest deacon's made ye toole
To tunn ye bird even at ye Porphory Stoole
Fit for to ware y^t^ triple Crown so gay
And Canning him lest that he be or may
A Pullet prove & lay another Egge in th'popes warm bed
[ ]
In Peters Chair & where he [ ] found
And now he's found by feeling he is round
Surrounded is, & forthwith is Crownd
Such [ ] matters popish [ ]
Do stuff religion with worse than Scoggins jests.

The Editor communicated by title the following paper by Mr. PETER OLIVER:

The Boston Theatre, 1800

THE variety of entertainment proffered the Boston public in 1800 by the management of the resident theatrical company ranged from *Romeo and Juliet* to such anonymous eccentricities as *Mother Pitcher, or The Lynn Fortune Teller*. Early in January Giles L. Barrett, the manager, could have been heard as Shylock—"A Daniel come to judgment. Yea a Daniel!"—and a few weeks later as Wolsey bidding a long farewell to all his greatness. From these heights of tragedy came the inevitable descent into melodrama, followed, happily, by a rise again into comedy with the lighter and more frivolous strains from the songsters and comedians.

While, despite the music by Dr. Arnold, the Chorus of Moors from Colman's *Mountaineers*,

The sun is sunk and from afar
See the pale bright evening star,
Soon the wolf begins to prowl. . . .

leaves one today with slight regret at having been born too late to enjoy a performance of this once popular favorite, a later song in the same play sounds more attractive:

Think you your tawny Moor is true, pretty Agnes,
If I wish for ought but you, this it is dear Agnes,
Tis to hear the music tinking
While the lusty wine I'm drinking
Nothing more dear Agnes.
Tink-a-tink the music goes,
While the gugling liquor flows.
Gugling gugling, glug-a-glug
Gugling gugling, glug-a-glug
Glug-a-glug, dear Agnes
Glug-a-glug, dear Agnes.

Nearly all the many songs of John O'Keefe and William Shield are good; some are still remembered, such as "Amo Amas I Love a Lass" with its

O how bella
My puella.

and its chorus:

Rorum Corum Sunt Divorum
Harum Scarum divo
Tag-rag-merry-derry, periwig, and hat-band
Hic hoc horum, gentitivo.

It is no wonder that *The Agreeable Surprise*, by the same two, was still popular in 1800 though it had been playing steadily since 1781. O'Keefe, in his recollections, says that the great Macklin, on the first night, said it was the best farce in the English language except *The Son-in-Law* (also by O'Keefe), and though this comment comes perhaps from a prejudiced source, O'Keefe was a modest man.

There is room for one more quotation, Lingo's song from Act I of *The Agreeable Surprise*, which in the performance in Boston on March 28, 1800, was sung by Mr. Villiers:

1. Such beauties in view I
Can never praise too high
Not Pallas's blue eyes
Is brighter than thine;
Not fount of Susannah,
Nor gold of fair Danae
Nor moon of Diana,
So clearly can shine;
Not beard of Silenus,
Nor tresses of Venus,
I swear by Quae Genus,

With yours can compare;
Nor Hermes Caduces,
Nor flower-de-luces,
Nor all the nine muses,
To me is so fair.

Chorus What posies and roses
To noses discloses;
Your breath all so sweet
To the tip of your lip;
As they trip, the bees dip;
Honey sip, like choice flip
And their Hybla forget.

2. When girls like you pass us,
I saddle Pegasus,
And ride up Parnassus
To Helicon's stream.
Even that is a puddle,
Where others may muddle,
My nose, let me fuddle
In bowls of your cream.
Old Jove, the great Hector
May tipple his Nectar,
Of gods the Director
And thunder above;
I'd quaff off a full can
As Bacchus or Vulcan
Or Jove, the old Bull can
To her that I love.

Chorus What posies and roses
To noses discloses. . . .

Thus, more or less for ninety evenings between January and the end of the year 1800, the public took some of its pleasure.

On those ninety evenings were given ninety full-length plays—comedy, tragedy, and what was a little ambiguously called "drama"; eighty-odd secondary pieces, ballad operas, masques, pantomimes, and farces; and some twenty-five less imposing performances designed to mark special occasions: eulogies, monodies, and dirges on the late George Washington during January and February, masonic entertainments and olios, and a few specially advertised popular songs such as Mrs. Rowson's *Standard of Liberty* and Paine's *Adams and Liberty*, which were announced for October 30 in honor of the birthday of President John Adams.

The Boston theatre in 1800 differed little from that of New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. Each city boasted its own company, which usually performed three nights a week until spring (Monday, Wednesday, and Friday were the favorite nights). There would be occasional special performances in town in the summer and fall, but during most of that time the companies were on tour, reopening at home towards the end of October.

The Philadelphia company covered Baltimore, Annapolis, Norfolk, and Alexandria, while the troupe at Charleston, though playing in that city during the winter and at nearby Sullivan's Island in the summer, found time to put on a half dozen or so performances in Savannah. The New York company did not go on tour in 1800, though both it and the Boston company had played in Connecticut in previous years. A wave of piety, however, engulfed the Connecticut legislature in this year 1800 with the result that theatrical performances were banned under penalty of a fifty-dollar fine, half of which "shall go to the suer."

In 1800, from May 19 until the end of June, the Boston company was in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where they seem to have performed about once a week. On the Fourth of July most of the players were in Boston again for a special performance of *Inkle and Yarico*, and a week later, on July 11, they opened the Portland season with *Lovers' Vows* and *The Widow and the Riding Horse*. Here they stayed till the twentieth of August, presenting the thrice weekly performances they were wont to give in Boston, the last of which, *Bunker Hill*, was described in the Portland *Oriental Trumpet* as having been played "to an overflowing house."

Thence they departed to Providence where the announcement that the theatre would open on September 1 appeared two days before, and where on September 8 the tragedy *The Gamester* and the farce *The Jew and the Doctor* were advertised as the last "before the return of the Company to Newport." The details of the Newport season are scant. A notice of *The Battle of Hexham*, announced for Wednesday, September 17, said that the days of performance were Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The notice for Wednesday, October 1, pointed out that this was the last week.

But as early as the end of August a number of the company had forsaken the road to put on a sort of interim season at the Haymarket Theatre in Boston before the formal beginning of the winter season at the Federal Street Theatre. Performances were given once or twice a week until October 22, which was announced as "positively the last night."

Since October, 1799, the Boston company had been under the management of Giles L. Barrett, an Englishman who had come to this coun-

try in 1796 and had played first in America in Boston during the first days of the Haymarket Theatre. He went the following year to New York to join the John Street Company but seems not to have been particularly successful, for in January, 1799, he informed the public in a newspaper advertisement of his intent to open a school of fencing. However, on the return of John Hodgkinson from Boston to join William Dunlap at the new Park Theatre in the fall of that year, Barrett repaired to Boston, and in the *Independent Chronicle* for October 14, referring to himself as "the sole manager of the Boston Theatre," he announced that "neither pains nor expence will be spared" to assure the success of the coming season. A few minor troubles plagued him early. On October 25 he was forced to advertise that "on no account [was] a Segar to be smoked in the Theatre"; and a few days later he expressed his hope "that no gentleman will take offence at being refused admittance behind the scenes."

But the season seems to have opened that fall auspiciously. The craze for Kotzebue was well started. His *Count Benyowski* was played on October 28, and before the end of the year there were two performances of *The Horse and the Widow*, at least one of *The Stranger*, and, in December, four of the favorite, *Pizarro*. On January 1, 1800, the last year of the century began with William Whitehead's tragedy, *The Roman Father*, together with William Bates's popular pantomime, *Humours of Gil Blas*, and a monody on the death of Washington as additional attractions.

The criteria by which theatrical entertainments were then judged differed somewhat from those of today. It was not required, in order that a play might entertain, that it be written the moment before its production, though some of the plays put on in 1800 had just been written and were produced then for the first time. While the play most often given in Boston that year was Thomas Morton's *Speed the Plough*, in which "What will Mrs. Grundy think?" fell first on American ears—a play only written in 1798; and while the mighty Kotzebue was the playwright who, by a wide margin, led the list as far as popularity was concerned, with four performances of his *Pizarro*, three each of *False Shame* and *The Stranger*, two of *The Wise Men of the East*, and single presentations of *Count Benyowski*, *Lovers' Vows*, *Self Immolation*, and *Sighs*; still the general run of the repertoire had long since been accepted by the theatre-going public and did not need the element of novelty to sustain it. George Lillo's tragedy, *George Barnwell*, had served faithfully from 1731 to be given four times again in 1800; and if O'Keefe, Charles and Thomas J. Dibdin, George Colman, Jr., Thomas P. Lathy, Morton, Arthur Murphy, John T. Allingham, and many of the other playwrights were

contemporaries, still Bostonians saw that year a play by Molière and three by Shakespeare, while most of the plays of Mrs. Centlivre, Colley Cibber, Matthew G. Lewis, Samuel Birch, Isaac Bickerstaffe, David Garrick, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan that were offered had stood the test of a quarter of a century or longer.

Compared with such old favorites as these, the plays of Kotzebue, so far as the details of their plots and action were concerned, were indeed novelties, yet their pattern was apparent and simple and of an ancient popularity. His comedy was really comedy and his tragedy bare and unrelieved tragedy, intended to be very sad—and no doubt on the whole accepted as such—though from its almost complete dissociation from reality it occasionally became unintentionally humorous. When Kotzebue's heroes and heroines died, as they almost invariably did, they died decisively by being strangled, stabbed, sacrificed on some heathen altar, poisoned, or plunged into some roaring cataract.

The lighter pieces in the theatrical fare of 1800 were peopled with princes and nobles disguised as beggars or rustics. And when a villain plotted his villainy, it was a safe assumption that, for the audience's comfort, behind some secret panel the hero or heroine or their guardian angel could be observed to be listening.

Boston, as has been said, had a number of first nights in 1800, notably of plays by Kotzebue and O'Keefe. It also saw a number of plays by American authors. *Daranzel, or The Persian Patriot*, by "a gentleman of Boston" (David Everett), was given two performances, with the magnanimous promise of the author that if there were a third, the profits should go to the author of the best eulogy of Washington. Also given twice were William Brown's *West Point Preserved*, Thomas Pike Lathy's *Reparation*, and the anonymous *Mother Pitcher, or The Lynn Fortune Teller*. There were single performances of John Daly Burk's *Bunker Hill* (that "rather discredited" play, as Odell calls it), Brown's *The Times, or A Scarcity of Cash*, Lathy's *New England Captive, or The Dey of Algiers Outwitted*, and David Humphreys' *Widow of Malabar*.

Also new to the audience were the various special performances in connection with the death of Washington and such popular spectacles as *The American Volunteers* (three performances) and *The Constellation, or America Triumphant*. There was novelty, too, in the occasional evenings of music hall or vaudeville entertainment given either by members of the resident theatrical company, such as Mr. Bates or Mr. Villiers, or, as on one occasion in December, by outsiders, Messrs. Maginnis and Robinson.

Whatever the choice of plays and the acting may have lacked, there was compensation in the magnificence of the spectacles provided when the

plots permitted—and sometimes regardless of whether they did or not. The production of Everett's *Daranzel, or The Persian Patriot*, with music by von Hagen, included "the storming of a citadel" and the "destruction of the Persian fleet." Morton's *Columbus* included a scene of sacrifice in the Temple of the Sun and "the explosion of a volcano."

Pizarro, given on March 7 "with Audin's new scenery," piled Ossa on Pelion. Act I was laid in "a magnificent pavilion with a distant view of the Spanish camp"; the first scene of Act II was "a bank surrounded by wild woods and rocks"; the second showed "a procession to the Temple of the Sun and a solemn sacrifice." Later scenes presented "distant views of the Peruvian camp," wild retreats among "the stupendous rocks," dungeons in the rocks, triumphal processions, and a forest hut "in a dreadful storm with lightning and thunder." The second scene of Act V showed "a torrent falling over a precipice bridged by a fallen tree"; and the newspaper advertisements promised the prospective patron that in this scene he would see "Rolla tearing the tree from the supporting rock as the Spaniards crossed, to dash them into the cataract." This simple piece concluded with "the funeral procession of Rolla, and a solemn dirge."

On another occasion, at a performance of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* there was inserted after the coronation of Anne an episode showing "the mode and manner of delivering the usual challenge given by the Champion of England, on Horseback on the Stage." *The Rival Queens* had in Act II "the entry of Alexander the Great into Babylon"; and the afterpiece that same evening, *Oscar and Malvina*, contained "the ancient broadsword combat; Oscar's leap from the tower 18 feet high; the death of Carroll on the bridge; and the conflagration of his whole camp."

There is a tempting sound to all this. One would like to have seen "the English fleet standing out to sea at moonlight" in Act II of *The Widow of Malabar* and the procession of Brahmins conducting Mrs. Whitlock as Etimora "to the funeral pyre of her husband."

That the spectacles were not all solemn splendor, however, is suggested by the dance of the savages in *Robinson Crusoe* and by Harlequin in *The Garden of Love* causing "a withered tree to grow flowers and fruit." The *Temple of Fortune*,[1] first played on January 13, showed "Harlequin's whimsical transformation into one of the celebrated dancing dogs, and a view of an Inn Yard in which he leaped through the window of a post chaise." Songs and "comic interludes" were plentifully interspersed in the bills. There were numerous chances to hear Mr. Simpson sing "A Twizzle and a Fizz," or to see Billy Bates as "a Drunken Buck return-

[1] Part of *Harlequin's Wishing Cap, or The Gift of Fortunatus.*

ing from a frolic," or to behold the "grand and lofty tumblings, flipflops and sumersaults" of the celebrated Mr. Robinson and Mr. Maginnis. On December 24, after a performance of Kotzebue's *Sighs*, Robinson gave his imitation of birds, and the same night Maginnis danced "the much admired Spanish Fandango blindfolded over 13 eggs, playing the castanets."

Despite frivolous interludes, however, this was a serious theatrical company, conscientiously engaged in the business proper to it. Nor was it, by the standards of that time, mean fare that it offered to its public. Besides *Henry VIII*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, there were *The Country Wife*, *The School for Scandal*, *She Stoops to Conquer*, and *The Rivals*. And while the year 1800 regarded Kotzebue as the equal of Shakespeare (indeed a New York paper proclaimed him Shakespeare's successor), and while such tragedies as several of those by Arthur Murphy performed that year have been described fairly enough as "among the worst that have ever obtained any reputation," others of the tragedies are not to be despised, and many of the comedies, farces, and ballad operas would be considered adequate and delightful entertainment by most critical standards. Bickerstaffe's *Thomas and Sally, or The Sailor's Return* (this, bear in mind, with music by Dibdin), Garrick's *Bon Ton, or High Life above Stairs* and *The Lying Valet*, Townley's *High Life below Stairs* (embellished with a mock minuet by the drunken servants who are the characters), Thomas John Dibdin's *The Jew and the Doctor*, Mrs. Siddons' *Quarter of an Hour before Dinner*, Fielding's *Mock Doctor* (from Molière), Sheridan's pantomime, *Robinson Crusoe*, O'Keefe's *Poor Soldier* and *Highland Reel*, both with the charming music of Shield—all these and many more of the productions of that year would do credit to any theatrical season.

During the first half of the year, up to the summer season, Barrett, the manager, took most of the better parts for himself. He was the Shylock and the Wolsey; he was Norval in *Douglas*, Rolla in *Pizarro*, Horatius, savior of his country, in *The Roman Father*, Captain Absolute in *The Rivals*. Mr. and Mrs. Powell and Mr. and Mrs. Whitlock divided the other desirable rôles with Mr. and Mrs. Harper and Mrs. Graupner.

Mr. Bates—"Billy Bates"—sometime of London, more recently of Philadelphia and New York, was apparently equal to almost anything and was the backbone and strength of the harlequinade as Harlequin in the several performances of *Harlequin's Wishing Cap*, *Harlequin Salamander*, and *Harlequin Dr. Faustus*. The full company consisted of the six couples, the Barretts, the Dickinsons, the Harpers, the Powells, the

Simpsons, and the Whitlocks, assisted by Mrs. Graupner, Miss Ellen Westray, and Messrs. Kedey, Coles, Bates, Lathy, Munto, and Usher.

On March 10 Mr. Villiers appeared as Simplicus in *The Deserter of Naples*, and from then on he was conspicuous in musical rôles. Master Bates and Miss Bates first appeared in the Fourth of July production of *Inkle and Yarico* at the Haymarket, as did Mr. Maginnis (acrobat and tumbler) and Mr. Downie; and in the afterpiece, *Harlequin Dr. Faustus*, "a young lady" (so described in the newspaper notices, but not otherwise identifiable) was the miller's wife. On August 18, in *The Busybody*, Messrs. Dikes and Moore joined the company. During the spring and summer Mrs. Barrett, like her husband, seems to have done pretty well for herself, playing, among other parts, Portia, Lydia Languish, Floranthe in *The Mountaineers*, Zaphira in *Daranzel*, and Cora in *Pizarro*.

But in the fall the Barretts were gone, and it was Charles E. Whitlock who, in the *Independent Chronicle*, made the announcement on October 27 that "the theatre will open this evening" with the favorite comedy *Speed the Plough*. And as a natural result of displacing Barrett as manager, Whitlock—and his wife—took over the best parts, for such seems to have been the manager's privilege if he was an actor.

Whitlock had come to America a few years before from London, where he had attained some success due apparently to the attractiveness of his wife, Eliza, the youngest daughter of the famous Kemble family and the sister of Mrs. Siddons. She as a young girl had met him when she was playing in Bath and had married him in 1785. He was the manager of the Newcastle circuit of theatres and a partner of Joseph Munden. After their marriage she attained some fame in London. In this country she came first to join Wignell and the Philadelphia company. Her first appearance in Boston was on October 3, 1796, in the title rôle of Southerne's *Isabella*.

When Boston's winter season opened, there were several newcomers: Mr. Jones as Percy, Mr. Pikes as Sir Hubart, and Miss Field as Berthia in Mrs. More's *Percy, Earl of Northumberland* (October 30), and in the afterpiece that same night, O'Keefe's *The Poor Soldier*, Mrs. Jones,[1] the most notable addition to the cast that year, as Nora. A Mr. Parsons joined the company a few days later, and on November 3 Mr. Barnes appeared as Snatch in *The School for Scandal*.

Whitlock had competition to meet during the fall and early winter of 1800, as is seen from Messrs. Robinson's and Maginnis' advertisement of their third night of separate entertainment at the Haymarket Theatre on December 16. Apparently they were cutting seriously into Whitlock's

[1] Odell says she was the Wallacks' sister. *Annals of the New York Stage*, II. 247.

business at the Federal Street Theatre, for on the twenty-third Maginnis advertised alone, and Whitlock's announcement of *Sighs* a day later offered the added attraction of Mr. Robinson.

The last performance of the year at Whitlock's theatre was on December 29 when *George Barnwell* and Knight's *The Turnpike Gate* were given, followed by Mr. Robinson with his imitations of birds and acrobatics.

So ended the year, one important for many things outside the theatre: for our undeclared war with France; for the rapidly approaching climax of our affairs with the Barbary pirates; for the rising of the star of Napoleon, which had just begun to be apparent in this country; and for the New Deal in American politics that dealt out Adams and the New England conservatives and dealt in Jefferson and the Democratic Republicans. And the year was notable also if only for the fact that in that year, in Boston, people concerned themselves for the first time, as they have not ceased to do, over the possible significance of the state of mind of that terrific lady, not young then, and yet today, after one hundred and forty years, no older—Mrs. Grundy.

Appendix

Theatrical Performances in Boston, 1800

Federal Street Theatre

January	1	*The Roman Father*	William Whitehead
		Humours of Gil Blas	William Bates
		Monody on the Death of George Washington	
	3	*London Merchant, or The History of George Barnwell*	George Lillo
		Humours of Gil Blas	Bates
		Monody on the Death of George Washington	
	6	*The Merchant of Venice*	William Shakespeare
		The Harlequin Salamander	
	8	*Wild Oats, or The Strolling Gent*	John O'Keefe
		The Harlequin Salamander	
	9	*Douglas*	John Home
		Monody on the Death of George Washington	
		Preparations for a Cruise, or The Boston Sailor	Mr. Bates, from O'Keefe's *The Positive Man*

January	10	*The Castle Spectre*	Matthew Gregory Lewis
		The Harlequin Salamander	
	13[1]	*Blue Beard, or Female Curiosity*	George Colman, Jr., music by Michael Kelly
		Harlequin's Wishing Cap, or The Gift of Fortunatus	
		The Prodigal	Francis Godolphin Waldron, from Aaron Hill
	15	*The Prodigal*	Waldron
		Blue Beard, or Female Curiosity	Colman, Jr.
		Harlequin's Wishing Cap	
	17	*Count Benyowski*	August Frederick Ferdinand von Kotzebue
		Harlequin's Wishing Cap	
	20	*Pizarro*	Kotzebue, music by Alexander Reinagle and Raynor Taylor
		Bon Ton, or High Life above Stairs	David Garrick
	22	*Five Thousand a Year*	Charles Dibdin
		High Life below Stairs	James Townley
	24	*The Prodigal*	Waldron
		Five Thousand a Year	Charles Dibdin
		The Adopted Child	Samuel Birch, music by P. A. von Hagen
	27	*Pizarro*	Kotzebue
		The Horse and the Widow	Kotzebue
	29	*Daranzel, or The Persian Patriot*	David Everett, music by von Hagen
		The Ghost	Susannah Centlivre
	31	*The Battle of Hexham, or Days of Old*	Colman, Jr., music by Samuel Arnold
		The Devil to Pay, or Wives Metamorphosed	Charles Coffey and John Mottley, from Thomas Jevons
February	3	*The Mountaineers*	Colman, Jr., music by Arnold

[1] At the end of this performance there was a display of fireworks, as was the case on January 17 and on February 6 and 13. On February 6 the set pieces included "A Playing Fountain, The State-House at Annapolis, The Boston State-House, Emblems of Free Masonry, A Monumental Tribute to superior Worth, and the Arms of the United States."

		The Constellation, or America Triumphant	
	5	*Daranzel, or The Persian Patriot*	Everett, music by von Hagen
		The True Born Irishman	Charles Macklin
		John Codline Returned	
	6	*The World As It Goes*	
		Shakespeare's Seven Ages	
		Eulogy to the Memory of General Washington	
	7	*Bunker Hill*	John Daly Burk
		The Spoiled Child	Dorothy Bland Jordan, from Mme. de Genlis[1]
	10	*Pizarro*	Kotzebue, music by Reinagle and Taylor
		The Old Maid	Arthur Murphy
	11	*The Roman Father*	Whitehead
		Monody on the Death of George Washington	
		Masonic Olio	
	13	*Be Merry and Wise*	
		Eulogy to the Memory of General Washington	
	17[2]	*Columbus*	Thomas Morton, from Thelwel's *Incas*, music by von Hagen
		The Jew and the Doctor	Thomas J. Dibdin
	19	*The Secret*	Edward Morris
		The Waterman, or The First of August	Charles Dibdin
	21	*The Secret*	Morris
		The Padlock	Isaac Bickerstaffe, music by Dibdin
	24	*Bunker Hill*	Burk
		The Constellation, or America Triumphant	
	26	*False Shame*	Kotzebue
		The Waterman, or The First of August	Charles Dibdin
	28	*False Shame*	Kotzebue
		The Irishman in London	William Macready, Sr.
March	3	*Lovers' Vows*	Kotzebue
		The Village Lawyer	Macready, Sr., from the French of Charles Lyons

[1] Also ascribed to Isaac Bickerstaffe, Richard Ford, Prince Hoare, and others.

[2] The performances given on this date were originally scheduled for February 14.

March	5	*False Shame*	Kotzebue
		The American Volunteers	
	7	*Pizarro*	Kotzebue, music by Reinagle and Taylor
		The American Volunteers	
	10	*Henry VIII*	Shakespeare
		The Deserter of Naples	
	12	*Reparation, or A School for Libertines*	Thomas Pike Lathy
		Thomas and Sally	Bickerstaffe
		The American Volunteers	
	14	*The Rival Queens, or Alexander the Great*	Thomas Holcroft
		Oscar and Malvina[1]	Music by William Shield
	17	*The Rivals*	Richard Brinsley Sheridan
		Inkle and Yarico	Colman, Jr., music by Arnold
	19	*Reparation, or A School for Libertines*	Lathy
		The New-England Captive, or The Dey of Algiers Outwitted	Lathy
	21	*Agnes of Bernauer*	Murphy
		The Highland Reel	O'Keefe, music by Shield
		Ode to the Memory of the Late General Washington	
	24	*The Widow of Malabar*	David Humphreys, from the French of Lemierre
		The Maid of the Oaks	John Burgoyne
		Harlequin Indian	
	28[2]	*Next-Door Neighbors*	Elizabeth Simpson Inchbald
		The Agreeable Surprise	O'Keefe, music by Arnold
		Robinson Crusoe	Sheridan
	31	*Every One Has His Fault*	Mrs. Inchbald
		An Occasional Address	Anthony Pasquin
		No Song, No Supper	Prince Hoare, music by Stephen Storace
April	4	*The West Indian*	Richard Cumberland
		Robinson Crusoe	Sheridan

[1] A pantomime taken from the poems of Ossian.

[2] These performances were originally scheduled for March 26. The postponement caused the cancellation of two plays by Arthur Murphy that had been announced for the twenty-eighth: *Agnes of Bernauer* and *The Citizen*.

7	*The Married Man*	Mrs. Inchbald
	Hob in the Well	Colley Cibber
	Robinson Crusoe	Sheridan
10	*Such Things Are*	Mrs. Inchbald
	Harlequin's Medley	
14	*Henry II, or The Fall of Fair Rosamund*	Thomas Hull
	The King and Miller of Mansfield	Robert Dodsley
	The Life and Death of Harlequin	
15	*Self Immolation*	Kotzebue
	The Times, or A Scarcity of Cash	Brown[1]
16	*The Wrangling Lovers*	William Lyon
	St. Patrick's Day	Sheridan
18	*West Point Preserved*	William Brown
	Mother Pitcher, or The Lynn Fortune Teller	
	A Masonic Address	
21	*The Spanish Barber*	George Colman, Sr., from Beaumarchais, music by Arnold
	The Garden of Love, or The Wounds of Cupid Healed by Hymen	Audin
	The Mayor of Garratt	Samuel Foote
23	*Next-Door Neighbors*	Mrs. Inchbald
	Modern Antiques	O'Keefe
25	*West Point Preserved*	William Brown
	Mother Pitcher	
28	*A Bold Stroke for a Husband*	Hannah Parkhouse Cowley
	Botheration	W. Coulton

Summer Season at The Haymarket

July	4	*Inkle and Yarico*	Colman, Jr., music by Arnold
		Harlequin Dr. Faustus	From *The Necromancer* by Woodward
August	18	*The Busybody*	
		Harlequin Dr. Faustus	From *The Necromancer* by Woodward
	25[2]	*The Country Girl*	Garrick, from Wycherley

[1] Described in the announcement as "a gentleman of Boston," he was probably not William Brown, author of *West Point Preserved*, also performed in Boston this season.

[2] These performances were originally announced for August 21.

August	25	*Harlequin's Invasion*	Garrick, music by George Gillingham
September	4	*London Merchant, or The History of George Barnwell*	Lillo
		The Horse and the Widow	Kotzebue
		The King and Miller of Mansfield	Dodsley
	8	*The Wise Man of the East*	Kotzebue
		The Spoiled Child	Mrs. Jordan
	11	*Next-Door Neighbors*	Mrs. Inchbald
		The Deaf Lover	Frederick Pilon
		The Virgin Unmasked	Henry Fielding
	15	*The West Indian*	Cumberland
		The Sailor's Reprisal	From Tobias Smollett
	18	*The Wise Man of the East*	Kotzebue
		The Sailor's Ballad of Lovely Nan	Charles Dibdin
		The Sailor's Reprisal	From Smollett
	22	*Speed the Plough*	Morton
		All the World's a Stage	Isaac Jackman
	25	*Speed the Plough*	Morton
		The Lying Valet	Garrick
October	6	*She Stoops to Conquer*	Oliver Goldsmith
		The Mock Doctor	Henry Fielding, from Molière
	14[1]	*Animal Magnetism*	Mrs. Inchbald
		Set a Beggar on Horseback, and He'll Ride to the Devil[2]	
		Harlequin Medley	
	17[3]	*Speed the Plough*	Morton
		A Beggar on Horseback	O'Keefe
	22	*The Rivals*	Sheridan
		The Examination of Dr. Last	Foote
		The Village Lawyer	Macready, Sr., from the French of Lyons

Fall Season of 1800—Federal Street Theatre

October	27	*Speed the Plough*	Morton
		Rosina	Frances Moore Brooke, music by Shield
	30	*Percy, Earl of Northumberland*	Hannah More

[1] These performances were originally announced for October 13.

[2] "A dramatic proverb in two acts."

[3] These performances were originally announced for October 16.

		The Poor Soldier	O'Keefe, music by Shield
		Adams and Liberty	Thomas Paine[1]
	31	*Speed the Plough*	Morton
		Rosina	Mrs. Brooke, music by Shield
November	3	*The School for Scandal*	Sheridan
		The Adopted Child	Birch, music by von Hagen
	5	*The Natural Son*	Cumberland
		The Highland Reel	O'Keefe, music by Shield
	7	*Douglas*	Home
		The Village Lawyer	Macready, Sr., from the French of Lyons
	10	*Sighs*	Kotzebue
		The Agreeable Surprise	O'Keefe, music by Arnold
	12	*Sighs*	Kotzebue
		The Jew and the Doctor	T. J. Dibdin
	14	*Speed the Plough*	Morton
		The Mock Doctor	Fielding, from Molière
	17	*The Stranger*	Kotzebue
		The Ghost	Mrs. Centlivre
	19	*The Castle Spectre*	Lewis
		The Lying Valet	Garrick
	21	*The Stranger*	Kotzebue
		Miss in Her Teens	Garrick
	24	*The Birthday*	T. J. Dibdin, from Kotzebue, orchestral accompaniments by Victor Pelisier
		The Waterman	Charles Dibdin
		Preparation for a Cruise, or The Boston Sailor	
	26	*The Stranger*	Kotzebue
		The Purse, or The Benevolent Tar	James C. Cross, music by William Reeve
	28	*The Castle Spectre*	Lewis
		A Quarter of an Hour before Dinner	"Rev. J. Rose"
December	1	*Aurelio and Miranda*	James Boaden

[1] Later known by the name of Robert Treat Paine, Jr.

December	1	*The Deuce Is in Him*	Colman, Sr.
	3	*The Country Girl*	Garrick, from Wycherley
		The Padlock	Bickerstaffe, music by Dibdin
	5	*London Merchant, or The History of George Barnwell*	Lillo
		Fortune's Frolic	John Till Allingham
	8	*The Mountaineers*	Colman, Jr., music by Arnold
		Fortune's Frolic	Allingham
	10	*Romeo and Juliet*	Shakespeare
		The Spoiled Child	Mrs. Jordan
	12	*The Votary of Wealth*	Joseph George Holman
		Rosina	Mrs. Brooke, music by Shield
	15	*The Votary of Wealth*	Holman
		The Padlock	Bickerstaffe, music by Dibdin
	17	*The Mountaineers*	Colman, Jr., music by Arnold
		Fortune's Frolic	Allingham
	19	*The Votary of Wealth*	Holman
		All the World's a Stage	Jackman
	22	*The Grecian Daughter*	Murphy
		The Turnpike Gate	Thomas Knight
	23	*Babes in the Wood*	Maginnis
		"The Venetian Moore on the Slack Wire"	
	24	*Sighs*	Kotzebue
		Mr. Robinson's "imitation of Various Birds Egg Hornpipe, Antipodean Whirligig," etc.	
	26	*The Country Girl*	Garrick
		The Turnpike Gate	Knight
		Mr. Robinson's Imitations	
	29	*London Merchant, or The History of George Barnwell*	Lillo
		The Turnpike Gate	Knight
		Mr. Robinson's Imitations[1]	

[1] There are records of a program of entertainment by Messrs. Maginnis and Robinson at the Haymarket Theatre on December 16, advertised as their third such, and of another by Maginnis alone, at the same theatre, on December 30.

The Editor communicated by title the following paper by Mr. John E. Alden:

John Mein: Scourge of Patriots

I

DURING the tense months of 1775 which preceded the nineteenth of April there appeared in Boston a small volume entitled *Sagittarius's Letters and Political Speculations*, inscribed, with tongue in cheek, "to the very loyal and truly pious Doctor Samuel Cooper." While there is no record of Boston's reception of the work, which reprinted articles and extracts that had first appeared in the London *Public Ledger*, it undoubtedly created a minor sensation at the time, comprising as it did a scathing attack upon Bostonians in general and the leaders of the patriot faction in particular.

As with any pseudonymous piece of literature the authorship of which is not specifically admitted by its writer, there must ever remain a certain degree of doubt as to who actually wrote these *Letters*. None the less, there need be little question that their author was one John Mein, a Scotch bookseller who had been in business in Boston from 1764 to 1770.[1]

It is true that upon the first appearance of Sagittarius' letters in London in the *Public Ledger* they were for a brief time attributed to various persons. Notable among these was William Knox, Under-Secretary of State for America since 1770.[2] It is obviously to Knox, for instance, that the following squib from the London *Public Advertiser* for Friday, May 6, 1774, refers:

> It is a strong proof, says a correspondent, of the extreme good-nature of Lord Dartmouth, that he suffers his secretary to publish, under the signature of Sagetarius a thousand inflammatory falshoods, to justify and promote the present violent and unjust measures, to which his Lordship, both in judgment and feeling, is so much averse.

This statement, however, brought forth a denial which appeared in the same newspaper on Saturday, May 28:

> The letters signed "Sagittarius" published in the Ledger, having been imputed to a gentleman in a public office by persons in respectable situations, as well as by anonymous writers in the newspapers, in justice to the author of those letters, as

[1] While Mein returned to England in November, 1769, advertisements of his Boston firm appeared in the *Boston Chronicle* as late as June 25, 1770.

[2] Ironically enough, Knox's *Controversy between Great Britain and Her Colonies Reviewed* has also been ascribed to Mein.

well as out of deference to the public opinion, we are authorized to assert that none of the letters signed "Sagittarius" were written by that gentleman, and that he never saw any of the papers intitled "State Papers" published in the Ledger until he read them in that newspaper.

This denial, however, was not enough for Problematic, who on May 31, 1774, addressed a letter to the *Public Ledger* in which he stated that the "State Papers" incorporated in Sagittarius' essays must of necessity have come from Knox's office, and that, notwithstanding the printed assertion that Knox had nothing to do with them, the latter was assuredly responsible for their publication. Unfortunately, Problematic was unaware of the fact that all the "most secret papers," as they were called, came, not from the archives of the Plantations Office, but from Governor Hutchinson's convenient *Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusets-Bay*, which had been published in Boston in 1769.

It was only in July, in the issue of the *Public Ledger* for the eleventh, that a correspondent calling himself Minos identified Mein as Sagittarius, though by description rather than by name. Although Minos' letter is long, the violence of its epithets provides a colorful introduction to the man.

Anecdotes of the Writer of Letters signed Sagittarius and of such Paragraphs denominated Political Speculations, as relate to the Americans

The hero of this letter has no claim to public notice but what arises from his uncommon depravity. He is a Scotchman, and was a pedlar, until the load on his back having aggravated the soreness of an inveterate itch, he quitted this erratic employment, and, with a few old books, transported himself to Boston in New England, where he kept a stall, there called a huckster's shop.

In this humble station he was not only industrious, but servile and apparently honest; qualities which procured him the compassionate notice of his superiors, and a recommendation for credit to an eminent bookseller of Paternoster Row [i.e., Thomas Longman]; who, confiding in the alledged honesty and industry of our stallman, entrusted him with a large supply of new, instead of old books; in consequence of which he took a shop, and became a bookseller and circulating library keeper. But this elevation was too great and sudden for the intellects of our pedlar, who soon verified the old proverb, that "a beggar on horseback will ride to the devil." Forgetting his origin, his obligations, and himself, he became not only prodigal, conceited, arrogant, lazy and profligate, but in the progress of his infatuation, set himself up as a free-thinker, and, assisted by the Dictionaire Philosophique, &c., openly ridiculed the Christian religion. At this period, the Commissioners and Officers of the new created Board of Customs arrived in Boston,

and the splendid emoluments annexed to their respectable employments, so allured our hero, that he determined to relinquish every other pursuit, and sacrifice every object, to obtain an office in the revenue; and so strong was his phrensy on this subject, that, to promote the success of his wishes, he would doubtless have betrayed even the Son of God; not from fear, like the first Judas, but from a more heinous depravity. This crime, indeed, was not wanted, either by Governor Bernard or the Board of Customs, and, therefore, at the beginning, he could only prove his servile devotion, by an unremitting attention to the duties of pimp, flatterer, emissary, lyar, and scandal monger to the Junto, from whom he expected preferment. But at length, to strengthen his claims by the most scandalous sacrifices and services, he confederated with a Scotch printer in setting up a news-paper, to be wholly employed in propagating falsehoods, to serve the cause of his party, traducing certain private characters, slandering the people of America, and misrepresenting their measures; and the manner in which this paper was conducted soon gained him an ample portion of public detestation, but without the expected advantage; for his ignominy and baseness of character were so notorious, that even the men to whom he had been so meanly and dishonourably subservient, were ashamed to countenance or gratify his wishes.

During this time, a considerable number of books had been sold, and the money squandered in drinking and other prodigal excesses; whilst the benevolent creditor, instead of remittances, was amused with fraudulent excuses. At length, however, he was undeceived, and Mr. Hancock, of Boston, was commissioned to secure the few remaining effects, by legal means; in consequence of which the printing press was sold by execution, the slanderous news-paper abolished, and our hero compelled to cross the Atlantic, and seek refuge in London, where, as the only satisfaction left an injured creditor, the carcass of our hero was imprisoned, until the late Act of Insolvency enabled him to elude the payment of his just debts, amounting to more than 2000£. Since this discharge from confinement, our hero, actuated by his former desire of subsisting in idleness, at the public expence, has again become a ministerial writer and place-hunter, and, lest his former scandalous services in America should be thought insufficient, has again devoted himself to the propagation of slander, and zealously undertaken, by every foul expedient, to excite hatred between the people of Great Britain and the people of America, and for this execrable purpose have the letters of Sagittarius been written, which, but for the ignorance of many of your readers, would never have been honoured with the smallest notice, as they consist of old petitions, memorials, letters, answers, &c. copied, with mutilations, from Hutchinson's History of the Massachusets Bay, and accompanied with malevolent misrepresentations and silly remarks, often repeated, in different words. But so far are these productions from having required, or discovered, abilities in the writer, that a journeyman taylor, with his shears, and the book I have just mentioned (which, *en passant*, was feloniously secreted by our hero in taking the benefit of the Insolvency Act) might furnish materials for an hundred other letters of Sagittarius, and thereby continue that imposition, under which you have been led to reprint those stale unimportant fragments, and to dignify them with the title of State Papers; all which many of your readers

ignorantly believed Sagittarius himself to have laboriously copied from state records in the public offices, and from thence some have referred the letters of Sagittarius to Mr. Knox, and others to Mr. Mauduit, a circumstance which affords but an ill compliment to the abilities of those gentlemen, or to the discernment of your readers.

The political speculations relative to America (written likewise by our hero) are not indeed the work of shears, but result from the depravity of an assassin, and the invention of a liar; they consist of the most impudent falsehoods (which a knowledge of the names and circumstances of individuals in Boston has enabled the writer more plausibly to invent) and the language in which they are conveyed would disgrace even the mouth of a drunken fish-woman.

Such, Mr. Printer, have been the actions of Sagittarius; and such is the man, who, after defrauding the most indulgent of creditors, has been almost incessantly, though falsely, reproaching the people of America with neglecting to pay their debts; who, after stiffling every emotion of shame, resisting every dictate of conscience, and violating every principle of duty, of honour, and of gratitude, has, with unprovoked malice, not only slandered the most spotless and respectable private characters, but licentiously aspersed the whole people of Massachusets Bay with the opprobrious names of smugglers, rebels, and traitors.

It is some time since accident enabled me to discover these later employments and misdemeanours of our hero, but though I could not but feel some indignation, as well as much contempt, from the discovery, I was yet averse from the task of holding him out to public view, knowing that contamination must necessarily result from handling so foul an object. But at length, that sollicitude which nature gave me, and which I hope always to preserve, for the success of the virtuous and discouragement of the vicious, has overcome all other considerations; for, at least, human justice is interested in exposing the crimes of such a wretch, and preventing his success; and all good men should at least hope that no minister will ever be found in this country so insensible to the difference between good and ill desert, so regardless of the consequence of evil example, and so fearful of public censure, as to favour the pursuit, or gratify the wishes of this miscreant.

Before I conclude, Mr. Printer, give me leave to express my concern, that your paper has been debased by the letters and paragraphs in question. A frequent repetition of such foul outrageous slander, must eventually destroy the force of merited satire; and every blessing resulting from our boasted freedom of the press, will naturally cease, after such outrageous abuses of it.

MINOS

One can only speculate as to the identity of the author of this curious mixture of truth and libel regarding Mein, an excellent example of eighteenth-century political journalism and diatribe. Two days later (July 13, 1774) what may be Mein's own reply to Minos' attack appeared in the *Public Ledger* over the signature "Truth." It is noteworthy that Truth does not deny the identification of Mein as Sagittarius, but simply describes and justifies the latter's conduct:

The intemperate language made use of by your correspondent Minos must throw a discredit on those fictitious anecdotes which he would wish to be believed. His whole letter teems with malice, and is a composition of scurrility, misrepresentation and falsehood. The scurrility and falsehood shall be treated with comtempt—the misrepresentations replied to.

The case of the person alluded to by Minos is a singular proof of the baseness and villainy which have, at all times, actuated the factious confederacy at Boston. Because this person refused to join their unwarrantable combinations, and to aid the circulation of their slanders, he was marked out as an object of destruction. Several ringleaders of the confederacy undertook journies through Massachusets and the neighbouring provinces to ruin his trade, and they also reviled him in their advertisements, for many months, stiling him an enemy to the country.

Finding the measures of the confederates but too successful, and his trade daily sinking, all his customers being threatened with ill usage, if they continued to deal with him; in justice to himself he laid before the public the deceitful conduct of his persecutors, and proved from the port entries at Boston, that the confederates against importing, had, during the course of a twelve month, imported more than a hundred cargoes of goods of almost every denomination; and this detection was the more severe, as they, at the same time, were trumpeting forth to the rest of the colonies their great virtue and strict adherence to the agreement against importing.

Such an unexpected conviction roused the fury of the confederates, and as they could not justify their conduct, they were determined to destroy the person who had exposed them. His house, shop, and offices were repeatedly attacked, the windows and window-frames demolished, and such large stones thrown in as to endanger the lives of those within. At last, more than thirty of the confederates, among whom were one of the present select-men of Boston, assaulted him in the street in the open day, with an intention to murder him, which is confirmed by more than twenty depositions, sworn to before a justice of peace, with the province seal annexed to them.

The confederates in a few minutes amounted to many hundreds, and though by the assistance of the main guard he escaped with life, yet he received a dangerous contusion on the belly, and another large one under the left shoulder blade from a stroke with a spade, aimed at his head by the select-man above-mentioned, who came behind him to give the finishing blow, but happily the stroke only took his shoulder. . . .

Having missed their . . . [quarry] those very men who had assaulted him went to a justice of the peace, and swore a breach of the peace against the man whom they had assaulted; the select-man being one of that number, though he had given the wound in the back himself. This may be thought a very extraordinary instance of perjury; but the Boston confederates are well accustomed and long practiced in such villainy, and can readily procure all sorts of evidences.

At the same time, when this attempt was made, another body of the confederates broke into his house, forced the doors, demolished all the windows and frames, and robbed the house of two guns, which one of the thieves has to this day.

This villainous attempt obliged him to come to England; and it was not to be expected, that when his enemies were the appraisers and purchasers of his effects, that the creditors could be paid. And the Boston advocate, Minos, with great charity, brings the distresses in which this person was involved, by the malignity and persecution of his constituents, as charges against him. Every effort to vindicate the Boston conspirators must prove unsuccessful, their wicked conduct having left their agents no tenable ground; and such attempts to defend them will, as in this case, only cover them with additional infamy.

TRUTH

The writer of the above letter would be glad of a personal interview with Minos, and for that purpose has left his name with the publishers.

Not till the issue of the *Public Ledger* of September 24, 1774, is Mein actually cited by name as being Sagittarius—and even then his name is misspelled.

The writer of the letters signed Sagittarius, (one Maine, a rank Scotchman) was some time since a petty-fogging bookseller at Boston in America, from which town he escaped on board a vessel bound to England to avoid the merited punishment of being tarred and feathered for his mal-practices. He was scarcely landed on British ground before he was arrested for debt, and thrown into the King's Bench prison, from whence he was lately released on condition of prostituting his pen to the service of Government, from which he enjoys a salary. Such are the miscreants employed to write against the injured Americans; to vilify the best characters in this free land; to misrepresent the most stubborn facts and authorities, and to give a colour to those arbitrary steps, and persecuting temper, which has long marked the counsels and actions of the present abominable administration.

Tradition has not challenged this contemporary identification of Mein as Sagittarius. On the verso of the title page of the John Carter Brown Library copy of the Mein and Fleeming edition of William Knox's anonymous *Controversy between Great Britain and Her Colonies Reviewed*, for instance, there is a note, written in an eighteenth-century hand, describing Mein as the author of Sagittarius' letters. Isaiah Thomas listed the Boston edition of the letters with the same attribution,[1] and all later bibliographers have followed him. There is likewise nothing in the letters which makes it implausible that Mein wrote them, and there is everything to indicate that he did. Sagittarius draws upon an intimate knowledge of Boston and its inhabitants, referring to incidents immediately involving himself. The point of view is that indubitably held by Mein. On grounds of both external and internal evidence, then, he may be accepted as the author of *Sagittarius's Letters and Political Speculations*.

[1] "Books Printed at Boston and Cambridge before 1775," Isaiah Thomas MSS., American Antiquarian Society.

II

Who, then, was this Scotchman, pictured in such violent hues in the columns of the *Public Ledger*?

No full account of John Mein has ever been published although various facets of his life and activities have on occasion been touched upon. Isaiah Thomas has described him briefly as a bookseller and publisher.[1] A more recent writer has pointed out that it was Mein who introduced the first circulating library in Boston.[2] There have been discussions of the opposition to the nonimportation movement of 1769 which he carried on in the columns of his newspaper, the *Boston Chronicle*;[3] and in other places there are scattered references to his many and varied undertakings. Yet when all the ascertainable facts about him are assembled, the result is still fragmentary.

The earliest record of Mein is his enrollment on December 3, 1760, as a burgess and guildsman of Edinburgh "in the right of [his] father John Mein, Sclater, Burgess and Guildsman."[4] Even at this time he is described as a bookseller. Mein's father had in turn been a burgess in the right of his father John, likewise a slater, who was the son of George Mein, "tenant in Essiltown," and had been enrolled in 1666 as an apprentice to Andrew Cassie, "his majesty's mason."[5]

What motives, if any, other than the plausible one of ambition and enterprise brought Mein to Boston cannot be said. He appears to have arrived on Thursday, October 18, 1764,[6] a passenger aboard the ship *George and James*, Robert Montgomery master, seven weeks out of Glasgow.

There also arrived on the *George and James* the celebrated Robert Sandeman, the disciple of John Glas, whose daughter he had married and whose religious principles he had espoused. Who the other Scots were who

[1] Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (2d ed., Albany, 1874), I. 152–154; II. 59–61, 230.

[2] Charles K. Bolton, "Circulating Libraries in Boston, 1765–1865," *Publications* of this Society, XI. 196–200.

[3] Charles M. Andrews, "The Boston Merchants and the Non-Importation Movement," *id.*, XIX. 159–259, particularly 227–230; Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution* (New York, 1918), Chapter IV, and "Propaganda and the Boston Newspaper Press, 1767–1770," *Publications* of this Society, XXXII. 396–416, particularly 411–416.

[4] *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1701–1760*, Charles B. Boog Watson, Editor (Edinburgh, 1930), 138.

[5] *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses, 1406–1700* (Edinburgh, 1929), 346; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses, 1701–1760*, 138.

[6] *Boston Gazette*, October 22, 1764; Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, I. 152–153.

are described by Isaiah Thomas as accompanying Sandeman "on a visit to this country with a view of settling here"[1] is not fully known, for Sandeman alone was considered important enough to have his name chronicled in the contemporary press.[2] Presumably, however, one of them was James Olifant, active as a follower of Glas; and another, James Cargill, elder of the Glassite congregation back in Dunkeld.[3] Isaiah Thomas also believed that "a type founder by the name of Mitchelson" arrived in the same vessel.[4] Since Mitchelson was a leading member of the Sandemanian church in Boston,[5] in addition to being later an employee of Mein, this is reasonable enough. It is very possible that the group also included Sandeman's nephews Robert and George, sons of his brother William; they were, at any event, in this country shortly afterwards.[6]

Despite the fact that Mein came to New England in the company of this Sandeman group, there is no evidence that he shared their peculiar religious views and practices.[7] For had he done so, there is little doubt that his political foes would have used his relation with such a popularly distrusted religious body as capital against him. Minos, as quoted in the *Public Ledger*, alone raised the issue of religion. Mein was called many vile things in Boston by those to whom he was anathema, yet no one there seriously questioned his orthodoxy in religion.

After his arrival in Boston Mein did not wait long before setting himself up in business. On November 19, 1764, there appeared in the *Boston Gazette* an advertisement announcing a shop conducted by Mein and Sandeman in Marlborough Street, "nearly opposite to Bromfield's Lane."[8] Here might be purchased books and pamphlets, including those by Robert Sandeman, as well as Irish linens and "excellent bottl'd Bristol beer near two years old."

[1] Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, I. 153.

[2] *Boston Gazette*, October 22, 1764; *Boston Evening Post*, October 22, 1764.

[3] See the articles on John Glas and Robert Sandeman in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and that on Sandeman in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

[4] Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, I. 152, *n.* 1.

[5] Henry H. Edes, "The Places of Worship of the Sandemanians in Boston," *Publications* of this Society, VI. 109–134, particularly 131, *n.* 3.

[6] The Sandeman-Barrell Papers, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, throw much light on the personal affairs of the Sandeman family in America at this time.

[7] See Williston Walker, "The Sandemanians of New England," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1901*, I. 131–162.

[8] Samuel A. Drake (*Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston*, 107) identifies the site as the north corner of what is today the junction of Franklin and Washington streets, but the wording of the advertisement indicates that the site may rather have been one or two doors north of Franklin Street. Mein remained in business at this

There is some question as to which member of the Sandeman family Mein's partner was. Isaiah Thomas, in speaking of Mein, asserts that the latter, when he came to America, was "in company with Mr. Sandeman, a kinsman of Mr. Sandeman of the same Christian name who for a short time was the partner of Mein," and in another instance speaks of the partner as a nephew of the preacher.[1] It is true that Sandeman's nephew Robert was in America with his uncle during this period. But in 1764 the younger Robert was only eight years old. It is more likely that the relative in question was the other nephew, George, although he was only nine years older than his brother.[2] It appears from extant letters written by George Sandeman that he was a person of volatile and uncertain temperament, a problem to his elders. This may readily account for the fact that the partnership was dissolved before many months had elapsed. Sometime between April 11, 1765, when the last advertisement for the Mein and Sandeman shop appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, and June 17, 1765, when Mein's name appears alone in the *Boston Gazette*, the partners had separated. After the latter date the linen goods which had earlier figured in the advertisements were no longer mentioned; obviously this had been Sandeman's interest in the shop.

Prior to the arrival of Mein the chief bookshop in Boston had been the London Book Store in King Street, run by James Rivington and William Miller.[3] Rivington himself was living in New York, and Miller, his Boston partner, died on October 31, 1765.[4] Before that, either because of Miller's illness or because of financial difficulties, the Boston branch of Rivington's business had been given up.[5] Mein then took over the shop, retaining its name. His first advertisement appeared in the *Boston Gazette* of October 7, 1765. At this shop, furthermore, and in the same month

address until sometime between July 29, 1765, and September 2, 1765. In the *Boston Gazette* of the latter date his advertisement states that his bookstore was then "opposite to the West End of the Town House," i.e., in Cornhill. He remained here but a few weeks, however, for his newspaper advertisements show that sometime between September 23 and October 7, 1765, he moved his shop to "the second Door above the British Coffee-house, North Side of King-street," the premises recently occupied by the firm of Rivington and Miller.

[1] Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, I. 152–153; II. 230.

[2] J. G. Sandeman, *The Sandeman Genealogy* (Edinburgh, 1895), 15, 21.

[3] Rivington, as sole owner, had opened the London Book Store on February 8, 1762. *Boston Gazette*, February 8, 1762. Subsequent newspaper advertisements show that his partnership with Miller began at some date between April 26 and July 19 of that year.

[4] *Boston Evening-Post*, November 4, 1765. The account given there of Miller, "lately from Edinburg," says: "He was a young Gentleman of an amiable Character enobled with Friendship; and therefore much lamented by all his Acquaintance of the same happy Disposition."

[5] No advertisement of the firm appeared in Boston newspapers after February 18, 1765.

Mein opened the earliest circulating library in Boston, the catalogue of which was advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette* of October 31, 1765, as "this day published."[1] Available to Boston readers were some twelve hundred volumes imported from Edinburgh and London and covering all fields of knowledge.

In issuing his catalogue Mein entered upon still another phase of his Boston career, that of publisher. Since Mein himself was not a printer, he had to turn to someone else for the actual work of printing. On the basis of typographical evidence it appears probable that it was William M'Alpine, a fellow Scot living in Boston, who was responsible for printing not only the catalogue but the other works published by Mein before 1767 as well.[2]

In 1766, further extending his activities, Mein entered into partnership with John Fleeming, another Scotchman.[3] Fleeming, who had, according to Isaiah Thomas, been "brought up to printing" in Scotland,[4] had arrived in Boston on August 20, 1764,[5] and had become associated with M'Alpine.[6] He may, indeed, have been the joint printer of the books published by Mein which came from M'Alpine's press. That Fleeming's migration bore some relation to the coming of Robert Sandeman to Boston is very possible. For one thing, M'Alpine's mother-in-law was named Elizabeth Glass,[7] a fact which suggests a relationship with John Glas, Sandeman's father-in-law. In addition, the new firm of M'Alpine and Fleeming promptly published Sandeman's *Some Thoughts on Christianity* (Boston, 1765), the earliest of the preacher's works to appear in America. After entering into partnership with Mein, Fleeming "made a voyage to Scotland, there purchased printing materials for the firm, hired three or four journeymen printers, and accompanied by them returned to Boston,"[8] arriving on October 31, 1766, on the snow *Jeany*, Archibald Orr master, from Glasgow.[9]

[1] The Massachusetts Historical Society possesses an apparently unique copy of this *Catalogue of Mein's Circulating Library*. It has been reproduced in its series of Photostat Americana.

[2] For a more extensive discussion of Mein as publisher, see John E. Alden, "John Mein, Publisher: An Essay in Bibliographic Detection," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXVI (Third Quarter, 1942), 199–214.

[3] This partnership concerned only the printing business. The London Book Store continued to belong to Mein alone.

[4] Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, I. 151.

[5] *Boston Records Commissioners' Reports*, XXIX. 286.

[6] Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, I. 150.

[7] Edward A. Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts* (London, 1930), 206–207.

[8] Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, I. 151.

[9] *Boston Records Commissioners' Reports*, XXIX. 286.

It is impossible to say what the earliest work issued by Mein and Fleeming was. It may have been an edition of *Four Dissertations on the Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union between Great Britain and her American Colonies* which Mein advertised prominently in the *Boston Gazette* of January 12, 1767, and elsewhere. No such edition has survived, however, if it was ever actually published by them. Of those works issued by Mein and Fleeming which still exist two dispute priority: their *Massachusetts Register* for 1767 and an edition of James Fordyce's *Sermons to Young Women*. Although Evans, in his *American Bibliography*, ascribes to the former the date 1766, assuming that, as with almanacs, it was printed in the autumn before the year for which it was compiled, it was advertised in the *Boston Gazette* on February 2, 1767, as "this day published." Further proof that it was not printed until about this date is found in a letter from Mein to Ezra Stiles, June 18, 1767, in which Mein describes this first number of the *Register*: "Being the first attempt, and very much hurried, (the whole being collected, printed, and published, in the space of a few Days, about the end of January last) a number of omissions and mistakes unavoidably happened."[1]

It is possible to get some idea of the Mein and Fleeming printing shop from an inventory taken of it in 1770, when it comprised two printing presses, with seven frames of type, including some sixty-five cases.[2] It was an active and enterprising establishment. In addition to twenty-six publications commonly attributed to Mein and Fleeming during the years 1767–1769 it has been possible, through careful scrutiny of contemporary sources, to ascribe to the firm some sixteen other titles, among them the first American editions of *The Vicar of Wakefield* and *A Sentimental Journey*.[3]

As a natural outgrowth of their printing activities Mein and Fleeming also began the publication of a newspaper, the *Boston Chronicle*, a prospectus for which was issued on October 22, 1767, and the first issue of which appeared on December 21. Edited by Mein, it gained a considerable reputation, continuing to appear till the June following Mein's flight to England in November, 1769.

It was not long after starting this newspaper that Mein got himself into difficulties in which his violent and truculent temper came to the fore. In

[1] Ezra Stiles MSS., Yale University Library.

[2] Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, Early Court Files, Case 101964, f. 73: "An Inventory of sundry goods attach'd by Joseph Otis, Deputy Sheriff, March 1st, 1770, being taken as the Property of John Mein, late of Boston, Bookseller."

[3] *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXVI. 211–214.

the *Boston Gazette* of January 18, 1768, there appeared the following letter:

SALEM, January 7, 1768

MESSIEURS EDES AND GILL,

Be pleased to insert the following in your Paper, and you'll oblige your humble Servant,

AMERICUS

When I read the Proposals, for publishing the Boston Chronicle, I tho't on the Plan with Satisfaction, hoping thereby much good would accrue to America in general, and to this province in particular; with Pleasure I also noted the judicious Advice given Messi'rs Mein & Fleeming by their Friends of Taste. It runs thus:

"We suppose you intend to study your own Interest; if you would do it effectually, be of no Party, publish and propagate with the greatest Industry whatever may promote the general Good. Be Independent—Your Interest is intimately connected with this noble Virtue—If you depart from this, you must sink from the Esteem of the Publick, to the partial Praise of a Party, who, when their Purposes is serv'd or defeated, may perhaps desert you, and then how can you expect that those whom you have revil'd will support you"—To which at that Time they answer'd.—"Whenever any Dispute claims general Attention, the arguments on both Sides shall be laid before the Publick with the utmost Impartiality."

But to the Surprize of many, how are they fallen off from their own Purposes, and the excellent Caution of their Benefactors—Instead of giving impartial Accounts concerning Affairs at Home, and the unhappy Disputes lately arisen between the greatest Men of the Nation; they have made Choice of, or printed under Cloke of being taken from the London Papers, the most infamous and reproachful Invectives, that ever was invented against the worst of Traitors to their King and Country, and who are these that are thus censur'd? why, men held in the highest esteem and veneration in the British Parliament. Patriots & friends and Deliverers of America from Oppression. He who nobly vindicated her Cause, almost against the whole Senate, who cast behind him all Lucre of Gain, when it came in Competition with the Good of his Country, and sacrific'd his Family-Connections and Interest to the publick Welfare. He that through real Infirmities hardly stood, (not to cover his politic Schemes and Ambition as his Enemies would insinuate) but stood though tottering, and in the Cause of Liberty made that heroic Speech before the august House of Commons, in Opposition to the Stamp-Act, sufficient to eternize his Fame, and ought to be written in Letters of Gold to perpetuate his Memory. Could the Sons of America be ingrateful, or countenance the greatest Falsities, rais'd only to prejudice their best Friends and Benefactors—God forbid! Let that Dishonor stain with the blackest Infamy the Jacobite Party—And though Invectives should be daily thrown out, let us keep our Integrity to the Confusion of our Enemies; who, for a long Time have exerted their Power to shake the Props of our Constitution, and bring a free people into Bondage, thereby to satisfy their more than common Avarice, &c.

The author of this attack upon Mein's choice of extracts from London papers was, Mein believed, the younger James Otis.

Jimmy is fond of dating his pieces from Salem, being the town where he has the fewest adherents, and he is suspected from good authority of being the author of the abusive piece in Edes and Gill against me when our Chronicle was first published, which obliged me to call on the printers, and on their refusal to name the authors to ask them one after another to take a short walk; and on their declining it to cane the first of them I mett, which has already cost me about £100 St.[1]

The consequences of this attack upon Mein's editorship and politics are best seen in Edes's own account of the affair in the *Boston Gazette* of January 25, 1768:

From the Massachusetts Gazette *of Thursday last*

Mr. Draper

I have heard an incorrect Account of a Difference between Messirs *Edes* and *Mein*, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter: If Mr. *Mein* has been guilty of an insolent Attempt to break in upon the Liberty of the Press, it is just he should be exposed, and treated with due Contempt: If he is innocent, it is cruel to Propagate such a malicious Representation of his Impudence and Affectation: If therefore by Publishing this you can influence the Parties concerned to give a true State of the Matter, you will oblige a great Number of your Readers who are anxious to know the whole of the Affair, besides your humble Servant.

Just. Pacis

The foregoing lays me under an Obligation to communicate to the Public the Affair between Mr. Mein and myself. I am very sorry any Difference has happened; but I have the Satisfaction to think myself altogether blameless in what was published, and in my Treatment of Mr. *Mein* when he applied to me to know the Author. The following is submitted to the impartial Public, as a true State of the Fact.

In consequence of a piece signed *Americus*, published in the last Monday's Gazette, Mr. Mein came to our office between 4 & 5 o'clock the same afternoon, and there being a number of persons present, he desired to be spoke with in private, accordingly I withdrew with him to another room—when he said, I suppose you know what I am come about. I told him I did not. Well then, said he, I am come to demand the author of the piece you printed against me; and if you will not tell me who he is, I shall look upon you as the author, and the affair shall be decided in three minutes. In reply to which I said, Mr. Mein, above all persons in the world, I should not have thought a Printer would have ask'd such an impertinent, improper question; and told him that we never divulg'd authors; but if he would

[1] Sparks MSS., Harvard College Library, Papers relating to New England, III. 46. The quotation is taken from Mein's notes in explanation of the terms "Muddlehead" (Otis) and "Pieces from Salem" used in satirical descriptions of certain Boston leaders which appeared in the *Boston Chronicle* of October 26, 1769.

call on the morrow between 9 & 10 o'clock, being then very busy, I would let him know whether I would tell the author or not,—and added,—if we have transgress'd the law, it is open, and there he might seek satisfaction. He said he should not concern himself with the law, nor enter into any dispute; but if I did not tell the author, he should look upon us as the authors, and repeated it, the affair should be settled in three minutes. I then ask'd him, if what he said with regard to settling the affair in three minutes, was meant as a challenge or threat? which he declin'd answering, but said he would call at the time appointed, and then departed.

Accordingly the next morning, I was at the office precisely at 9 o'clock, where I found Mr. Mein, who immediately after my entrance, and saying your servant, ask'd whether I would tell him the author of the above piece or no. I told him I would not. He then said he should look upon me and Mr. Gill as the authors. I told him he might and welcome. I then ask'd him what he meant by saying the last night he would settle the affair in three minutes, whether as a challenge or threat? He answered, if I would take my hat, and take a walk with him to the southward, he would let me know. I told him I was not to be at every fellow's beck, and did not regard him. He then said, I shall look upon you as the author. I reply'd, you may. Your servant, and your servant.

B. Edes

It must be admitted that in Edes's straightforward story of this encounter Mein's vague threats of violence appear at a disadvantage. The incident and the publication of this article did not help matters along. On the following day Mein met John Gill, Edes's partner, possibly in the street. A brief picture of the ensuing fray emerges from the summons served upon Mein as its consequence:

John Mein at . . . Boston on the twenty sixth day of January last in the evening . . . with force & arms, to wit, with a large club made an assault upon . . . John Gill and then & there gave the said John Gill two violent blows . . . upon the back part of the head of the said John Gill and beat, wounded and evil intreated the said John Gill in so grievous a manner that his life was dispaired of and other enormities the said John Mein did committ upon the said John Gill against the peace of our Lord the King.[1]

The importance of the incident and of the trial which ensued lies in its revelation of the extent to which the lines were already drawn in Mein's relation to Boston politics. Edes and Gill represented the local patriots; Mein was ranged in tory opposition. The difference of opinion originally centering about the publication of an extract from a London newspaper criticizing Pitt quickly reached more general proportions, foreshadowing Mein's involvement in the nonimportation movement in 1769.

[1] Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, Early Court Files, Case 101491, f. 134.

Among those to seize upon the affair in its broader implications was Populus, writing in the *Boston Gazette* of February 1, 1768.[1]

Messieurs Edes & Gill,

Please to insert the following.

The Freedom of the Press has been deservedly esteemed an important Branch of our Liberty. We hold it dear, and look on all those as our Enemies who endeavour to deprive us of it. The Dispute therefore between Messieurs Gill and Mein, cannot be looked upon barely as a Dispute between two private Persons, but is of the highest Importance to the Community. If we suffer the Printers to be abused, for resolutely maintaining the Freedom of the Press, without discovering our just Resentment against those who endeavour to force them from their Duty, we shall soon find the Press shut against us—For it cannot be expected that one or two Men who will be subject to the Malice of the publick Enemies, bear to be bruised, and run the Hazard of being assassinated, if the Public, whose Cause they are fighting, do not zealously patronize their Cause. The People in this Province, and this Town in particular, must for the foregoing Reasons, be justified in their general Disapprobation of, & Disgust to Mr. Mein, for his late Spaniard-like Attempt upon Mr. Gill, and in him, upon the Freedom of the Press. And what renders Mr. Mein still more inexcuseable, is the generous Treatment he has received from this People. What Man ever received greater Encouragement in the Business of a Bookseller than he? . . . Could any Man desire to be treated with more Politeness and Friendship than he has been since he came amongst us.[2] And what Return has he made to the beneficent Publick? Notwithstanding his pompous Introduction—Have not his Papers been poor and unentertaining? Has he not discovered his Enmity to this Country, by villifying her great and firm Friend, the illustrious Mr. Pitt, under God and the King, the Saviour of Britain, and the Redeemer of America? When justly reproved for deviating from his first Plan, he, instead of reforming, as was expected, endeavoured to suppress the Liberty of the Press, that no further public Notice might be taken of his Misconduct. I would now ask Mr. Mein, what he expects from the Public, and what he thinks the Public expect from him. What Treatment he would have given the Man who used him as he has used Messirs. Edes and Gill? And what he thinks will be the just Reward of his own Presumption?

Populus

The issue of freedom of the press was again raised when the case was argued in court on April 19, 1768.[3] John Adams made some notes on the

[1] Professor Schlesinger tentatively identifies Populus as Samuel Adams. *Publications* of this Society, xxxii. 411, *n.* 3.

[2] As a Boston business man Mein was early accepted, at least for a while, as a respectable citizen, being chosen constable in town meeting on March 10, 1766. This was, however, the only elective office he held while in Boston. *Boston Records Commissioners' Reports*, xvi. 164.

[3] Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, Early Court Files, Case 89428.

trial, from which it appears that James Otis served as attorney for Gill and that Robert Auchmuty represented Mein.[1] The fact that Auchmuty, later to be a Loyalist refugee, defended Mein indicates that the latter was already associated with the tory element in Boston. That the argument likewise followed political lines is seen in the caption Adams gave to his notes: "Gill vs. Mein: News Paper—Jacobite Party."

Mein, testifying before the court, asserted in defense of his unfavorable account of Pitt that he thought it "odd that Edes and Gill should desire him to be of no Party. Pitt is a fallen Angell, and given up by his Partizans, since he dwindled into a Lord." While Auchmuty, in pleading Mein's cause, emphasized the insults cast upon Mein, Otis asserted that Gill was "assaulted for carrying on a Paper in the Course [of] his Business." The term "Jacobite" was applied to Mein, and the phrase "liberty of the press" again invoked. At the conclusion of the trial Mein was found guilty and fined £130. Both Mein and Gill, however, appealed the case to the Superior Court of Judicature, which upset the judgment of the lower court to the extent of finding for Gill only £75.

Mein's fortunes did not meet another crisis until the following year, 1769, when his personal and editorial opposition to the nonimportation movement of that year brought upon him public opprobrium and, eventually, physical assault. For his refusal to sign and to conform to the nonimportation agreement organized by patriotic Boston merchants who sought to nullify the force of the Townshend Acts Mein's name was publicly blacklisted. In retaliation, Mein began on August 17, 1769, to publish manifests secured from the customhouse which purported to show that the signers of the agreement were not living up to their word. The controversy continued to wage hotly in the pages of the *Boston Chronicle* and the *Boston Gazette*.

Mein's Boston career finally reached its climax on Saturday, October 28, 1769. In the *Boston Chronicle* for Thursday, October 26—which was not, however, published till two days later—Mein had written still another attack upon the "Well Disposed Merchants," a phrase by which Mein caustically described the Boston patriots in question. The article roused popular resentment towards Mein to a new pitch of wrath and indignation. Already in ill favor, Mein had had to go about armed with pistols. According to George Mason, only a few days before this "two persons who resembled . . . [Mein] pretty much were attacked in a narrow

[1] John Adams, Miscellaneous Legal Memoranda (photostat), Massachusetts Historical Society.

alley with clubs, and would in all probability have lost their lives if the mistakes had not been timely discovered."[1]

Late that Saturday afternoon, between four and five o'clock, Mein and his partner Fleeming were walking up King Street, presumably on their way home from Mein's bookshop to their lodgings above their printing shop in Newbury Street. One can readily imagine the scene which ensued, the streets full of people busy with their Saturday afternoon shopping. A large crowd of enraged citizens had collected in King Street, including among others William Molineaux, Edward Davis, Captain Samuel Dashwood, Captain Duncan Ingraham, and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Marshall, several of whom had been referred to unpleasantly by pseudonyms in the *Boston Chronicle* article.

According to Mein's own account of the incident, "The principal people in town [were] among them, encouraging them, and even a selectman, Jonathan Mason, one of the very gravest personages in the town. This mob was preconcerted, and the shops on both sides King street, filled with people waiting for me."[2] Many carried canes. It was Edward Davis who first struck at Mein with his stick. At this Mein drew his pistol, which he cocked and held in readiness while he turned his face to the crowd, walking backwards up the street in the direction of the guardhouse. Elizabeth Cuming, visiting Mrs. Kent, "confined this three weeks with the roomitz" to her house in King Street, heard "a violent skreeming Kill him, kill him," and looked out the window to see the mob as it slowly pursued Mein in his retreat.[3]

Thus harried by the crowd, Mein threatened to shoot the first person who touched him. At length reaching the guardhouse, where officers and sentries were ready to protect him, Mein started up the steps. At this point Thomas Marshall, who had stopped at the shop of one Waldo and furnished himself with a spade, ran up and struck Mein, who had supposed himself now safe, on the back. The blow cut through Mein's coat and waistcoat and made a wound of about two inches' length on his left shoulder.

According to Mein's own account, Fleeming then fired a pistol shot.

> Mr. Fleeming, who was at a little distance, on seeing . . . [Marshall] coming up, run to us also, but before he came near Marshal had made the blow and was running off; however Fleeming struck at him with a stick he had in his left hand,

[1] George Mason to Joseph Harrison, Boston, October 20, 1769. Sparks MSS., New England Papers, III. 40.

[2] John Mein to Joseph Harrison, Boston, November 5, 1769. *Id.*, 51.

[3] Elizabeth Cuming to Elizabeth Smith, Boston, October 28, 1769. J. M. Robbins Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

which just touched Marshal's back. Fleeming having missed his blow reeled forwards, and in endeavouring to recover himself, grasping his hand close, a pistol he had in his right hand accidentally went off, but the ball went into ground & did no harm.

Unfortunately, Mein's explanation—like many another alibi—is almost too elaborate to be credible. All other evidence suggests that Mein himself fired the shot in question. Elizabeth Cuming, like Mein in popular disfavor for persisting in importing goods from England for her linen shop, was sympathetic to Mein and could have had no desire to malign him. None the less, still watching from her window vantage point, she observed that before running inside the guardhouse he "fired a pistel he had in his hand, loded only with powder." Likewise in the account of the affair published in the *Massachusetts Gazette* of November 2, it was said that "having got safe into the Entry Door" of the guardhouse, Mein "fired off his Pistol, which tore the Sleeve of a Soldier's Coat; but whether with a Bullet or only a Wad we cannot say." This account was widely reprinted, even in the *London Chronicle* for December 19, 1769. John Rowe put down in his diary for October 28 that Mein "got into Ezek[l] Price's office & from thence fired a Pistol & wounded a Grenadier of the 29th Regiment in the Arm."[1]

Having missed their prey, the mob, by this time numbering between one and two thousand persons, proceeded to vent their wrath on a person named George Greyer, accused of having given information about smuggling to British customs officers. This unfortunate man was tarred and feathered and carted through the streets of the town. As the crowd passed along Newbury Street in the direction of the Liberty Tree, they went by Mein and Fleeming's printing office. At this point a gun was fired from an upper window by a young lad connected with the shop. When, however, the mob broke into the shop, they found no one there, but two guns were discovered and carried away.

In the meantime certain members of the mob which had attacked Mein had gone to Richard Dana, a justice of the peace, and had sworn out a warrant for the arrest of Mein "for having put innocent people in bodily fear." According to Mein, in his letter to Harrison already quoted, "Their plan was to get me into the custody of the officer, and, it being then dark, to knock [him] on the head; and then their usual sayings might have been repeated again: that it was done by boys and negroes, or by nobody."

Having taken refuge in the guardhouse, Mein hid in the garret while Sheriff Cudworth and a constable, accompanied by Samuel Adams and William Molineaux, came in search of him, armed with the warrant just

[1] *Letters and Diary of John Rowe*, Anne R. Cunningham, Editor (Boston, 1903), 194.

sworn out. After Adams and Molineaux had given up looking for him, Mein, disguised in the uniform of a soldier, was able to slip out of the guardhouse and escape to the residence of Colonel Dalrymple. From this last refuge he went on board His Majesty's schooner *Hope*, at anchor in the harbor, where he stayed for a few days before transferring to the man-of-war *Rose*, the captain of which, Caldwell, had offered Mein the use of his own stateroom and cabin.[1]

Mein's situation in Boston had now become so dangerous that he could hardly remain there longer. In a postscript to a letter written by her sister Ame to Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, Elizabeth Cuming at this time observed: "Mr. Mein tis thought has secreted himself on Bord the Rose for the people are so exasperated they would sertenly kill him if he appered."[2] To be sure, the warrant sworn out against him was returned to Justice Dana, "there being plenty of witnesses that Mr. Mein was first assaulted with great violence." But when Mein in turn wished to prosecute his assailants, he was warned that "if he appeared abroad he should be made a sacrifice."

At this point Mein applied to Governor Hutchinson for armed protection which would enable him to remain in Boston. Hutchinson, wisely preferring not to compromise further his already difficult position, refused to furnish it.[3] In addition, Hutchinson thought it "advisable for . . . [Mein] to forbear prosecuting his complaint for some time."

There remained only one course for Mein: to leave Boston. With his partner, John Fleeming, Mein left powers of attorney to conduct his business affairs and to sell out his effects. Bearing letters from Governor Hutchinson for Lord Hillsborough and from his friend James Murray to the latter's sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, then visiting in England,[4] Mein sailed from Boston on November 17 aboard the schooner *Hope*, on which he had first taken refuge. The vessel arrived at Halifax the following Friday, November 21, and was reported off Spithead about the middle of the following month.[5]

Mein's motives in going to England were, to be sure, not entirely those of personal safety, as was ingenuously and frankly admitted by James Murray, who stated that Mein hoped "to make . . . [the] mischievous

[1] John Mein to Joseph Harrison, November 5, 1769. Sparks MSS., New England Papers, III. 51.

[2] Elizabeth Cuming to Elizabeth Smith, Boston, October 30, 1769. J. M. Robbins Papers.

[3] Thomas Hutchinson to Lord Hillsborough, Boston, November 11, 1769. Sparks MSS., New England Papers, III. 53.

[4] James Murray to Elizabeth Smith, Boston, November 12, 1769. J. M. Robbins Papers.

[5] *Massachusetts Gazette*, November 24, 1769; January 15, 1770.

Intentions [of the Boston patriots] turn out to his Emolument. . . ."[1] Mein's hopes of profit were, however, ill fulfilled. His business affairs in Boston had for some time been in a precarious state. Although between May 13, 1765, and February 9, 1769, Mein had bought from Thomas Longman, the London bookseller, books and merchandise worth almost £2,100, he had paid but £419 on account. In a similar manner Mein was indebted to Messrs. Wright and Gill of London, from whom he obtained supplies of stationery, to the amount of £303.[2]

In an attempt to make collections upon their accounts both Longman and Messrs. Wright and Gill gave John Hancock a power of attorney. To be sure, on the verso of the title page of the John Carter Brown Library's copy of William Knox's *Controversy between Great Britain and Her Colonies Reviewed*, already mentioned, the statement is made by the unknown annotator that "Mr. Hancock, on account of . . . [Mein's] publishing this and other pieces, bought up . . . [Mein's] English debts, and, making a sudden demand upon honest Mein, with which he could not instantly comply, brought on his ruin." There is, however, no apparent basis for such an interpretation of Hancock's rôle. The initiative in the matter came from Longman himself, who, on July 22, 1769, wrote Hancock asking him "to act . . . [on his behalf] in the most adviseable manner in this unfortunate affair."[3] On the other hand there can be no doubt that Hancock was most willing to make full use of this opportunity to embarrass a political opponent, and on March 1, 1770, an attachment was served upon the Mein and Fleeming printing shop in Newbury Street. Apparently, however, some compromise was arranged, for Fleeming continued to publish the *Boston Chronicle* and to put out books with his own imprint. Not satisfied with the steps which he had taken in Boston, Hancock also suggested to Longman that he get further security of Mein in London.[4]

Upon his arrival in London in December, 1769, Mein called upon Longman and informed him that he had made arrangements for terminating his business in Boston and that he would pay Longman when this was done.[5] As well he might have been, Longman was skeptical about Mein's ability to liquidate his debt promptly. In an undated letter, apparently written in February, 1771, Longman wrote Hancock as follows:

[1] James Murray to Elizabeth Smith, November 12, 1769. J. M. Robbins Papers.

[2] Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, Early Court Files, Case 101964.

[3] Hancock Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[4] John Hancock to Thomas Longman, Boston, May 18, 1770. *John Hancock His Book*, A. E. Brown, Editor (Boston, 1898), 94.

[5] Thomas Longman to John Hancock, London, January 3, 1770. Hancock Papers.

. . . in pursuance of your advice in a former favour, that I should endeavour to get further Security in London, I immediately arrested Him, in hopes of His haveing some Friends that would appear in His behalf, in consequence of which I had the honour of a Visit from Mr Commissioner Robinson[1] who assured me that to His knowledge He knew Mein's Effects were much more then would satisfy not only me, but every other Creditor, and that when they were sold his friends would take care to bid them in such a manner, that my whole Debt should be discharged. . . .[2]

On the basis of the above letter it is probable that Mein was arrested shortly after Longman received Hancock's letter of May 18, 1770.[3] He did not fail to seek release from debtor's prison. In the letter of February, 1771, already cited Longman went on to report that Mein had "got a hearing in the Court of Kings Bench and endeavoured to obtain His Discharge by a most false and Villanous Affidavit (a Copy of which I hope to get conveyed to you by Mr. Paulfry)[4] but without success."

Mein's affidavit, which is dated November 20, 1770, and is addressed to the judges of the Court of King's Bench, opens as follows:

John Mein late of Boston in New England Bookseller & printer but now a prisoner in the Kings Bench prison maketh oath and saith that he this deponent carried on the business of a Bookseller and printer in the Town of Boston for several years with great success and benefit to himself whereby he gained a comfortable Support and maintained and employ'd several useful people in the different branches of his business. . . . And this deponent further saith, that . . . Hancock with an intent . . . to distress him the more wrote home Letters to the Plaintiff Longman who resides and is a Bookseller in London importing that the aforesaid Hancock would willingly accept of a power of Attorney from the Plaintiff Longman to whom this deponent was indebted as the Plaintiff Longman alledges in the

[1] John Robinson, Commissioner of Customs in Boston, best remembered for his brutal attack upon James Otis, which was not unlike that of Mein upon Gill.

[2] Hancock Papers.

[3] There is no reason to believe that Mein returned to Boston early in 1770, particularly in view of a letter from Mein to James Murray, dated London, January 25, 1770, which is in the J. M. Robbins Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society. In his "Propaganda and the Boston Newspaper Press, 1767–1770" (*Publications* of this Society, XXXII. 415), Professor Schlesinger assumes that it was Mein who directed the continued campaign in the *Boston Chronicle* against the signers of the nonimportation agreement. Professor Schlesinger is evidently following the statements of Mr. Bolton, in his account of Mein's circulating library, who draws the conclusion that because Mein was sued in the Boston courts he was himself present. Mein's case, however, was obviously conducted for him through powers of attorney left with Fleeming. It may also be pointed out that Professor Andrews is obviously in error when he states (*Publications* of this Society, XIX. 230) that Mein "left New England permanently some time after 1771."

[4] A copy of this affidavit is included among the Hancock Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society. William Palfrey, Hancock's chief clerk and agent, returned from London to Boston on May 9, 1771. *Letters and Diary of John Rowe*, 215.

sum of one thousand six hundred pounds or thereabouts in order to seize or attach the effects of this deponent in Boston aforesaid as he has been inform'd and believes. . . .

In substance the affidavit, which incorporates letters from Fleeming and other Boston citizens, is an assertion of Mein's good faith and of the earnestness with which efforts were being made in Boston to satisfy Hancock's demands.

How long Mein remained in prison is not known. On the back of a letter written by him to James Murray on February 2, 1772, is the notation, apparently in Murray's handwriting, "Kings bench."[1] In any event, final judgment against Mein was secured by Hancock in the Massachusetts Superior Court of Judicature in January, 1772, after the case had dragged on for almost two years. Whether Mein's release came through the benefit of the Insolvency Act, as asserted by Minos in the *Public Ledger*, or whether he was freed in order to become a writer on behalf of the British government, as claimed by an anonymous writer in the same newspaper, cannot be said.

In the meantime Mein had also petitioned the government for compensation for his sufferings at the hands of the Boston faction as a loyal subject of the King. On July 1, 1771, Mein wrote his friend James Murray a note which begins: "I have just finished the Memorial. I have made the alteration you spoke of to me. I am exceedingly obliged to you for the favour of delivering it."[2] On the back of Mein's letter is a draft of a letter from Murray to John Robinson, the Secretary of the Treasury, dated July 2, 1771. It reads:

Mr Murray of Boston presents his Compliments to Mr Robinson and begs the favour of him to lay before the Lords of the Treasury the inclosed Memorial of Mr Mein. The propriety of the prayer of it can be certified by Sir Francis Bernard, Mr Commissioner Robinson and Mr Steuart,[3] now on the spot.

Mr Murray further begs Mr Robinson to put their Lordships in mind of the Expediency of renewing their last years bounty[4] to Mr Mein. His Services & Sufferings and fortunes he has fallen from point him out a just object of Compassion to an administration

qui humani nihil alienum putat.

[1] J. M. Robbins Papers. [2] *Id.*

[3] Charles Steuart, erstwhile cashier and paymaster of the Board of Customs in Boston.

[4] It is probable that the "last years bounty" was the result of a similar memorial from Mein which is listed by Charles M. Andrews in his *Guide to Materials for American History in the Public Record Office*, II (Washington, 1914), 178, under Treasury Papers, In-Letters, 1770.

III

After his flight from New England Mein did not again achieve public notice until the early months of 1774, this time as the probable author of the letters signed "Sagittarius" published in the columns of the London *Public Ledger*. Unfortunately there exists no complete file of this newspaper, and accordingly all of Sagittarius' contributions to it are not now available, invaluable as they are as examples of anti-American propaganda of the pre-Revolutionary period. The study of Mein's writings must, as a consequence, be based upon the essays and paragraphs found in extant issues of the *Public Ledger* and upon those of the essays that were reprinted in Boston in 1775.[1] Each source supplements the other. Although the Boston edition contains forty-four of a total of sixty-two essays, the extant files of the newspaper itself furnish but thirty-one items. Of these only thirteen were duplicated in the Boston reprint.

It is not possible to say precisely when Mein first began writing for the *Public Ledger*. However, the earliest of the letters now to be found in the files of that paper is the one in the issue of February 25, 1774, and there is but one document preceding this one in the Boston reprint of the letters, in which the arrangement can be assumed to be chronological. The last letter found in both the extant *Public Ledger* files and in the Boston reprint is the one dated July 23, 1774. Thus within a period of six months there was a group of over sixty items which provide a comprehensive example of ministerial propaganda designed to shape British public opinion during a period when important measures regarding America were being discussed in Parliament.

That Mein, in writing for the *Public Ledger*, was indeed in the pay of the ministry of Lord North appears more than likely. He had, of course, received some sort of bounty from the government while still in prison, and that in return for further compensation he turned his pen to such use is but plausible. Moreover, however intensely he disliked Boston and its patriots, Mein was hardly the man to contribute to the newspapers for the simple pleasures of invective, and there is every reason to accept Isaiah Thomas' statement that in London Mein "engaged himself under the pay of the ministry, as a writer against the colonies."[2] The letters of Sagittarius represent, indeed, the ministerial point of view and can be best in-

[1] I am indebted to Professor Verner W. Crane of the University of Michigan for photostatic and microfilm reproductions of Mein's contributions to the *Public Ledger*, from the files in the British Museum.

[2] Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, I. 154.

terpreted as journalistic attempts to create or at least formulate a public opinion sympathetic to measures under consideration in Parliament.

As will be remembered, the first half of the year 1774 witnessed a marked change in British policy towards the American colonies, and particularly towards the unruly town of Boston. However great a prank the Boston Tea Party may seem from the distance of over a hundred and fifty years, at the time it had a far different effect upon the government at home. Following on the heels of the burning in June, 1773, of the *Gaspee*, the pitching into Boston Harbor of the East India Company's tea became in England a revelation and a symbol of the utter lawlessness and insubordination of the Bostonians. Franklin, as agent of Massachusetts, had not helped its cause by the most questionable ethics of his transmission to the Massachusetts General Court of the famous Hutchinson letters which had recently come to light.

While it is true that Lord North and the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, did not favor the coercive measures subsequently entered upon, the government undertook a course of rigorous action. On March 7, 1774, the King sent a message to both houses of Parliament, accompanied by reports from royal officials in America regarding events there, particularly the Boston Tea Party. A week later the Boston Port Bill was introduced, the aim of which was to close Boston Harbor to shipping as a punishment for the town's conduct. After the passage of this act on March 25, still another bill, one for "the better regulating government in the province of Massachusetts Bay," was brought in, designed to alter the charter granted the colony by William III. Despite protests and petitions from colonials and their friends the bill was in turn passed, to be followed by still a third, which provided that trials for capital offenses should be held in England rather than in the colony. These three acts, so drastic in their effect upon the colony, provide the background of contemporary events against which the Sagittarius letters were written, a week-by-week, if not day-by-day, attempt to justify through journalistic means the measures embarked upon by the government.

Mein's propaganda follows the general lines of all propaganda: the praise of one's partisans and, more especially, the criticism of one's foes. In this case the praise is for the government, as is exemplified in this fulsome encomium of Lord North:

> Lord North was placed in his present station in the most factious times; by his temper, moderation, and firmness, he quelled and totally defeated faction, and gave stability to government which it had not enjoyed during many former administrations. Though the nation had no foreign wars, yet our circumstances were more alarming: we were divided at home; our eastern and western settlements

were going to wreck. . . . After four years struggle, the scene now brightens upon us. . . . After these cogent and striking proofs, is it to be imagined that his Majesty, who has enjoyed more real peace and happiness within these few last years than during all the former part of his reign, will part with a minister who has done more real service to the kingdom, than any other, nay than all others for centuries back?[1]

But praise, for a variety of reasons, seems to furnish less profitable substance for propaganda than criticism and invective, and it is to the latter that the greater part of Mein's essays and paragraphs are devoted. These are set on three different planes: of erudition, journalistic description, and personal diatribe verging on slander.

Mein's erudition, to be sure, was more illusory than real. Approximately a third of Mein's contributions to the *Public Ledger* were devoted to accounts of episodes in the history of Boston. His method was simple but apparently effective. Selecting relevant incidents from the annals of Massachusetts Bay, Mein showed how historical events made imperative the government's measures curbing the colony, which from early days had been a hotbed of sedition and insubordination. While the alteration of the Massachusetts charter was under discussion in Parliament, Mein produced evidence showing how misused and falsely interpreted the charter had been. One has but to cite a final paragraph from the letter of March 21, 1774, where, after summarizing events in the governorship of John Winthrop, Mein ends by pointing an appropriate moral:

It is evident . . . that in the most early days of our colonies there were offenders and growing evils, and that the letters patents or charters granted them were even then suspected to be contrary to the law and customs of England. After one hundred and fifty years conviction, it is now surely time to apply the proper remedies; forbearance and affection on our part, have hitherto only roused, in Massachusetts, presumption and defiance; and though our Navy will bring the rebellious Bostonians to speedy submission, yet, till their charter is vacated, and another given them, more suitable to our constitution, every other expedient will be only temporary.

With the modification of the colony's charter a fact as a result of the Regulatory Act, other historical incidents were evoked to discredit the colonists, to prove them disloyal, hypocritical, and treacherous.

A feature of Mein's historical essays was the inclusion of many "State Papers," which readers were expected to believe came from the archives of the Plantations Office in London. In view of this, as has been seen, Problematic took the papers to be proof that William Knox was Sagittarius, since he alone would have access to such files. Minos was more

[1] *Public Ledger*, March 15, 1774.

astute, insisting that the documents came from no more recondite a source than Thomas Hutchinson's *History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*. The fact is, indeed, that these historical articles were culled in part from the *History*, and, in greater measure, from the *Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, published in 1769 as a companion volume to the first two volumes of the Governor's *History*. One has merely to go from the letters to the *Papers* to find the documents which Mein appropriated to his use. Although frequent adaptations were made, the "State Papers" owe their origin to Hutchinson's volume and not to laborious burrowings in dusty archives by Mein.

Less ambitious but more immediate and colorful, on the other hand, were Mein's journalistic accounts of events in Boston, some taken from his own experiences there, others based upon letters from friends and other correspondents, describing the temper and character of the people of the town. As might be expected, the burden of such essays and paragraphs is that strong coercive measures alone could restore the colony to its rightful and subordinate place in the British empire. This, for instance, is the crux of the letter with which the Boston pamphlet opens, where, after insisting how unruly the Bostonians have become, Mein ends by asserting that "there appears now no other remedy to the disease, but the correcting hand of the supreme legislature."

While Mein avenged himself in such terms upon the Boston citizens in general who had made life so miserable for him, he was in addition able, in a series of slanderous attacks in which his propaganda reaches its lowest level, to single out for scorn and invective those particular persons who were especially obnoxious to him. That John Hancock was attacked with acrimony is hardly surprising because of his rôle as a leader of the Boston nonimportation movement, and more particularly because of his part as attorney for Longman and for Messrs. Wright and Gill in their suits against Mein. Mein's description of Hancock is one that it would be difficult to surpass as an example of journalistic libel:

> When . . . [Hancock] was in London about twelve years ago, he was the laughing stock and the contempt of all his acquaintances. . . . He kept sneaking and lurking about the kitchen of his uncle's correspondent, drank tea every day with the housemaid, and on Sunday escorted her to White Conduit House . . . but his old schoolfellows and intimates know that though nature had bestowed upon him a human figure, she had denied him the powers of manhood. The girl was therefore in perfect safety.

In view of Thomas Marshall's physical assault upon Mein in that memorable fray of October 28, 1769, he could hardly escape Mein's wrath.

. . . [Marshall] had the honour, a few years ago, to be Lieutenant Colonel of the Boston militia, whose ragged figures and awkwardness far outstrip our city train bands. At that time an English gentleman in Boston had a curiosity to obtain a list of certain toasts, which were given in the Council chamber on His Majesty's birthday, and, having some knowledge of this warlike tailor, sent a card to him, requesting a copy of the toasts in writing. The answer of this tailor, soldier and select man, is exactly as follows:

"Collo. Marshall's compliments on Mr. —— to let him know he can't give a sortin list of the tosts that pasd at the Councell board not being their abufe 15 minits, but heard, say, vizt, the King, the Queen and royal familey; onion between Great Britain and hur colloneys; His Majestys ministers of state; the governor and provence. when the gards and regiment and train of artillery war dismis after the firings the Capt. marched their respektifs companys to their own houses whare they provided sonteel dinners for their officers and other jontlemen of the town."

Such are the great abilities and learning of the mighty men of Boston.

If this letter is not a complete fabrication of Mein's fancy, there can be little doubt that Mein himself was the "Englishman" and that he was seeking the information for his newspaper, the *Boston Chronicle*.

While Mein had no personal score to settle with Benjamin Franklin, the latter, as the Massachusetts agent, was likewise the object of Mein's attacks. To Franklin he devoted at least four letters or paragraphs, while passing references to him in unflattering terms are frequent, as, for instance, when Mein observed that "The threats of an old factious agent, who vomits out his venom in the newspapers, are utterly contemptible; he owes his safety not to his innocence, but to the levity of our laws." Some of Mein's essays on Franklin attribute to the latter certain pseudonymous letters and paragraphs in the newspapers. In the essay of March 12, for instance, Mein, apparently with good reason, identifies Fabius, addressing Lord Buckinghamshire, as Franklin. And when Mein ascribed to Franklin the "Speech intended to be delivered by the Bishop of St. Asaph in the House of Lords," he opened a problem of authorship not yet settled. His reasons for such an attribution are at least picturesque, whether or not plausible:

It is . . . more probable, that the intended Speech is the fruits of the midnight labours of the great and loyal Doctor Franklin. . . . The reasons for imputing this intended speech to Doctor Franklin are, that it contains all that low cunning which so peculiarly marks his writing; that affected moderation; that feigned regard for peace; that compassion for the madness of Britain in refusing to humble her neck to the feet of the Bostonian rebels; that grave impudence, which always places America in the light of a separate, independent, powerful State; that false prophecying, which croaks out threatenings of ruin to our peace, commerce, and kingdom, if the smallest tax is laid on his darling America; and that foolish assur-

ance, which promises us more wealth and power, and permanent greatness, than the world ever saw, if we will only fall down and worship his rebellious constituents.[1]

At least two of Franklin's editors are in disagreement on the question of his responsibility for the tract under discussion, Bigelow asserting that he was its author and Smyth denying it.[2] Obviously there was no doubt in Mein's own mind.

The last contribution to the *Public Ledger* which can with assurance be attributed to Mein is dated July 23, 1774. Why was his work brought to an end? Was it simply because the measures in behalf of which he was writing had been passed and his ends achieved? Or was it because the growing certainty of the identity of Sagittarius weakened the influence his articles and essays had carried? Did he perhaps continue to write on behalf of the government under another name or in other forms? Unfortunately these are questions far more easily raised than answered.

How effective Mein's career as propagandist was must likewise remain uncertain. At least the measures on whose behalf he wrote were passed by Parliament. His essays were manifestly widely read and discussed, if one may judge from the comments they evoked, and several of the articles were considered of sufficient interest to be reprinted in the *London Chronicle*. But, as with all propaganda, there remains the problem of whether public opinion is changed or merely crystallized by the expression of previously inarticulate ideas. It is more likely that Mein's essays expressed rather than created public opinion.

With the disappearance of Sagittarius' name from the columns of the *Public Ledger* we lose sight of Mein. True, there is a letter written by him to James Murray in Boston, dated London, January 11, 1775.[3] But, interesting as it is for the political views expressed, it gives no clue to Mein's occupation at the time. His financial troubles seem to have outlived his public career, for on September 4, 1783, John Pitcairn, an Edinburgh lawyer, was still concerned with Mein's unpaid debts, and addressed Samuel Eliot, the Boston merchant, then in London, as follows:

I received yours of the 25th ultº & am much obliged to you for the relation you give of John Meins affairs and for your attention to our Interest. Good Mr Kincaid died 21st Janry 1777 leaving an only son Alexr Kincaid who also died 5th Decr 1777 after appointing Trustees to conduct his Business for behoof of his

[1] *Sagittarius's Letters*, 116–117.

[2] *The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Written by Himself*, John Bigelow, Editor (Philadelphia, 1905), II. 547–556; *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, Albert H. Smyth, Editor (New York, 1907), I. 164–166.

[3] J. M. Robbins Papers.

two Cousins Mark & Chas Kerrs who are both in the Army, as the Trustees act with limited powers they cannot answer Foreign orders without having security for them in Britain, in other respects the Business goes on as formerly, we take Bills on London at 2 mo. and allow 5 per cent discount.

We will be much obliged to you that you take the most effectual measures to bring John Meins effects in your possession into Cash for behoof of Mr Kinkaids Estate. If any further powers are necessary be so good as write me, however as there will be no opposition I suppose what you have will be sufficient. When you have brought the matter to a period be so good as give me a State and a remittance for the neat proceeds.[1]

Mein's debts to the Kincaid estate undoubtedly dated from his first years in Boston, almost twenty years earlier. It is regrettable that no indication is given as to the nature of "Meins effects" in Eliot's possession, and how they came there.

In summarizing Mein's life and activities it can hardly be said that he was either a great or a good man. Yet it must be admitted that he was unquestionably a more significant figure than has previously been realized. As a publisher he contributed more to the history of printing in America than has been hitherto known, responsible as he was for the first American editions of *The Vicar of Wakefield* and *A Sentimental Journey*. His opposition to the nonimportation movement of 1769, it is agreed, was influential in the breakdown of the intercolonial agreements. Whatever weight it may have carried, his anti-American propaganda in the *Public Ledger* aroused interest and argument, and certainly as a spokesman of the British ministry of the period he wrote essays of importance.

As a man, however much his misfortunes may have been the result of circumstance, it must be admitted, in view of the violence of his temper and his willingness to distort the truth, that Mein did not always present too admirable a figure. None the less, as a person of considerable intellectual ability and literary skill, who had the unfortunate habit of choosing the unpopular side of a controversy, he deserves to be remembered, a rebel against rebels.

[1] Norton Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

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NOTE

Places are in Massachusetts unless otherwise stated.

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